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THE ICHNEUTAE OF SOPHOCLES





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# THE ICHNEUTAE OF SOPHOCLES

With Notes and a Translation into English,  
preceded by Introductory Chapters  
dealing with the Play, with  
Satyric Drama, and with  
various cognate  
matters

BY  
RICHARD JOHNSON WALKER

Τέλος δὲ τραγῳδίας μὲν λύειν τὸν βίον, κωμῳδίας δὲ συνιστᾶν  
αὐτόν, σατυρικῆς δὲ τοιούτοις θυμελικοῖς χαριεντισμοῖς καθηδύνειν  
αὐτόν.

Περὶ Κωμῳδίας,  
*apud* CRAMERI *Anecdota*.

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TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD  
MICHAELBY THE GRACE OF GOD AND OF THE HOLY SEE  
ARCHBISHOP OF MANILA

February 19th, 1918.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—Your Grace will remember how in the old days before the war—it must, I think, be well-nigh ten years ago—I sought and obtained permission to dedicate my next book to you. You were, at that time, Rector of the College of Irish Nobles in the ancient city of Salamanca—that College will always be to me your villa at Tusculum—and I was a clergyman of the established Church of England. Since then, you have been elevated in turn to the Bishopric of Zamboanga, in the Philippine Islands—where the labours of your apostolate, believe me, will not soon be forgotten—and to the illustrious Archiepiscopal See of Manila, in the same Islands, which you now so fill as to edify, not only your immediate flock, but your friends, more numerous than you know, in the continent from which you came. I too have changed, and more greatly than yourself: for, largely under your guidance and in consequence of the favour of your friendship, I have come, in middle age, into the communion which has been yours from infancy, and am now a layman of that Church of which you are a Prelate. It is thus with a double pleasure that I discharge my debt, or rather, I would say, that I exercise my privilege, of dedication.

But indeed the times are such that a book like this of mine stands in sore need of a patron. And that not so much on account of its defects (though of these I know it has many, and shall doubtless find it has more), but because of the subject which I treat. Although never,

since the renaissance of the Arts, has so golden a harvest from the fields of antiquity been gathered into the garner of scholarship as that which of late the once barren sands of Egypt have yielded to the scientific methods of a novel husbandry, although now the circuit of a single year concentrates within itself additions to knowledge more numerous than those which marked in former times the slow lapse of a century, nay, although the limits of all expectation have been so exceeded that treasures deemed lost irretrievably are discovered daily, nevertheless, the spirit of Gallio is abroad in the age in which we live, the modern world, to speak generally, cares for none of these things, and the new-found pearls of price are cast too late before a generation that some Circe has already enchanted. So enormous in itself and so manifestly conducive to material prosperity is the advance in the kindred spheres of natural science and of mechanical invention which the last hundred years have witnessed, that the study of other subjects, however important, has lost prestige in public estimation and is even regarded with a certain degree of impatience. Learning has actually come to be appraised by a commercial standard, and we of to-day may join, but with greater reason, in Wordsworth's reflexion

how ennobling thoughts depart,  
When men change books for ledgers and desert  
The student's bower for gold.

This is eminently a factor to be noted ; but it does not sum up the situation. An influence more subtle, no doubt, but more potent in the educated classes, is exercised by that school of speculation which was once indeed contented with the narrower horizon of Darwin, but has since expatiated at large in a field that knows no ambit, where it tracks out cosmic evolution down the vistas of infinity, brooking now no mile-stones of space but the stars of heaven and disdaining to think of time save in terms of aeons. To this school the earth is but an atom, mankind a fungus upon it, and human history a momentary and a negligible trifle. Few indeed are consistent followers of this philosophy ; but it tinges the thoughts of many, infecting the atmosphere of the age with a worse than Aeaeon virus.



Yet for the herb moly, although its operation may be slow, we have not far to look. Whenever in the discharge of your sacred functions you consecrate a church to the service of the Almighty, you trace in the dust two alphabets, the Greek and the Latin, recalling, no doubt, an occasion when, some nineteen centuries ago, those alphabets, together with a third, met in one Title. Why the Hebrew characters are not likewise traced, I think that I could explain; and, if I were wrong, you would correct me. But this is not the place for such discussions. At least it is not to be denied that the writing by Bishops in the dust, and the Title on the Cross itself, bear witness to the fact that Christianity and the Church sum up, together with the inheritance of Jewry, the inheritances of Greece and of Rome. The fullness of time saw the end of a triple preparation, the convergence of three streams of history. Apart from this importance, the Greeks and the Romans would be but nations among the nations, humanly great indeed, yet nothing more. It is Calvary that has set upon them the seal of an eternal consecration. Therefore, the Church must always, in some measure, concern itself with Roman Law and with Greek Philosophy, and not with such Philosophy and with such Law only, but also, as opportunity offers, with the literature and the other adjuncts that formed their setting. Thus we see a long succession of Roman Pontiffs, famous only less for their encouragement of classical studies than for the faithful discharge of the spiritual functions of their office. Of these, not the least distinguished was his late Holiness, Pope Leo XIII. Accordingly, I say that the true moly lies in the bosom of the Catholic Church, whence it will be dispensed to the nations in due season.

But meanwhile we are living in a period of drought and famine; and the war that now devastates the world, though it has afforded the occasion for deeds of sublime heroism and is preferable perhaps to a peace that was no peace, has turned men's thoughts away still further from the serenities of study.

'Tis time to leave the books in dust  
And oil the unused armour's rust,  
Removing from the wall  
The corslet of the hall.



Indeed, were I of military age, I should myself esteem it a disgrace to be handling at such a crisis the pen instead of the sword. Even as it is, I confess myself sorely disappointed that after wearing the King's uniform, first in the ranks and afterwards with a commission, although only in this country, I was compelled by illness to return in the third year of hostilities to civil life. As Lord Buckhurst long since observed in words that seem apt to-day,

Even Kinges and Kesars byden fortune's throwes,  
And simple sorte must bear it as it is.

Thus it comes to pass that amid the turmoil of war I pay at last the respectful tribute which I promised you in that most peaceful abode at Salamanca, that masterpiece of Berruguete's architecture, every stone of which seemed instinct with an atmosphere of perpetual tranquillity. Nor do I regret altogether that the tribute has been long delayed. Delay has given time for reflexion, and reflexion has served to confirm my belief that I do right in pursuing such studies as these, and consequently has caused me to put my heart into the work. As the years go by, I am increasingly convinced of the soundness of two maxims instilled into me by my late father, who was not only a classical scholar, but also a student of Aristotle. The first of these is that the study of any serious subject of considerable magnitude, provided always that such study is continued beyond the fringes and into the real heart of the matter, is in itself an education. The second is that, if the aim be higher education, a thing distinct from education pure and simple, the element of time must be introduced, so that a man shall be led to turn his eyes from the narrow present that surrounds him and live, at least in some measure, in the storied light of the past. I submit to your consideration, not without confidence, these two maxims. Both of them seem to me to be in full harmony with the practice of the Church, and the latter in particular to accord with the Catholic attitude, already mentioned, towards classical learning.

It remains that I should pray you to be lenient in your judgement of my work, especially as regards my suggestions touching the *origines* of Attic Tragedy and of the Satyric Drama. In that field I can find

no avenue leading to higher ground than that which commands a view of probabilities ; certainties are for such as think them discoverable and have faith in themselves as discoverers.

I have the honour, my Lord Archbishop, to subscribe myself

Your Grace's most humble and obedient servant,

RICHARD JOHNSON BERNARD WALKER.

BRAMSHOTT COURT,  
LIPHOOK,  
HAMPSHIRE.





## PREFACE

THE remains of the *Ichneutae*, discovered in Egypt in the year 1907 and since edited twice by Professor A. S. Hunt and more recently by Mr. A. C. Pearson in his *Fragments of Sophocles*, and also dealt with, though none too wisely, by foreign scholars, bring into prominence the whole question of early Satyric Drama. The subject has so far been only imperfectly studied, and the play itself has necessarily as yet received no such searching treatment as has been applied in the course of centuries to the dramas that were never lost to literature. Consequently I do not aim at an edition in the ordinary sense, but rather at the bringing together of materials for the future use of others.

In various respects I have departed, perhaps somewhat violently, from recent traditions, largely German in origin, of the art of commentary: in particular I have preferred for the most part to express myself in chapters, not in unconnected notes. I have couched in Latin an *apparatus criticus*, which contains all strictly necessary textual matter, so that a scholar ignorant of English can nevertheless fully inform himself of the bare facts. In my English translation I have striven to base my language wholly on that of the "Authorised" Version of the *Bible*: I see no reason why a Catholic should not avail himself of the purest well of literary English.

Seeing that the play is presented by me as the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles, although the remains of the papyrus mention neither its name nor its author, it is proper that here *in limine* I should justify the accepted identification. In the Epitome of Athenaeus (II. 62 F) we read :  
Σοφοκλῆς Ἰχνευταῖς·

καξορμενίζει κοῦκ ἐπισχολάζεταιται  
βλάστη.

The papyrus presents (ll. 273-274) :

[.....]μενειζεικουκετισχολαζεται  
[.....] .

That, coupled with the fact that the Chorus of the play is a Chorus of *ιχνευταί*, constitutes almost all the direct evidence. As the drama of the papyrus is Satyric, indirect evidence is furnished by a statement of Pollux (x. 34), who speaks of the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles as Satyric, adding moreover the highly corrupted quotation :

ἐνήλατα ξύλα τρίγομφα διατορεῦσαί σε δεῖται.

The papyrus presents (l. 307) :

[.....]όρωσερειδετα[ .

The identification of the line (see my notes thereon) with the quotation is, in view of the context, certain, so that this also is a piece of direct evidence. Sophocles' *Ichneutae* is also expressly mentioned by Suidas and Photius, but not in such a way as, except perhaps most remotely, to bear on the identification. Putting Athenaeus and Pollux together, we may conclude unhesitatingly that the remains in the papyrus are those of Sophocles' Satyric drama, the *Ichneutae*.

But I seem to hear someone saying : " Were there not three poets of the name of Sophocles, and all of them dramatists ? How do you decide between them ? " Such a question needs certainly to be asked, if only for the reason that the style of this Satyric play reminds one in no way of the style of the tragedies—tragedies alone are extant—of that Sophocles whom I can best distinguish as the Great. This circumstance invites, or rather demands, enquiry. Yet it is plain that it is Sophocles the Great that Athenaeus, Pollux (who in the same breath speaks of Aristophanes), Suidas and Photius had in mind : otherwise some at least, if not all, of them would assuredly have employed language to indicate the contrary. But it might conceivably be argued that they are mistaken. Were a disputant to press me with the uncertainty that existed in antiquity whether the number of plays written by Sophocles, the grandson of the Great, was eleven or forty (figures strangely far apart), and with the no less ancient and no less serious

doubt as to the number of those composed in fact by his grandfather, I should concede at once that a large part of the difficulty may have arisen out of a confusion, in the case of various dramas, between the more illustrious progenitor and the less illustrious descendant. The periods of their activity were separated by no great interval of time, and the *Oedipus Coloneus*, at least, of Sophocles the elder was either produced, or, as I shall contend, reproduced by Sophocles the younger. I grant therefore on general grounds the *a priori* possibility that our authorities are mistaken and that the *Ichneutae* is the work of the younger poet. But the facts collected by me in Chapter VIII., though it is not written to that end, seem to show that the metre of the *Ichneutae* is such as to postulate either, on the one hand, that it is a work of a date distinctly anterior to that of the *Cyclops* of Euripides, or else, on the other hand, that it is a composition redolent of the archaising influences of Sositheus of the Alexandrian Pleiad. Thus Sophocles, the grandson, falls, as it were, between two stools, and the only choice left is between Sophocles the Great and that much later Athenian tragedian of the same name and family, who, according to Suidas, lived after the Pleiad and composed fifteen dramas.

I need not, it may be thought, concern myself very seriously with him : his date, one may argue, precludes any such chance of confusion as exists in the case of the grandson, and the precision of Suidas' statement as to the number of his plays tends to show that in point of fact no confusion arose. That is so : but still, to make assurance doubly sure, I would urge as a yet stronger argument the enormous improbability of Sophocles the Third having so composed the *Ichneutae* that the extant remains do not in some way or other betray the lateness of his date. In one place only does a possible doubt arise, and on investigation that doubt is seen to be unsubstantial. In the *Ichneutae*, as a preliminary to the search for Apollo's oxen, Silenus prays thus (ll. 71-74) :

θεοί, Τύχη καὶ δαῖμον ἰθυντήριε,  
 τυχεῖν με πράγους οὐ δράμημ' ἐπείγεται,  
 λείαν ἄγραν σύλῃσιν ἐκκυνηγέσαι  
 Φοίβου κλοπαίας βοῦς ἀπεστερημένου.



In the *Ranae* of Aristophanes, as a preliminary to his contest with Aeschylus, Euripides prays thus (ll. 892–894) :

αἰθήρ, ἐμὸν βόσκημα, καὶ γλώττης στρόφιγξ,  
καὶ ξύνεσι, καὶ μυκτῆρες ὄσφραντῆριοι,  
ὀρθῶς μ' ἐλέγχειν ὧν ἂν ἄπτωμαι λόγων.

I submit it to the judgement of the reader—I know the point is nice—whether, especially in view of the comparative rarity of the precatory accusative and infinitive, and also in view of the context, the expressions

...ἰθυντήριε,  
τυχεῖν με πράγους οὔ...

and

...ὄσφραντῆριοι,  
ὀρθῶς μ' ἐλέγχειν ὧν...

are or are not phrases offering merely accidental points of resemblance. If they are not (and I certainly incline that way), it is clear that Aristophanes is not representing Euripides as here imitating or parodying Sophocles : such an imitation or parody would at this stage of the action be hopelessly out of place. Hence it might be contended that the boot is on the other leg and that the author of the *Ichneutae* is imitating the *Ranae*. In that case, Sophocles the Second being already ruled out, Sophocles the Third would remain as the only possible author. But an overwhelmingly more probable explanation, unless indeed the resemblances are purely accidental and there is nothing to explain, is that both passages alike are based on a sacrificial formula, in which a vocative in -ήριε or -ήριοι and a precatory accusative and infinitive occurred.

I therefore—though the pointed statement of Suidas that Sophocles the Third lived after the Pleiad, coupled with the fact that a post-Pleiadic date is one of the two only dates suggested by the metre of the *Ichneutae*, has given me food for thought—conclude, upon the whole, that no reasonable presumption has been raised in opposition to the natural meaning of the language of our authorities, or to the high antecedent unlikelihood that they should have mistaken a work of Sophocles Minimus for a work of Sophocles Maximus. I therefore set down

the peculiar style of the *Ichneutae* as an incident of its Satyric character.

It will be noticed that I have refrained from the use of sublineal dots. In the *Editio Princeps* Professor Hunt exhibits in two different types the writing attributed to the first hand and that attributed to the second hand or hands, and under any character which he cannot read with certainty he places a dot. I have left these dots out. For this course I have three justifications. First the *Editio Princeps* is in the hands of the public. Secondly it is manifest that, in case, let us say, of ἀγαμεμνονος—all the letters clearly legible, except the fifth, which might be either ε or ι, and the eighth, which might be either ο or θ—occurring in a ms., the certain characters lend a logical certainty to the visually uncertain: so in the *Ichneutae* the sublineal punctuation is commonly superfluous, while, where it is not, and if anything seems to turn on a doubt, I have been careful to express verbally, not by a symbol, the facts of the case. But my third and chief justification is that, whereas the system adopted in the *Editio Princeps* has the effect of certifying many hundreds of characters to be undoubtedly such and such as written by the first hand, I have reasons for refusing to sign any general certificate of the kind. Alterations, not only avowed, but also, as I am convinced from the facsimile of Column V., in some cases unavowed and disguised, have been effected. How far such camouflage extends I have no idea. Professor Hunt's achievement is magnificent, but nevertheless the secrets of the papyrus have not yet been fully probed.

In parts of this book I am constantly quoting from Athenaeus. When I so quote, I sometimes have occasion to state that the passage quoted occurs in "a patch from the Epitome." This expression may now and then cause surprise. The mss. of Athenaeus lack Books I and II entirely, and Book III to the end of 73 E, and also in Book XI both the long *locus*, beginning with ἐπιφερομένου μεγάλου (in 781 B) and ending with ἐγκεχαραγμένα Ἀλεξίς (in 784 D), and the short *locus*, beginning with ἐκαλείτο δέ (in 502 B) and ending with εὐδοκιμοῦντα (also in 502 B). The supplements filling these spaces, which would otherwise be empty, are the corresponding portions of the

Epitome of Athenaeus' work, an early abbreviation compiled when the text was still complete and preserved in various mss., and they were inserted when Athenaeus came to be printed. But there are other patches, and these are found in the mss. themselves. It is a feature of the Epitome (see Book II, *passim*) to introduce a single substantive, in the nominative, as a sort of headline indicative of the subject about to be discussed, and then to proceed with the discussion, sometimes indeed recapitulating the word used in the headline, but at other times referring to it as *this*, or in some similar way making it do duty as if it stood, not as a non-grammatical—shall I say?—catchword, but as strictly part of the epitomised passage. From by far the greater part of the text of Athenaeus, as preserved in the mss. of his unepitomised work, these headlines are, as one would expect, entirely absent, but nevertheless there are various separate places in which whole series of them occur. In all such cases there must be at least some slight contamination from the Epitome. In some of them, where, as frequently in the Epitome itself, the headline is necessary to the sense of the passage, it is manifest that a catalogue-like summary has replaced the ordered discourse of the original. There is another and similar criterion. It is as much the practice of Athenaeus, in such an expression as Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἰχνευταῖς, to insert the preposition ἐν as it is the practice of Hesychius to omit it. The epitomist however is careless on the point. Whenever in the text of Athenaeus the ἐν is absent, it is only prudent to suspect a patch from the Epitome, and there are cases in which surrounding circumstances cause suspicion to harden into certainty. The Epitome however on which, before the days of printing, copyists of Athenaeus drew is not the Epitome in the form which we now possess. If a complete list of the extant mss. of the Epitome were drawn up, so that they could be systematically inspected and, if necessary, collated, light might, I think, be shed on much that is now dark. Though the text exhibited in the Athenaeian *Codex Marcianus* is undoubtedly the parent of the later Athenaeian mss., yet I cannot agree that the variations presented by those mss. are necessarily negligible: in the case of every such variation, there



exists the possibility that it may embody some form or other of the epitomistic tradition. Athenaeus so swarms with quotations, many of them abominably corrupted, that as much care is due to his text as to that of a classical author of the first eminence.

Throughout the greater part of this volume I wander of necessity down by-paths of literature. But in my *Appendix to Introductory Chapters* I essay a more ambitious task and attack central problems. If that portion of the book in any way commends itself to the judgement of those that keep to the high-road (and theirs after all is the truest and soundest scholarship), I shall feel myself more than rewarded for a not inconsiderable expenditure both of time and of labour.

I desire to express my gratitude to the Egypt Exploration Fund and to the Clarendon Press for permission to avail myself of the text of the *Editio Princeps*, and to incorporate various subsequent emendations, respectively.



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## CHAPTER I

### THE PLOT

Denique sit quidvis, simplex dumtaxat et unum. HORACE.

THE plot of the *Ichneutae*, so far as the play is extant, is *simplex et unum*. Apollo, having lost his oxen, arrives, in the course of searching for them, at Mt. Cyllene in Arcadia. Here he makes proclamation concerning his loss. In response Silenus and the Satyrs appear and undertake the quest of the oxen, it being agreed that their reward, if they succeed, shall consist of gold and of manumission from servitude. Apollo having departed, they speedily light on the tracks of the oxen. Silenus marshals the Satyrs for further search. Soon, however, a strange sound is heard, which terrifies the Satyrs, but not Silenus, who continues to incite them to activity. Almost immediately they halt in front of a dwelling, from which after a little delay the Nymph Cyllene appears. After upbraiding them for their noisy approach, she tells them, in reply to questions, that an infant son of Zeus by Maia, who is at present lying sick, is concealed within, a babe of abnormal growth, who has made a lyre out of a tortoise, which lyre it is that has produced the strange noise. She denies all knowledge of the oxen, but incidentally mentions that one of the appurtenances of the lyre (as far as I can judge from the defective text, the bag in which it is kept) is made of ox-hide. The circumstance excites the suspicion of the Satyrs, but Cyllene persists in her denials, maintaining that it is a blasphemous absurdity to bring a charge of theft against the child. Ultimately the Satyrs espy some ox-dung and insist, with a threat of personal violence, that Cyllene should produce the oxen. At this point the continuous text of the papyrus breaks off. From fragmentary remains however it is clear that the oxen are found and that Apollo returns to the stage. From other fragmentary remains, much more

difficult to deal with, it would appear, if the treatment adopted by me is right, that the Satyrs are subsequently stricken with madness by Pan for having violated his sanctuary in or adjacent to the dwelling of Cyllene, and that Apollo takes steps to heal them. For the rest of the probable action see my text and notes, and also Chapter II.

The above plot is manifestly based on the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (*Hymn* III.). Sophocles however departs from his original in five respects.

First, he introduces Silenus and the Satyrs. This is, so to speak, a merely conventional departure. Silenus and the Satyrs (or occasionally, it would seem, some similar characters) had to be introduced whenever any story was dressed up as a Satyric play. In just the same way Euripides imports them into the story of the Cyclops.

Secondly, as a result of introducing Silenus and the Satyrs, Sophocles attributes the discovery of the oxen to their activities, not, as the *Hymn*, to information given to Apollo by a countryman who had seen Hermes driving the cattle.

Thirdly, whereas the Homeric *Hymn* represents indeed Hermes as living on Mt. Cyllene, but speaks of the oxen as having been left by him at Pylos, Sophocles puts the oxen also on Mt. Cyllene. He clearly takes this course in order to observe the dramatic unity of place.

Fourthly, in the *Hymn* there is no sort of connexion, direct or indirect, between the theft of the oxen and the making of the lyre. Sophocles introduces a connexion by representing Hermes' use of ox-hide, taken from the stolen cattle, in or about the lyre as furnishing the Satyrs with the clue which led to their recovery. Dramatic unity of action demands a connexion.

Fifthly, Sophocles goes outside the borders of the story told in the *Hymn* by introducing the Nymph Cyllene instead of Maia. I think that this variation, like that of the omission of the informer, is due, though less obviously so, to the fact of the introduction of the Satyrs. In the first place it would hardly have been seemly to bring into contact with the Satyrs a female personage of the dignity of Maia; and in the second place, even if Maia had appeared, she could not well have descended



to the falsehoods with which Cyllene delays the finding of the oxen, falsehoods absolutely essential to the dramatic protraction of the interval antecedent to discovery.

These five modifications are incidental to the dramatisation of the legend, and doubtless, unless indeed it had already been dramatised by someone else, were all effected by Sophocles himself. The introduction of the new character, Cyllene, seems at first sight somewhat bolder than the other changes. But there is ground for thinking that this introduction involves no substantial innovation. Though the Nymph in question does not figure in the Homeric *Hymn*, yet it is in no way inconsistent with the *Hymn* that she should at some period or other have acted as nurse to Hermes; and Philostephanus (as we learn from a *scholium* on Pindar, *Ol.* vi. l. 144) states ἐν τῷ περὶ Κυλλήνης (a book, I presume, about Mt. Cyllene) that Cyllene and Helice nursed Hermes. If Philostephanus had not added the name of Helice, I should have supposed that he was merely basing himself on this play. As it is, I am inclined to conjecture that some such expression as

Κυλλήνη θ' Ἐλίχη τε θεοῦ τροφοὶ Ἑρμείας

occurred in the *Megalae Eoëae* of Hesiod, where (see Antoninus Liberalis, ch. 23) the legend in question is dealt with. Indeed, seeing that Antoninus (*l.c.*), speaking of the episode of the informer, an integral part of the story as told in the Homeric *Hymn*, gives a list of authorities, and seeing that none of those authorities, except Hesiod, is of substantially earlier date than Philostephanus (*circa* 250 B.C.), it is natural to assume as probable that it is from Hesiod that Philostephanus derives his information.

In the Homeric *Hymn*, as it has come down to us, Hermes first kills the tortoise and makes the lyre, and afterwards steals the cattle. But Apollodorus (iii. 10), while agreeing in the main with the now current Homeric account, transposes the order of events. Sophocles abstains altogether from fixing the order, though it is evident that the ox-hide bag (if it was a bag) must have been made after the theft of the cattle. A good deal of ink has been wasted on Apollodorus. I can hardly

doubt but that he followed the *Hymn* in the form in which he had it. As we have it, it is an extraordinarily incoherent document, most curiously pieced together. Moreover the exordium and termination are preserved (forming *Hymn* XVIII.) in an alternative form (XVIII. ll. 1-9 = III. ll. 1-9: XVIII. ll. 10-11=III. ll. 579-580); which exhibits a strange mixture of likeness and unlikeness to the vulgate. Also l. 51, which runs in our texts as

ἐπτά δὲ συμφώνους οἶων ἔτανύσσατο χορδάς,

is quoted by Antigonus of Carystus (*Histor. Mirab.* 7), who lived in the third century B.C., as

ἐπτά δὲ θηλυτέρων οἶων ἔτανύσσατο χορδάς.

All this suggests that the text of the *Hymn* was singularly fluid in antiquity, so that Apollodorus may well have had before him an arrangement of the parts in a sequence different from that which we now possess. Also the reticence of Sophocles may conceivably indicate that in his days the right order was in dispute.

Of Sophocles' predecessors, Alcaeus, in a *Hymn to Hermes*, of which an irrelevant morsel (Alcaeus, *Fr.* 5) survives, mentioned the story (as we are informed by Pausanias, VII. 20); but his treatment of it must have been most summary. Among Sophocles' successors, Horace did the same (*Carm.* I. 10) in a hymn perhaps based on that of Alcaeus. In the *Ichneutae* however, as will be seen to follow as a side-conclusion from the arguments set forth in the next chapter, it is highly improbable that, had we the full text, we should find that

viduus pharetra

Risit Apollo.

## CHAPTER II

## THE STAFF AND THE LYRE

Neque<sup>7</sup>semper arcum  
Tendit Apollo. HORACE.

ACCORDING to the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (ll. 496–499), the gifts which Apollo actually gave Hermes in exchange for the lyre were a shining whip and the tutelage of herdsman'ship. But, according to the same hymn (ll. 513–532), Apollo later feared that Hermes might steal both the lyre and his bow from him and requested Hermes to swear not to do so. Hermes took the oath, whereupon Apollo promised various things to Hermes, of which however one only was a concrete object, namely the *caduceus*, saying :

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον,  
χρυσείην, τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ἥ σε φυλάξει,  
πάντας ἐπικραίνουσ' οἴμους ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων  
τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα φημι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὁμφῆς.

Although there is nothing in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* to indicate that this staff was the staff of a herald, or that Hermes became a herald, nevertheless, just after the passage quoted, Apollo (l. 539) addresses Hermes as κασίγνητε χρυσόρῥαπι, which shows that in the mind of the writer the staff in question was at least distinctive of Hermes. Similarly in the *Odyssey* χρυσόρῥαπις is twice used, each time as a distinctive epithet of Hermes ; but, where the ῥάβδος itself is spoken of, it is not by any means described as a herald's staff. It is mentioned in three passages of Homer (*Il.* xxiv. 343, *Od.* v. 47, and *Od.* xxiv. 2), and in the first two the words are the same :—

εἵλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει  
ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει·  
τὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων πέτετο κρατὺς ἀργειφόντης.



## 6 THE ICHNEUTAE OF SOPHOCLES

In the third passage the writer of the 24th *Odyssey* becomes a little more explicit :

Ἑρμῆς δὲ ψυχᾶς Κυλλήνιος ἐξεκαλεῖτο  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων· ἔχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσὶ  
 καλὴν χρυσεῖην, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει  
 ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώνοντας ἐγείρει·  
 τῇ ῥ' ἄγε κινήσας, ταὶ δὲ τρίζουσαι ἔποντο.

In Homer the word for *herald's staff* is σκῆπτρον, not ῥάβδος, and Homer, while representing Hermes as a messenger of the gods, nowhere calls him κῆρυξ.

Hesiod on the other hand describes Hermes as κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων (*Theog.* 939) and as θεῶν κῆρυξ (*Op.* 80) ; and later it seems to have been universally held that Hermes was a herald and the patron of heralds. See, for example, Aeschylus (*Ag.* 498) :

Ἑρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας.

It is obvious that, in these circumstances, the staff of Hermes must have come to be regarded as a herald's staff, and that in fact it was so regarded is proved by a fragment (Sophocles, *Fr.* 701) of Sophocles' *Philoctetes Trojae* preserved in the recently discovered beginning of Photius' *Lexicon* :

καὶ ῥάβδος ὡς κήρυκος Ἑρμαία διπλοῦ  
 δράκοντος ἀμφίκρανος.

Yet, although the Latin *caduceum* and *caduceus* (which are distortions, effected before Rome became literary, of the Tarentine Doric κάρυκειον) are applied indifferently to a Greek herald's staff (the Romans did not use this implement) and to the staff borne by Mercury, in Greek proper I am unable to find the word κηρύκειον, in any of its forms, used of the staff of Hermes, except once in Hesychius, who writes (Sophocles, *Fr.* 700), referring to the play just mentioned, δράκοντα τὸ κηρύκειον· Σοφοκλῆς Φιλοκτήτῃ, and once in an epigram by Nicarchus (*Anth. Pal.* xi. 124), who compares the staff of a certain physician, Zopyrus, to the staff of Hermes :

α. ξεῖνε, τί μὰν πεύθῃ; β. τίνες ἐν χθονὶ τοῖσδ' ὑπὸ τύμβοις;  
 α. οὐς γλυκεροῦ φέγγους Ζώπυρος ἐστέρισεν·  
 Δᾱμῖς, Ἀριστοτέλῃς, Δημήτριος, Ἀρκεσίλαος,  
 Σώστρατος, οἳ τ' ὀπίσω μέχρι Παραιτονίου.  
 κηρύκιον γὰρ ἔχων ξύλινον, καὶ πλαστὰ πέδιλα,  
 ὥς Ἑρμῆς, κατὰγει τοὺς θεραπευομένους.

The author of this epigram, Nicarchus, is by some modern writers assumed to have flourished at the beginning of the second century A.D.; but this late date is assigned to him solely on the strength of the occurrence in another of his epigrams (*Anth. Pal.* xi. 73, l. 6) of the word ξέστας, the accusative plural of ξέστης, *sextarius*. There seems to be no doubt but that this Greek name for the measure is Latin in origin, and it is thought to have reached the Greek world by way of Sicily. It occurs in the *New Testament* and in various writers, chiefly medical, from the first century A.D. onward. But it is also (according to Dindorf's *Stephanus s.v.*) employed in the remains of Heras, a Greek physician of repute, who practised at Rome before the time of Andromachus the elder, and who in consequence may be assigned to the first century B.C. Now Nicarchus is stated by Plutarch (*Symp.* iii. 6) to have been contemporary with a physician of the name of Zopyrus, doubtless the Zopyrus mentioned in the epigram set forth above; and Celsus (v. 23) mentions an antidote administered by a physician, Zopyrus, to one of the Ptolemies. Seeing that in the above epigram one of the dead patients is named Parætonius, which is evidently derived from Parætonium, the alternative name of the town near Alexandria that is also known as Ammonia, it seems probable that the Zopyrus of the epigram also practised in Egypt. Though Zopyrus was a common Asclepiad name, there is no ground for assuming the existence of two eminent Egyptian physicians so designated, except the use by Nicarchus of ξέστας. Ptolemy XII, the last adult reigning prince of his line, died in the year 47 B.C., and his predecessor, Ptolemy XI, in 51 B.C. It seems to me that, if it was possible for Heras to use ξέστης, it was no less possible for Nicarchus to do so and at the same time to be a contemporary of a Zopyrus who administered an antidote

to Ptolemy XI or Ptolemy XII. I therefore conclude that it is perfectly on the cards that the employment in the above epigram of κηρύκιον with reference to the staff of Hermes should be assigned, not to the second century A.D., but to the first century B.C.

The epigram indeed appears to raise the further question whether the staff of Aesculapius was or was not substantially identical with the staff of Mercury: but that point I do not feel myself called upon to discuss. It is sufficient to have pointed out, in addition to the passage from Sophocles' *Philoctetes Trojae*, in which the word itself is not used, one ancient Greek instance of the term κηρύκιον being applied to the staff of Hermes in order to confirm the overwhelming antecedent probability, already confirmed as regards Latin by the uses of *caduceus*, that, when Hermes became generally recognised as the god of heralds, his ῥάβδος must also have been equated with a herald's staff.

At the beginning of the *Ichneutae* Apollo appears on the stage. What characteristic emblem or emblems did he bear? He had not as yet received the lyre. It is possible that he carried his bow and his quiver filled with arrows: but this I greatly doubt, seeing that he was engaged in a search for stolen property outside his own message. At Rome, at least in early times, such a search was conducted *per lancem et licium*, i.e. the searcher went clad only in a loincloth and holding a dish in his hands, relying obviously on the inviolability of his person. Festus (quoted by Aulus Gellius at the end of his eleventh book) states that this custom was borrowed from the Athenians. It would probably be more true to say that it was common to the Romans and to the Athenians. Its existence\* renders it unlikely that on this occasion Apollo went armed and lends support to my reading of l. 15 as

ὁ σὺν θυσίᾳ παρ' ἔμ' ἄνις κυνῆς ἔπω.

But it would appear that at any rate he carried the golden staff which, according to the Homeric *Hymn*, he not long afterwards presented to Hermes, and which,

\* From Aristophanes' *Nubes* (ll. 498-499) it is evident that at Athens searcher was at any rate γυμνός.



as we have seen, must have been popularly regarded as the staff of a herald. That he held this staff is sufficiently indicated by his somewhat remarkable statement in l. 13 that he was conducting the search παντελές κήρυγμ' ἔχων, which clearly involves that he had with him at least the bare paraphernalia of a κήρυξ. Indeed, in the certain absence of the lyre and the probable absence of the bow and quiver, it is hard to see what other emblem he could have carried in addition to the probable θυσία, which was not an emblem.

But I conceive that this staff, far from being introduced more or less otiosely as a part of Apollo's accoutrement, plays an important role in the action of the *Ichneutae*. It is pertinent to observe that, after Apollo has left the stage, the Chorus of Satyrs with Silenus as their director twice act in a distinctly heraldic capacity.\* On the first occasion, Silenus (ll. 75-79) makes formal proclamation—I can use no other term—to all and sundry who have knowledge of the theft that, if they declare their knowledge, they will be accounted perfect benefactors of Apollo, but that, if they do not, they will not be rewarded. Thereupon the Chorus utters three non-iambic lines, which, though little of them remains, are obviously a repetition of the general sense of Silenus' remarks. These three non-iambic lines (I reconstitute them in the dochmiac metre) form no part of a strophic-antistrophic system, and seem to me to constitute what Galen (v. p. 394 and ix. p. 501) terms the πούς of a herald's proclamation. On the second occasion, the Chorus, this time without any preceding proclamation by Silenus, but conformably with a statement he has just made to the effect that he will not permit them to leave him until it has been ascertained who it is that dwells in the house in front of them, address four non-iambic lines to the unseen householder, in which lines, although they are now extremely fragmentary, it is clear that they offer a reward for information. The lines are not dochmiac in this case, but they form no part of any strophic-antistrophic system. I rank them as another πούς. But this time the matter is put beyond doubt by the words of Cyllene

\* Timotheus (*Pers.* ll. 229-235) seems to be scoffing at the heraldic features of the *Ichneutae*, and also impugning Sophocles' account of the origin of the lyre.

herself, who (ll. 227–228) says of this utterance of the Satyrs :

αὔτις δ' ἄ[θρακ]τ[ος] πρευμενῶν [μ' ἀνδρῶν ἴ]α,  
κῆρυκ[ος ὤς,] ἴ[αν' ἰδρεῖ] κηρύγμα[τι].

The portion of these two lines actually presented in the papyrus, which portion is not included in brackets, is without the complements amply sufficient to prove the case.

Again, the singularly staid demeanour of Silenus calls for some explanation. Once only, when (ll. 211–212) he stamps and kicks outside the house in order to attract the attention of the inmate, does he betray a lack of dignity, and even then his action is rather rustic than vulgar.

The conclusion one would naturally draw is that Apollo, before his departure from the stage, handed to Silenus the staff that he had been carrying and that Silenus, assuming the staff, assumed also the character of herald with the Satyrs for his pursuivants.

In ll. 48 and 49 there is talk of a bilateral ‘confirmation’ of the contract proposed between Apollo and Silenus. The subsequent lines are in a fragmentary condition. It is highly probable that Silenus excused himself from handing over an earnest on the ground of his servile condition, but it is more likely than not that an earnest was actually given by Apollo. The golden staff would be a suitable earnest of an ultimate golden reward, and besides it is at least doubtful whether Apollo had about him anything else of value to offer. Further the herald’s staff would manifestly be as useful, or perhaps one might say as necessary, for the purposes of the search to Silenus as it had been to Apollo himself. On these grounds I reconstitute l. 50, addressed by Apollo to Silenus, thus :

[ῥάβδον λάβ'. ἄ]ρ' ὦνός τι[ς]; ε[ἴσ]θ' ἐς [θού]μ[ό]σε;

I would also direct attention to the lines in the first chorus which run (ll. 68–70) :

ξυνάμα θεὸς ὁ φίλος ἀνέτω  
πόνους, προφήνας ἀρίζηλα  
χρυσοῦ παραδείγματα.

These lines form part, it is true, of a passage which I personally regard as spurious; but that is no reason for supposing them to contain a misstatement as to the action of the play. Grammatically προφήνας is in its context capable of bearing either of two meanings. The aorist participle may on the one hand indicate an action prior in time to the action of the principal verb ἀνέτω only, not prior in time to the moment at which the sentence is uttered. In that case a rough translation would be: "May the god first show us excellent samples of his gold and afterwards put an end to our labours." φήνας by itself would suffice in such a case: the use of the compound προφήνας would, on those lines of translation, emphasise strongly the word *first*. This translation I reject, because, although two rewards have been promised, gold and liberty, there is not only no reason to suppose that the gift of gold will be anterior to the gift of liberty, but rather the reverse, seeing that manumission can be effected in a moment, whereas treasure takes time to fetch. The aorist participle may on the other hand, and must, if I have rightly rejected the alternative rendering, indicate an action prior to the time of speaking. In that case a rough translation would be: "May the god put an end to our labours, seeing that he has in anticipation shown us excellent samples of his gold." Driven back, as I think by necessity, on this interpretation, I can only conclude that Apollo has already at least exhibited his golden staff as a token of his trustworthiness. But for him to have merely exhibited it without handing it over as an earnest would be singularly senseless. All the world knew that Apollo possessed gold galore: what was required was, not a proof of solvency, but an earnest to bind the bargain. Therefore, with some confidence, I invoke this choric passage in aid of my contention.

Taking it then, not indeed as mathematically certain, but at any rate as much more probable than not, that, before leaving the stage, Apollo invested Silenus with his staff, it becomes pertinent to enquire what kind of property in the staff passed to Silenus. Did he become its absolute owner in perpetuity, or did he hold it merely as a pledge to be restored to Apollo if and when the latter



handed to him the promised treasure? An earnest can clearly, in its nature, be of either kind; but in this case I imagine that the surrounding circumstances and in particular the mystic qualities of the staff itself indicate that it was bestowed as a pledge only and not in full ownership. Consequently I consider that in ordinary circumstances Silenus would have retained the staff until he was paid his reward, but no longer.

In l. 403 the Chorus finds the oxen. At l. 408, or at latest at l. 411, Apollo returns to the stage, and in ll. 416 and 417, which are unfortunately most fragmentary, he speaks of 'reward' and of 'free.' Presumably he tells Silenus that he will send for the gold at once, but that he manumits him and his sons on the spot. This would involve the retention of the staff by Silenus until the arrival of the gold. Consequently I conclude that, when at the end of the chorus which I number as coming at ll. 421-428, Silenus with his sons leaves the stage, he takes the staff away. But at l. 436, if my treatment of the fragments be correct, Silenus returns to announce to Apollo that the Satyrs have all gone mad. I do not doubt but that he brings the staff back with him. It looks to me very much as if at l. 449, as I number it, Apollo perceives that the madness of the Satyrs can be cured, if only they hear the strains of the lyre, that he consequently determines to obtain the lyre from Hermes, and that he forms a plan to buy it from him at the price of the staff. This would accord in a certain rough sense, though with no degree of accuracy, with the story of Apollo giving the staff, though in exchange for something other than the lyre, to Hermes, as told in the Homeric *Hymn*. It necessitates the restoration of the staff by Silenus to Apollo. Silenus, in the new circumstances, raises no objection to restoring to Apollo, who is now his firm friend, what after all is only a pledge, not a permanent possession. I place the restoration of the staff just after l. 462.

After that point at which the papyrus-remains of the *Ichneutae* absolutely and altogether fail to give us any guidance (and I greatly doubt myself whether any of the fragments carry us beyond the eighteenth column) it seems clear, provided I have rightly interpreted the

appearance of Apollo παντελὲς κήρυγμ' ἔχων and the heraldic proclamations subsequently made by the Satyrs, that Apollo must have actually purchased the lyre from Hermes in exchange for the golden staff of which I have been speaking. If this be the case, then the staff serves the purpose of imparting to the play an element of dramatic unity which would otherwise be lacking. It renders far more fully *simplex et unum* a plot which, without it, is already indeed, so far as it is extant, of that character, but which can hardly, in the absence of some such bond of connexion, have been successfully extended to the compass of a complete drama.

I have gone, and I think with reason, into matters of detail ; but, detail apart, the mere fact that in a play with this particular plot Apollo makes his first appearance παντελὲς κήρυγμ' ἔχων is, in view of the mention of the staff in the Homeric *Hymn*, an almost sufficient indication in itself that the writer designs ultimately to represent the lyre as exchanged for the staff. That first appearance of Apollo gives us, I venture to maintain, the clue to much, if only we consent to hold fast to the sound doctrine of Horace, which surely applies to plots as truly as to characters :

Servetur ad imum  
Qualis ab incepto processerit.

## CHAPTER III

## THE SUPPRESSION OF PAN

Quaere peregrinum. HORACE.

FOR some reason or other the second hand of the papyrus appears to have been bent on removing from the play all reference, direct or indirect, to the god Pan.

The passages in question are five in number, and in addition to these five two others must be taken into account.

The first passage consists of ll. 95–96. Here, the foot-prints of the cattle having just been discovered, and one of the two semichori having remarked (l. 94)

ταῦτ' ἐστ' ἐκείνα τῶν βοῶν τὰ σήματα,

according to the papyrus as altered by the second hand the other semichorus delivers itself of two lines (ll. 95–96), thus :

σιγ-[.] θεοστιστηναποι[.]ναγει 95  
τιδρωμενωτᾶνητοδεον[.]νομεν .

In the former of these two lines σιγ- is in the handwriting of the second hand, standing in a space from which the writing of the first hand has presumably been erased. Between the two lines the first hand inserts a paragraphus : this the second hand deletes. In the latter line the letters τιδ are in the handwriting of the second hand, standing—with an ε preceding them, also in the handwriting of the second hand, but subsequently deleted—in a space from which the handwriting of the first hand has certainly been erased. To l. 96 the second hand adds a marginal note : ἐτιδρω[.]τιχ. After the second line the second hand inserts a paragraphus, whereas the first hand does not acknowledge a change of speakers until the beginning of the fifth foot of l. 97.

For a fuller discussion see the English notes on ll. 95-96. I do not hesitate to read :

Ἡμιχ. α'. αἰγῶν θεός τις τὴν ἄποιον, ἦν, ἄγει. 95

Ἡμιχ. β'. στίφρωμ' ἔν, ὧ Πάν, ἦ τὸ δέον ἐξάνομεν ;

The second passage consists of ll. 116-118. These lines at present run thus in the papyrus :

— ἰν' αὐτεχνηνηστυηλ[. . . .]. υρεσ·τιν' αὐ 116  
 πρόσπαιωνδεκεκλιμ[. . . .] κυνηγετεῖν  
 προσγη·τίσῳ μωνοτροποσ·ουχιμανθανω· .

But the paragraphus above the beginning of l. 116 is not original, being formed out of the top stroke of a ξ, which was presented by the first hand, but has been very imperfectly erased. The first hand, instead of presenting a paragraphus at that point, presents one above the beginning of l. 117 : this latter paragraphus the second hand has partially erased. Hence it appears that the distribution of the lines between the two speakers was originally other than that which the papyrus now exhibits. In the English notes on ll. 116-117 I point out in detail the necessity, as regards the action of the play, of the occurrence in l. 116 of some words or other relative to the perception by the Satyrs of the sound of Hermes' lyre, and in the same notes I set forth minutely the facts as evidenced or indicated on the face of the papyrus, with regard to the alteration, on a large scale in l. 116 and on a lesser scale in l. 117, of the writing of the first hand by the second hand. From those notes it will, I think, appear with sufficient plainness that the reading of the first hand, if we express it in the modern manner, must have been :

ξεῖν' αἰγίκνημ', εὖ τηλόθεν μ' οὔρει. Σι. τίν' αὖ ; 116  
 πρὸς Πανὸς ὧδε κεκλιμένον κυνηγετεῖν  
 πρὸς γῆ ; τίς ὑμῶν ὁ τρόπος, οὐχὶ μανθάνω.

The vocative αἰγίκνημε gives us our first introduction to a group of compounds of αἶξ, the other members of which will be presented to us as we pass in review the later passages of this play in which the second hand has, as here, suppressed or obscured, some reference to Pan. The adjective αἰγίκνημος is elsewhere found once only,



*viz.* in the Doric vocative αἰγίναμε in a dedicatory epigram of Agathias (*Anth. Pal.* vi. 167, l. 1). It there applies to Pan, to whom (quite apart from the fact that a misreading in the first line expressly mentions him by name) the epigram is manifestly addressed. By a strange error Stephanus (*s.v.*), uncorrected by Dindorf, takes it as an epithet not of Pan but of Priapus. Moreover, in Dindorf's Stephanus αἰγίκνημος is given out of its proper alphabetical place and after αἰγικόν and αἰγικορεύς, so that it is easy for the reader to miss the word.

The third passage consists of ll. 319–321. Here the first hand presents :

οψαλακτοστισομφηκατοιχνειτοπου.  
 .ρεπταδιατονουφασματεγ  
 χωρεπανθεμιζει . 320

In this reading there are, apart from the use of the Attic termination in ομφη, the omission (regular enough in the case of the first hand) of two iotas subscript, and the employment of the -ει termination in θεμιζει, only two mistakes, namely οψαλακτοσ for υποψαλακτοσ, and τονουφ instead of τομουρ, so that it is quite plain that, written as we write nowadays, the passage should run :

ὕποψάλακτος τίς ὁμφὰ κατοιχνεῖ τόπου,  
 θρέπτα δῖ', ἃ τόμουρ' ἄσματ', ἔγ- 320  
 χωρε Πάν, θεμιζῇ ;

The second hand converts this into

οψαλακτοστισομφηκατοιχνεῖτοπου  
 πρεπταδιατονουφασματ'έγ  
 χωρ'επανθεμιζει ,

adding a marginal note that Theon reads επανθεμιζεται. The second hand, if we incorporate what he says is Theon's reading, evidently means :

ὀψάλακτος τίς ὁμφή κατοιχνεῖ τόπου ;  
 πρεπτᾶ διὰ τόνου φάσματ' ἔγ- 320  
 χωρ' ἐπανθεμίζεται.

This reading, which conflicts violently with the metre of the antistrophe, can only be construed thus : ' What

stricken sound pervades the place? Ringing out by reason of its tone, it culls for itself images native to the land.' The expression is grotesque and the underlying thought, if any exists, can only be a thought of some mimetic quality of music utterly out of place in the passage. I am not at all convinced that Theon read ἐπανθεμίζεται. I do not dispute that in his edition the line in question ended with the letters επανθεμίζεται, but he may have intended ἔγχωρε Πάν, θεμίζεται, and the wrong division of the words may be due to the second hand of the papyrus only. In any case Theon's -εται would seem to be a mistake for the old uncontracted second person middle and passive -εαι, scanned as one syllable by synizesis, which, it seems, was sometimes employed in tragic choruses.

Beyond all question the writing of τομουρ as τονουρ contributed largely towards the corruption; but it is not enough to account for the expulsion of Pan from the passage.

The fourth place is in l. 352.

In this passage the first hand presents :

σκοπει 351

[.....]καρποντουδετουπαναιδομος .

Here there is only one mistake. αιδομος has been written in error for αινομος, i.e. αἰνόμος, a form not found elsewhere, but constructed, on the analogy of αἰπόλος, in the sense of αἰγινόμος and αἰγονόμος. I have no hesitation in reading, in harmony with the context :

σκόπει 351

κήπου σὺ καρπὸν τοῦδ'. ἔτ' οὐ Πάν αἰνόμος ;

But the second hand converts the first hand's reading into

σκοπει 351

[.....]καρποντουδεδ'ουπανᾱιδομος .

In modern writing one can only represent this as

σκόπει 351

[.....]καρπὸν, τοῦδε δ' οὐ πανᾱ δόμος.

In this there is neither sense nor grammar, and πανᾱ is a *vox nihili*. But Pan is effectually banished.

The fifth passage (ll. 358, 359) is a little less clear. There the first hand presents :

[.] υκεκθεωνταμωρακαιγελ (followed by writing which the second hand has washed out) 358

[.] ανοντακλαιεινυστερωιτεγωγελω .

The second hand gives :

[.] υκεκθεωνταμωρακαιγελοιαχρη 358

[.] ανοντακλαιεινυστερωιτεγωγελω ,

and appends to the second of the two lines a marginal note : υστερωσεγω. It is to be observed that at the end of l. 358 the first hand must have followed up καιγελ with something quite different from the second hand's οιαχρη, as otherwise the latter would not have taken the trouble to go so far as to wash out the former's reading. I suggest that the first hand presented καιγελατικαχρη, i.e. καίγελατικά χρή. αἰγελάτης is used of Pan in the 229th Epigram of the *Planudean Appendix*, and Plato (*Euthyph.* 13 D) speaks of ἡ βοηλατική.

I present the two lines thus :

οὐκ εἰς θεῶν τόμουρα καίγελατικά χρή 358

χανόντα κλαίειν ὕστερόν σε τοῦ γέλω.

If I am right, the first hand has, as in l. 320, gone wrong over τόμουρα, but it is the second hand that has wholly expelled the indirect reference to Πάν αἰγελάτης. I especially invite the reader's attention to the process of washing out effected by the second hand, which indicates some radical alteration.

Such are the five passages which point to a deliberate banishment of Pan from the text. Of course I rely chiefly on the third and the fourth. But there is a sixth place in which, though it in no way deals with the great god Pan, there appears to be a mention of the minor deities who as early as the time of Aristophanes (*Eccl.* 1069 : ὦ Πᾶνες, ὦ Κορύβαντες) were called Πᾶνες and who accompanied the Satyrs themselves in the train of Dionysus.

The first hand, in a passage in this play where a certain δεσπότης, whose name is not mentioned, of the Satyrs is spoken of as having been wont to revel with



them in that train in attendance on the god, presents l. 220 in this form :

συνεγγονοισινυμφαισικαιποδωνοχλωι .

There is no error of commission in this passage on the part either of the first or of the second hand ; but the second hand sins by omission in doing nothing but add a colon at the end of the line. In modern writing the line, as given, with no diacritical marks from the second hand to help us, is naturally read thus :

σὺν ἐγγόνοις νύμφαισι καὶ ποδῶν ὄχλῳ.

ποδῶν is manifestly impossible, though Pearson reads it. Wilamowitz, followed by Hunt, alters it to παίδων. Hunt translates 'along with the nymphs his offspring and the throng of his sons.' I suppose that both Wilamowitz and Hunt are influenced by the fact that ἐγγονος regularly means *grandchild* and sometimes *descendant*, but seems never to occur in the sense of *blood-relation*. I however am convinced that in this passage it has that sense and is equivalent to ἐγγενής. A mention of grandchildren would naturally suggest a mention of sons. But there cannot be a mention of grandchildren or even of more remote descendants. Hunt in his translation of the passage leaves it in ambiguity whether he considers the 'offspring' and the 'sons' to be those of Silenus or those of some other δεσπότης or those of Dionysus.

The Greek, taken in the way he takes it, is equally ambiguous. Let me suppose for the sake of argument that Silenus is intended as the father or ancestor. His sons were the Satyrs themselves, so that the reference is clearly not to them ; neither is it possible, even supposing he had other sons unknown to extant mythology, to think of nymphs as descended from him, for one cannot take into account such fantasies as that of Pythagoras which made Apollo a son of Silenus (Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 16, p. 30). Let me next assume that Dionysus is intended. I believe that the morality even of the Greeks would have been outraged by an assertion that the nymphs, considering their relations with Dionysus, were either his grandchildren or even his less near



descendants. But most naturally, in accordance with customary usage, the ἔγγονοι would be understood to be those of the δεσπότης. We must therefore enquire who this δεσπότης really is. He is expressly mentioned as distinct from Dionysus. After perusing such Greek literature bearing on the subject as I have been able to find and, in particular, after consulting various relevant passages in Nonnus (who cannot be left out of account when Satyric drama is in question), I am of opinion that, Dionysus himself being excluded, only two δεσπότες of the Satyrs are in any way possible, viz. Silenus and Pan. But in the *Ichneutae* Silenus also is excluded, seeing that (see ll. 56, 67, and, more especially, 156–157) in this play he and the Satyrs are fellow-slaves together and are together promised their freedom if they succeed in their quest of the oxen. Pan therefore remains as, so far as I can see, the only conceivable δεσπότης. Now, throughout this play the Satyrs are treated as the sons of Silenus, and their mothers are nymphs (l. 34). I see no difficulty in supposing these nymphs to have been of the kindred of Pan; but there are two objections in the way of esteeming them his children or his descendants. First, no legend that I can discover makes Pan the progenitor of nymphs, and, secondly, if he was progenitor of these particular nymphs, he must also have been grandfather or at least ancestor of the Satyrs, a relationship inconsistent, I should imagine, at any rate among divine and semi-divine beings, with his holding them as slaves. How Silenus and they came to be his slaves at all is perhaps adumbrated in a passage of Nonnus (xxix. ll. 260–262):

Ἄστραϊος δεδόνητο, Μάρων φύγεν, ὠκλασε Ληνεύς,  
Σειληνοῦ τρία τέκνα δασύτριχος, ὃς δίχα λέκτρων  
ἄσπορος αὐτολόχευτος ἀνέδραμε μητρὸς ἀρούρης.

If Silenus sprang straight from the soil, both he and his sons (or, as Nonnus makes them, his grandsons: see xiv. ll. 96–104, where also Silenus' origin is briefly mentioned), the Satyrs, may easily have been regarded as naturally chattels of Pan. I need not delay over the strange suggestion by Pearson that Apollo was the δεσπότης in question. It is abundantly certain that,

whatever identifications of distinct deities were attempted in the holes and corners, so to speak, of mythology, Apollo did not, to the Greek mind, subserve Dionysus in Bacchic orgies. The difficulty of Apollo being able, without deputed authority, to manumit another deity's slaves, will vanish, if we assume that a searcher *cum lance et licio*, or *quasi cum lance et licio*, for stolen property, had the right, if successful in his search, to manumit other people's slaves who had helped him, on condition of compensating their masters out of the property recovered. It appears to me that Silenus and the Satyrs were certainly the slaves of someone other than Apollo, and I can think of no other assumption that would fully meet the difficulty.

Taking all this into account, in l. 220 of the *Ichneutae* I interpret ἐγγόνοις as *kindred*, and I cure the line without changing the papyrus text, thus :

σὺν ἐγγόνοις νύμφαισι καίποδων ὄχλῳ.

As αἰπόλος exists by the side of αἰγινόμος, so αἵπους is a legitimate compound, and probably characteristic of Satyric drama. Compare l. 352. These αἵποδες were the deities whom shortly after the date of this play and in later Greek literature we find described by the name Πᾶνες. Even they have suffered exile from the text.

There exists also a seventh passage, which, while it is in no degree demonstrative, yet must be considered in conjunction with the other six.

That passage consists of ll. 68-70, which in the papyrus form the conclusion of the first chorus.

It is easy, up to the end of l. 64, to arrange and supplement the surviving remains of that chorus so as to present a strophe and an antistrophe of the most regular correspondence in dochmiac metre, nor in that part of the chorus is there anything to excite suspicion. But ll. 65-67 as a whole, and in particular l. 67, can scarcely be of classical origin. I regard them as a post-classical epode appended to the Sophoclean strophe and antistrophe. At one stage the chorus ended with l. 67. But in that line, if we follow the indications surviving in the papyrus, it seems impossible to avoid reading βατας μέτα, *with our nanny*; and the nanny or nurse in question can

scarcely have been anything other than the goat Amalthea. This reference to Amalthea has, I take it, led to the further extension of the chorus by a passage (ll. 68-70), originally appended as a reference, from some other play (possibly from the *Captivæ* of Sophocles) in which Amalthea and also, as it happens, Pan are mentioned by name.

I discuss the whole matter at length in the English notes, and will here content myself with stating shortly the reading of the papyrus, distinguishing between the first and the second hands, and the reading which I myself propose.

The papyrus now presents :

ξυνάμαθεοσοφιλοσανετω  
πονουςπροφήνασαρίζηλα  
χρυσουπαραδειγματα.

70

The accents over line 69 are added by the second hand ; but otherwise the differences between the two hands are confined to l. 68. In that line the first hand presents

συναμαθει (or σ).

No doubt the first hand continued with further writing ; but all such writing has now disappeared in favour of writing by the second hand. The second hand writes ξ above the first hand's initial σ, changes the first hand's last extant letter (ι or σ) to ο, and adds, doubtless in substitution for writing by the first hand, σοφιλοσανετω. He also puts an aspirate over the fourth letter, α. He thus presents :

ξυνάμαθεοσοφιλοσανετω.

I suggest that, before adaptation, the lines ran :

καὶ σὺν Ἀμαλθίᾳ φίλος Πάν ἔτω  
τόμουρ' ὀρφανᾶς  
ἀρίζηλα Χρυσοῦς παρὰ δείγματα.

All emendation however in this last passage is highly precarious ; and I only deal with the passage itself here, not as part of any argument, but for the sake of completeness.

I can readily imagine that, as in l. 320 the corruption of τόμουρ' helped the more general corruption, and as



in l. 352 the corruption of the unfamiliar *αἰνόμος* made the context unintelligible, so both in l. 358 and in l. 220 the crasis of *καί* with a subsequent *αι* was responsible for the ensuing misunderstandings; but it is much more difficult for me to comprehend why the errors were not subsequently corrected, so far as they were antecedent to the date of the second hand, or why, so far as the second hand may have himself originated them, he did not pull himself up in time by reference to editions of repute to which he clearly had some kind of access. I am much inclined to suppose that any such mention of Pan, direct or indirect, as we have in the *Ichneutae*, struck him, and possibly others besides himself, as improper. If that be so, I can only infer either that in the Egypt of his day Pan had become as it were an esoteric deity not to be spoken of save in the secrecy of a tiled lodge assembled for the celebration of his mysteries, or else that the kind of characteristics attributed to Pan in the *Ichneutae* differed so widely from those of his local legend that he considered the attribution blasphemous.

The latter alternative is surely the explanation. Oxyrrhynchus was only about 130 miles distant from Panopolis, the city further up the Nile that was the seat of the worship of the Egyptian Pan, a deity very different from Pan of Arcady. I think we need enquire no further.

It remains to consider briefly the dramatic propriety of the manner in which, if I am right, Pan figures in this play. The Satyrs, knowing him only as their master, a god of goats indeed (see l. 95), but habitually occupied in the train of Dionysus, and chiefly, it may be supposed, in the Asiatic haunts of that god, call to him from Arcadia (l. 96), as their *only strength*, to know whether they are doing their duty, without any suspicion that he is also the local god of the country. When the sound of the lyre is heard, they expressly (l. 116) appeal to him to preserve them *from afar*, although, without knowing it, they are at the threshold of his Arcadian shrine. When Cyllene appears (l. 213), she at once recognises them and speaks to them of their master and of the former character of their service. The recognition is evidently mutual, as (l. 250), without being in any way schooled, they address Cyllene by her name. It is doubtless in

her capacity as an attendant on Pan that they recognise Cyllene, and this recognition apparently opens their eyes to the fact that they have come to an oracle of their own master (ll. 319-321), though his under a title, ἔρχωρος, other than that under which they themselves served him. Cyllene they are disposed at first to treat with considerable deference (ll. 235-242, and ll. 250-253): but dissatisfied with her answers, they first throw aside (ll. 360-366) all show of subordination or even of courtesy, and ultimately (l. 392), evidently thinking far more of their commission from Apollo than of their duty to a minister of their own master, threaten her with personal violence. At this point the mutilated condition of the text prevents us from obtaining definite certainty as to the plot: but it looks extremely as if afterwards (ll. 436-438) Silenus announces to Apollo that the Satyrs have been stricken with madness, and I infer that Apollo tells Silenus that this madness is a punishment inflicted by the Arcadian Pan for violation of his holy place and (at the beginning of column 18) declares the remedy, which (in columns now wholly lost) he obtains and applies.

I think that the above development of events is a dramatic development and not destitute of an element of irony closely resembling the irony of tragedy. But it seems to me to postulate at or towards the end of the play some explanation, doubtless in the mouth of Apollo, of the twofold capacity of the single deity, Pan. Without such an explanation, the play would seem merely to lay the ground-work of an uncompleted, and, if uncompleted, confused and confusing, presentation of Pan in his two functions. I need not dwell on the obvious fact that, as repeatedly in later literature, so equally in the Greek of Sophocles, the name, *Pan*, must have lent itself to the interpretation of being that of a *universal* deity.\* That interpretation I should expect to occur in the lost portion of this play.

Thus in this chapter we see, or surmise, a further thread of unity, although only, it may be, as the way-farer who

Aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.

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\* The etymology connecting *Pan* with *πᾶς* is found even in the Homeric *Hymn to Pan* (xix. 47).

## CHAPTER IV

## THE STYLE OF THE PLAY

Inornata et dominantia nomina solum  
Verbaque. HORACE.

THE extant tragedies of Sophocles, considered apart, on the one hand, from the plots with which they deal and, on the other hand, from the literary dialect in which they are written, exhibit as their chief and constant characteristic a peculiar and delicate artistry of expression. So unlike indeed to anything in Aeschylus or in Euripides is this subtle craftsmanship of Sophocles that it has almost universally, I suppose, been taken for an instinct natural to him as a man, not as a manner assumed by him as a tragedian.

Thus it is with a certain shock of surprise that on approaching the Satyric Drama of Sophocles, as represented by the *Ichneutae*, we find this graceful workmanship altogether wanting. Instead of nicely, albeit not over-nicely, balanced beauties, and a wealth, though not too lavish, of curious yet sober felicities, we here have before us for the most part verses without pretence to polish and sentences barren of adornment. It is only seldom that another chord is struck. When Cyllene (ll. 213-234) makes her first appearance among the Satyrs, she does indeed emphasise her dignity by the employment of somewhat ornate phrases (e.g. *χλοερὸν ὑλώδη πάγον ἀνθηρόν*); but she nowhere so much as suggests even an echo of the tragic style of Sophocles.

It would seem rather that, when composing in this genre, the poet sometimes deliberately affected the exact opposite of his own tragic characteristics. More than once the language is very distinctively that of tragedy, but, as it were, of tragedy on the rant. In the opening speech of Apollo (l. 13) the words *παντελὲς κήρυγμ' ἔχων* are indeed intelligible, though I doubt whether in any



actual tragedy, even in Aeschylus, the meaning would have been conveyed in so obscure and high-falutin' a way: but portions of the speech of the second semichorus of Satyrs (ll. 109-116), where they discuss the abnormality of the foot-prints of the cattle, though tragic in diction to a high degree, convey to my mind no clearer picture of facts than do the simpler lines (ll. 77-78) of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, lines rejected by Baumeister as interpolated, on which they are manifestly based. The summing up of the position by the semichorus in the words (l. 115)

δεινὸς κυκησμός εἶχε τὸν βοηλάτην,

on the other hand, bears its meaning on its face; but that meaning is so naïve, implying, as it does, that the complication was not a trick on the part of the herdsman, that I can only conclude that in the passage Sophocles is, although with a restraint quite alien to comedy, making a playful use of sonorous tragic diction to express a sense that is little better than nonsense.

It may be said generally that the style employed by Sophocles in the *Ichneutae* is as dissimilar from that of the Sophoclean tragedies as the style employed by Euripides in the *Cyclops* is similar to that of the Euripidean tragedies. This remarkable divergence between the two poets as regards Satyric composition leads us to enquire whether Sophocles is not following an older tradition which Euripides abandoned. The extant fragments of Satyric drama, apart from the *Ichneutae* and the *Cyclops*, as written at Athens, are too exiguous to be of use in this enquiry. One recently discovered fragment (*Papyrus Oxyrrhynchia* 1083), indeed, is of some slight length; but whether its provenance is Athenian or Alexandrian is unknown. Of the Satyric plays of Pratinas himself, apart from a fragment of fifteen lines which I attribute to him (see Chapter VIII., D), not a single word is known to survive. Consequently we are driven to look for indirect evidence. Fortunately such evidence is to some extent obtainable.

The epitaph of Dioscorides on the Alexandrian dramatist Sositheus (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 707), which I quote at length in Chapter VIII. A, informs us that Sositheus revived

the ancient Satyric drama of Phlius. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that, due allowance being made, a page from a Satyric play by Sositheus would bear, at least superficially, a considerable resemblance to a page from a Satyric play by Pratinas. Now there are preserved two fragments, the former of twenty-one lines, the latter of three lines, of the Satyric drama *Daphnis* or *Lityerses*, of Sositheus. I print them as they are given in Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* :

## 1.

τούτω Κελαιναὶ πατρίς, ἀρχαία πόλις  
Μίδου γέροντος, ὅστις ὦτ' ἔχων ὄνου  
ἦνασσε καὶ νοῦν φωτὸς εὐήθους ἄγαν.  
οὗτος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς πατρὶ πλαστὸς νόθος,  
μητρὸς δ' ὁποίας ἢ τεκοῦσ' ἐπίσταται,  
ἔσθει μὲν ἄρτων τρεῖς ὄνους κανθηλίους  
τρὶς τῆς βραχείας ἡμέρας, πίνει δ' ἅμα  
καλῶν μετρητὴν τὸν δεκάμφορον πίθον.  
ἐργάζεται δ' ἐλαφρὰ πρὸς τὰ σιτία.  
ὄγμον θερίζει, τῇ μιᾷ δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ  
δαίνυσί τ' ἔμπης συντίθουσιν εἰς τέλος.  
χῶταν τις ἔλθῃ ξεῖνος ἢ παρεξίῃ,  
φαγεῖν τ' ἔδωκεν εὖ κάπεχόρτασεν  
καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ προύτεινεν ὥς ἂν ἐν θέρει  
πλέον· φθορεῖν γὰρ τοῖς θανουμένοις ὀκνεῖ.  
ἐπιστατῶν οἴδῃα Μαϊάνδρου ῥοαῖς  
καρπευμάτων ἀρδευτὰ δαψιλεῖ πότῳ  
τὸν ἀνδρομήκη πυρὸν ἡκονημένην  
ἄρπη θερίζει· τὸν ξένον δὲ δράγματι  
αὐτῷ κυλίσας κρατὸς ὀρφανὸν φέρει  
γελῶν θεριστὴν ὥς ἄνουν ἡρίστισεν.

## 2.

θανῶν μὲν οὖν Μαϊάνδρον ἐρρίφη ποδὸς  
σόλος τις ὥσπερ· ἦν δ' ὁ δισκεύσας ἀνήρ  
πυθιο· τίς γὰρ ἀνθ' Ἡρακλέους;

The language of Sositheus, as here presented, is substantially that of tragedy, though with a notable infusion of non-tragic words. The style also is superficially

that of tragedy : but it lacks alike the elaboration of Sophocles and the fluency of Euripides. It becomes indeed in places a little reminiscent of Aeschylus, but most imperfectly so, aiming perhaps at the grandiose, but certainly not at the sublime. It cannot be fairly called pedestrian ; but nevertheless, considered as a style, it is quite rudimentary.

Sositheus is one of the tragedians who rank undoubtedly in the Alexandrian Pleiad, and it therefore cannot be supposed that in writing as he wrote he was expressing himself in a way natural either to himself or to his literary environment. It is clear that he must have been imitating Pratinas, and it becomes clearer still when we reflect that the style in question is exactly such as we should expect Pratinas, in view of his date and circumstances, to have employed. Within reasonable limits therefore we may take the Satyric style of Sositheus as a fairly faithful mirror of the Satyric style of Pratinas. All this is borne out, if we look at the fifteen lines which I attribute to Pratinas (see Chapter VIII. D), except that those lines are far more powerful than the remains of Sositheus.

If this be so, we see at once whence Sophocles derived the style which he used in the *Ichneutae*. The basis of it is Pratinas pure and simple. All that Sophocles did was to render it a little more Attic (as far as I can see, Pratinas wrote his Satyric dramas in the more or less *pro forma* Doric that is perpetuated in the chorus of tragedy) and a good deal less heavy. He did not in any degree attempt to mould it into a delicate artistic medium. Probably he thought that, had he done so, the drama would no longer have been Satyric.

The Satyric style of Sophocles is not altogether a thing of no importance. Choerilus indeed at one time and afterwards Aeschylus were the recognised laureates of Athenian Satyric poetry : but Sophocles also made his mark in this genre. In fact he seems to have secured in some measure, as against both Choerilus and Aeschylus, the only verdict that is of real importance, the verdict of posterity. I have already in this chapter (see also Chapter VIII. A) spoken of one epitaph by Dioscorides, that on Sositheus. Another epitaph by Dioscorides



(*Anth. Pal.* vii. 37) is on Sophocles. Though it eulogises him as a tragedian, yet it expresses itself by means of a conceit which forbids us to forget that he was wont also to bring upon the stage the Chorus of Satyrs, and indeed presents him to us as primarily a writer of Satyric drama. With it I will close this chapter. Here it is :

Σάτυρος. τύμβος ὃδ' ἐστ', ὦνθρωπε, Σοφοκλέος, ὃν παρὰ  
Μουσέων

ἱρὴν παρθεσίην, ἱερὸς ὦν, ἔλαχον·  
ὃς με τὸν ἐκ Φλιοῦντος, ἔτι τρίβολον πατέοντα,  
πρίνινον, ἐς χρύσειον σχῆμα μεθηρμόσατο,  
καὶ λεπτήν ἐνέδυσεν ἀλουργίδα· τοῦ δὲ θανόντος  
εὐθετον ὀρχηστήν τῇδ' ἀνέπαυσα πόδα.

Ὅδότης. ὄλβιος, ὥς ἀγνὴν ἔλαχες στάσιν. ἡ δ' ἐνὶ χερσὶν  
κούριμος, ἐκ ποίης ἦδε διδασκαλίας ;

Σάτυρος. εἴτε σοι Ἀντιγόνην εἰπεῖν φίλον, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις,  
εἴτε καὶ Ἡλέκτραν· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ ἄκρον.

## CHAPTER V

## THE VOCABULARY OF THE PLAY

Particulam undique  
Desectam. HORACE.

## I

THE first hundred lines of the *Oedipus Coloneus* present, if we take the ordinarily received readings, four words which do not occur except in that play (θάκησιν, πυκνόπτεροι, ἐξοικήσιμος, and δεινῶπες), all of them however formations of the normal tragic type, and eight words which in tragedy occur in that play only, but are used by non-tragic writers. The words of these two classes taken together are twelve in number, so that we have an average of one to every  $8\frac{1}{3}$  lines.

In the *Ichneutae* we have, making allowance for lines of which parts only are extant, the rough equivalent of something less than 335 lines. For purposes of computation I will assume the existence of 335 lines. Within this limited space, and in fact I may be overstating its area, we find about 140 words which either do not occur outside this play, or, if they occur outside it, are found only in non-tragic writers. This means an average of one such word to about every  $2\frac{11}{8}$  lines. I use the word 'about' chiefly because a good many of the instances involve restoration of various degrees of dubiety, and also because I am deliberately keeping well within the mark: if, as is safe, we take about 90 of the grand total as completely certain, then we have one word of the class in question to about every  $3\frac{13}{8}$  lines. I again use the word 'about,' because differences of opinion may exist as regards the comparative exactitude of the figure 90; but, in any case, that figure is so nearly correct that any error is statistically negligible.

The approximate ratio of  $1:2\frac{11}{8}$ , or even that of  $1:3\frac{13}{8}$ , is so enormously different from the ratio of  $1:8\frac{1}{3}$

presented by the first 100 lines of the *Oedipus Coloneus*, that we see at a glance that in the *Ichneutae* we have not merely a Satyric drama, but a Satyric drama which departs substantially in language from the tragic norm.

Of the 140 or 150 words in question about 43 are found in this play only, and about 97 in this play and elsewhere, but never in tragedy. Here again I say 'about,' because strict numeration is impossible owing to various degrees of uncertainty attaching to a few of the instances. Moreover, if I were to attempt to tabulate precisely, I should be forced to introduce useless complications due to such facts, for example, as that of one of the two hands of this papyrus presenting a word of one class and the other hand presenting a word of another class.

## II

I will therefore, without endeavouring to render my arithmetic more precise, proceed directly to a consideration of the words themselves, and I will take first those that do not occur elsewhere (to which however, for the purposes of convenience, I will add a very small number of others).

These fall into two main classes, the words which, so far as we can see, could have been used in tragedy, and those which, so far as we can see, could not.

### A, 1.

Those of the former type fall under two headings, the first of which comprises the following miscellaneous instances: *a.* αἰόλισμα (l. 317), *b.* ἀμολγάδας (l. 5), *c.* ἀνανοστήσαντες (l. 158), *d.* ἄποιον (an almost certain restoration in l. 95), *e.* ἀρτίγομφοι (a certain emendation in l. 307), *f.* βράβευμα (l. 448), *g.* γηκρυφῇ (a doubtful restoration in l. 259), *h.* διακαλούμενος (l. 165), *i.* διατόρως (l. 307), *k.* ἐξάνομεν (a doubtful restoration in l. 96), *l.* ἐξεμηχανήσατο (a doubtful restoration in l. 278), *m.* ἐξηγίσμεθα (an almost certain restoration in l. 135 of the reading of the first hand, the second hand giving another reading from Theon), *n.* θρέπτα (a certain restoration in l. 320 of the reading of the first hand, the second hand giving a different and depraved reading), *o.* νεβρίνη (l. 217), *p.* νυμφογενήτου (l. 34), *q.* παλινστραφῇ (l. 110),



*ρ. παραψυκτήριον* (l. 315), *ς. προηλάτει* (a doubtful restoration in l. 93), *τ. ῥινοκόλλατον* (l. 364), *ν. ῥοίβδημα* (l. 105), and *χ. χρυσόφραντον* (l. 154).

I do not think that any of these 21 words, except (*d*) ἄποιον, demand discussion. ἄποιον, which seems to be an almost certain restoration, presents an adjective ἄποιος, from ποία, *grass*, which does not occur elsewhere, although the other adjective ἄποιος, *unqualified*, is common in late prose. The feature to be observed about ἄποιος, *without grass*, is that it is a compound of ποία, not of πόα. Now ποία is indeed presented in tragedy, but only in lyrics (Sophocles, *Aj.* l. 601) in an extremely corrupt passage, where the reading ποία is commonly rejected. But in the lyrics of tragedy, though in the lyrics only, with one ms. exception, as to which see below, we find derivatives, viz. ποιάεις (Sophocles, *O.C.* l. 157), and ποιόνομος (Aeschylus, *Ag.* l. 1169, and *Suppl.* l. 50). Comedy is strangely similar in its usage, never employing ποία in iambic trimeters, but using it once (Aristophanes, *Eq.* l. 606) in a trochaic tetrameter, and once in regular anapaests (Epicrates, *Fr. Incert.* 1, l. 26), while no compounds or derivatives occur in the comic writers. Satyric drama on the other hand makes use of ποία in an iambic trimeter (Euripides, *Cycl.* l. 333), where the form is guaranteed by the metre. We thus see that the restoration in the *Ichneutae* is in the Satyric style. The derivative ποιηρός is found twice in a Satyric chorus (Euripides, *Cycl.* ll. 45 and 61). Outside tragedy, Satyric drama, and comedy, the Epic and Ionic form ποίη comes in Homer (*e.g. Il.* xiv. 347), in Hesiod (*Th.* l. 194), in Herodotus (*e.g.* iv. 58), in Callimachus (*Fr.* 182), in Babrius (95, l. 11, 128, l. 12, and 142, l. 2), who also employs πόη (46, l. 6), in Nonnus (xlvi. l. 260), and in the *Palatine Anthology* (*e.g.* vi. 252, l. 1), while ποιήεις is frequent in Homer (*e.g. Il.* ix. 150), and ποιανθής comes in the Orphic *Argonautica* (l. 1048). In Doric ποία occurs three times in Pindar (*Pyth.* iv. l. 240, viii. l. 20 and ix. l. 37), in the second of which cases however Schmidt proposes πόα for ποία, wrongly (the first syllable of ποία is the third syllable of the last line of an epode, which is one of five epodes identical in metre, of the other four of

which two have the corresponding syllable long and two have it short): ποιάεις comes in Pindar (*Nem.* v. l. 54), and ποιολογέω in Theocritus (*Id.* III. l. 32). In prose, apart from the Ionic ποίη, the use of ποία and its derivatives appears to be confined to Aristotle, who employs ποία itself (*H.A.* III. 21, 4), ποιηφάγος (*Fr.* 268), and ποιολόγος (*Fr.* 274), though he also presents ποιηφάγος more than once (e.g. *H.A.* VIII. 6, 3), and once ποοφάγος (*Part. Anim.* IV. 12, 10), and to the late philosopher Oenomaus, who uses ποιηβόρος (quoted by Eustathius, *P.E.* 215 B). πόη first makes its appearance in the mss. of Hippocrates (358, 20), in the compound ποιηφάγος: but, in view of Herodotean usage, it seems scarcely credible that the short form is rightly read, although, as I have noted above, the late Ionic of Babrius once (46, l. 6) employs πόη as against ποίη thrice. But that πόα is required by the canons of strict Attic is indicated by the usage of prose (e.g. Plato, *Phaedr.* 229 B), and proved by that of comedy. The evidence of comedy is indeed confined to the derivative ποάστρια, but it is nevertheless decisive. Ποάστρια or Ποάστριαι is the title of a comedy by Magnes (the uncertainty as to the exact title is due to a variance of readings in a *scholium* on Plato), Ποάστριαι is the title of a comedy by Phrynichus, and the word itself, in the dative plural ποαστρίαις, occurs in Archippus (*Fr. Incert.* 2, l. 2). For our purposes it is more important to observe that πόα is also the form proper to the iambic trimeters of tragedy. πόα is used twice in the extant fragments of Aeschylus' *Glaucus Pontios* to denote the herb which rendered Glaucus immortal. In one of the two places (*Glaucus Pontios*, *Fr.* 28) it comes, in the accusative singular, in the fifth foot, so that there is no metrical corroboration: in the other of the two places (*Glaucus Pontios*, *Fr.* 29) it comes, in the genitive singular, in the sixth foot, so that the metrical evidence is conclusive in its favour. Bearing this fact in mind, I will now proceed to the solitary example of ποία or its derivatives that presents itself in an iambic trimeter outside Satyric drama. The line in question is in Euripides (*Bacch.* l. 1048) and runs:

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ποιηρὸν ἕζομεν νάπος.

I regard it as almost certain that, for ποιηρὸν, we ought to read ποηρὸν. No doubt there is something to be said for the frequently expressed opinion that the *Bacchae* and some other plays of Euripides resemble Satyric drama: but, now that we possess a quantity of further information, in addition to the evidence of the *Cyclops*, as to the actual nature of Satyric drama, we must admit that the resemblance is shadowy in the extreme, and in no sense of such a character as to warrant the introduction into the *Bacchae* of distinctively Satyric language.

## A, 2.

Under the second heading come three compounds of the verb ψαλάσσω, namely, *a.* ὀρθοψάλακτον (l. 247), *b.* προψαλάξης (l. 239), and *c.* ὑποψάλακτος (an almost certain amplification in l. 319 of the defective, but unmutilated, papyrus reading οψαλακτοσ). It is interesting and instructive to observe the places in which ψαλάσσω and its compounds occur. ψαλάσσω itself is used by Lycophron (l. 139) and by Aelian (*N.A.* 3, 18): ψάλαγμα occurs in Tzetzes (see Cramer's *An. Ox.* 3, 42): ἀψάλακτος is found in the *Scythae* of Sophocles (*Fr.* 550), which fact makes all the compounds of ψαλάσσω in the *Ichneutae* possible as tragic forms, in Crates (*Fr.* 11), and in Aristophanes (*Lys.* l. 275): ἀναψαλάσσω comes in Lycophron (l. 343): μεταψαλάσσω is given in Hesychius: ὑποψαλάσσω finds a place in Aristophanes (*Lys.* l. 275).

## B, 1.

The words of the latter type, *i.e.* those which apparently might not be used in tragedy, may conveniently be classified under five headings, those under the first two being apparently Satyric *par excellence*.

First come the compounds of ἀΐξ. These demand consideration of a peculiar kind, owing to the combined fact that, of the three instances which occur, two present themselves in passages relating to Pan, and that, wherever there is a reference to Pan, the second hand, presumably under Panopolitan influence, tampers with the text. I have discussed the passages in a separate chapter (Chapter III.). It will be observed that, before a con-



sonant, Satyric drama appears to be at liberty to use the short form αἰ-, seen in αἰπόλος, instead of αἰγι- or αἰγο-. The words in question are, *a.* αἰγελατικά (which seems in l. 358 to be the only possible completion of the first hand's reading, of which the second hand has washed out everything after the λ), *b.* αἰγίκνημε (which in l. 116 seems to be the reading of the first hand, which the second hand has altered), *c.* αἰνόμος (which seems to be in l. 352 a certain emendation of the first hand's αἰδομος, unless indeed one entertain the supposition that αἰδομος, *having a goat-house*, is conceivable), and, *d.* αἰπόδων (l. 220). Add *e.* βοοῖκλεψ (*Fr.* 318): *vid. ad locum.*

## B, 2.

The second group consists of words distinctive of dialects, or varieties of dialects, on which Athenian literature was not in the habit of drawing. There seem to be three such words in this play: all three indeed have authority elsewhere, but this is plainly the right place to mention them. The words are, *a.* ἄνις (which in l. 15 appears to be presented as the result of a correction made by the second hand, though the correction, if the papyrus has really been read aright, is only partial and, if sound, involves a further alteration which the second hand, at least as reported by Hunt, has omitted to effect), *b.* πέδορτον (l. 210), and, *c.* τόμουρα (in l. 320 a certain emendation, in the form τόμουρ', of the first hand's τονουφ, and in l. 358 a very nearly certain emendation of the first hand's ταμωρα).

*a.* ἄνις occurs once in the mouth of the Megarian in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (l. 834), and is, no doubt rightly, substituted by recent editors for the ἄνευ of the manuscripts in the mouth of the same speaker earlier in the play (l. 798). The fact that the word ἄνις was in use at Megara indicates in all probability that it was also in use in the Doric spoken at Phlius, the native town of Pratinas, the originator of the Satyric drama. That it found a place in the language of Satyric drama is rendered likely by the consideration that it is employed by Lycophron (l. 350), by Nicander (*Alex.* l. 419), and by the author of an elegantly composed epigram preserved on a Cyrenaean marble (*C.I.* 5172, 7). These writers

would scarcely have adopted a violent Doricism, seeing that not one of them was writing Doric, unless that Doricism had become naturalised in some language of literary convention.

*b.* πέδορτον presents a difficulty *in limine*. Is it a dialectic equivalent of μεθέορτον, or is it to be taken as a compound, not found elsewhere, of πέδον and ὄρνυμι, similar to θέορτος? The context must be consulted for the meaning. The Satyrs have (ll. 205–208) been making an amicable proclamation outside the house of Cyllene, inviting information from the householder. Cyllene neither answers nor shows herself. Thereupon Silenus remarks as follows, using the masculine gender because he imagines the householder to be a man :

ὅτ' οὐ φανῇ λιτοῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τάχα  
φέρων κτύπον πέδορτον ἐξαναγκάσω  
πηδήμασιν κραιπνοῖσι καὶ λακτίσμασιν  
ὥστ' εἰσακοῦσαι, κεῖ λίαν κωφός τις εἷ.

Hunt (reading ὁ δ' οὐ φανεῖται τοῖσιν) translates unquestioningly : 'He will not appear to them ; but I by making a noise upon the ground with many leaps and kicks will quickly compel him to hear though he be very deaf.' Hunt also says : 'πέδορτος, like κυνορτικός in VII. 9, is a ἄπαξ εἰρημένον.' No doubt the occurrence of κυνορτικόν (l. 165) is sufficient to show that in this play the appearance of πέδορτος, *earth-sprung*, need cause no surprise, but it is not a positive argument in favour of πέδορτος being taken as of that meaning. For my own part, I cannot understand in what way by leaping on the ground and by kicking the ground Silenus would have been able to produce a sound as loud as that of the sung ode of the Satyrs, let alone a sound so much louder that the inmate of the house 'would hear it, even if very deaf.' If, on the other hand, it was the front-door of the house against which he leapt and at which he kicked, then the uproar that he must have produced corresponds to what is required ; but in that case the noise would not be 'earth-sprung' (see also under *Aulodic Genres* in Chapter VII.). Consequently I am strongly inclined to reject the view which treats πέδορτον as a compound of πέδον and ὄρνυμι. My alternative

explanation, which equates πέδορτον with the Attic μεθέορτον, appears to me to suit the sense of the passage. I suggest that Silenus compares the courteous but ineffectual address of the Satyrs to the music of a festival and his own rough methods to the tumult of everyday business which ensues when the festival is over. Pindar (*Pyth.* iv. 249) employs the same metaphor, when he writes τραχεῖαν ἐρπόντων πρὸς ἐπιβδαν ὄμως. Themistocles, quoted by Plutarch (*Mor.* p. 320 E), similarly says ἡ ὑστέρα ἐρίζει πρὸς τὴν ἐορτήν. The word πεδόρτα is given in Dindorf's Stephanus, but not in Liddell and Scott. The existence of the word, though its accent should be altered, seems to be beyond doubt. Hesychius presents : πέδοτα· ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ οὐ γίνεται ἐορτή. Salmasius emends πέδοτα to πεδόρτα, taking πεδόρτα as the feminine singular of πέδορτος, and therefore writing it paroxytone. The fact however, unknown till long after the time of Salmasius, that in Attic the neuter plural τὰ μεθέορτα is used (*A.B.* 279) in the sense of *the morrow of a feast* shows that Hesychius' accent is right, and that in place of πεδόρτα, feminine singular (which ought more properly to be πέδορτος), we should read πέδορτα, neuter plural. Apart from the use of τὰ μεθέορτα, mentioned above, the Attic adjective μεθέορτος is employed by Antiphon (quoted by Harpocration) and by Plutarch (*Mor.* p. 1095 A), as also in ecclesiastical Greek, e.g. οὔτε μὴν κατὰ τὰς μεθεόρτους ἐννέα ἡμέρας τῆς κοιμήσεως τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου (*Typicum ms. Monasterii Gratia Plenae*). μετακοκῶ is another word in Hesychius apparently of the same meaning.

The question arises whether in Satyric drama πέδορτος, as the equivalent of μεθέορτος, is a possible form. Fortunately we are not altogether without evidence on this point. ὁρτή, which form of ἐορτή is elsewhere known to us in Ionic prose only, appears to have been used by the tragic poet Ion in his Satyric drama called *Omphale*. Athenaeus (vi. p. 258 F) states that Ion wrote in the *Omphale* ἐνιαυσίαν γὰρ δεῖ μὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν λέγειν (Ion, *Fr.* 21). Bentley may or may not be right in emending λέγειν to ἄγειν, but Dindorf is shown by the metre to be certainly right in changing ἐορτὴν to ὁρτήν. One might perhaps gather with considerable probability from



the fragments of the *Omphale* that the play is Satyric, but Strabo put the matter beyond doubt by writing (I. p. 60): "Ἴων δὲ περὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας φησὶν ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ σατύροις. Now Ion can no more have pitchforked ὀρτή by caprice into a Satyric drama than he could have pitchforked it into a tragedy. It follows that ὀρτή was a regular form in the style in which Satyric dramas were written. But to ὀρτή is attached the adjective πέδορτος, just as to ἑορτή is attached the adjective μεθέορτος. Therefore, as I argue, πέδορτος is lawful in the Satyric drama. The use of πεδά in compounds by Aeschylus, and even by Euripides, may be compared as an allied phenomenon; but it seems to me to have no direct bearing on the question.

c. τόμouρος is a word associated with Dodona. Outside this play it is always employed substantivally. The masculine τόμouρος invariably means a *prophet*, except that once in the epitome of Strabo (VII. p. 328, in a passage appearing in *Codex Vaticanus* only, with a marginal variant ἢ τάμαρος) it appears as the name of the Dodonean mountain Tmarus or Tamarus. Whether any connexion really exists between this mountain and the word τόμouρος may be doubted, though both the text and the epitome of Strabo, immediately before the point just mentioned, explain τόμouροι as τομαροφύλακες or τοῦ τομάρου φύλακες and evidently, though the existing readings are corrupt, derive the word from τομάρουροι. The feminine τόμouραι occurs in Eustathius (*Od.* p. 1760, 48, and 1806, 41), who at the latter reference takes τόμouραι as meaning *prophecies*, distinguishing it from τόμouροι, *prophets*: but he adds that in an Homeric passage, which I will mention in a moment, the reading varied between τόμouροι and τόμouραι.

The literary appearances of the word are interesting. In *Odyssey* XVI. 403, where θέμιστες is presented in the ordinary text, Strabo and Eustathius, in the passages just mentioned, inform us that there was another reading τόμouροι, of which, as we have seen, a variant τόμouραι also existed. The Homeric context leaves it uncertain whether those who read τόμouροι meant by that word the *prophets of Dodona* (whether Thessalian or Thesprotian or both) specifically, or *prophets generally*.

Amphinomus is speaking, and his words, reading τόμουροι, run (ll. 400–405) :

ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε κατακτείνειν ἐθέλοιμι 400  
 Τηλέμαχον· δεινὸν δὲ γένος βασιλῆϊόν ἐστι  
 κτείνειν· ἀλλὰ πρῶτα θεῶν εἰρώμεθα βουλᾶς.  
 εἰ μὲν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μέγαλοιο τόμουροι,  
 αὐτός τε κτενέω τοὺς τ' ἄλλους πάντας ἀνώξω·  
 εἰ δέ κ' ἀποτρωνῶσι θεοί, παύσασθαι ἄνωγα. 405

It appears probable however, apart from the evidence furnished by the *Ichneutae*, that the word was understood as not signifying exclusively the ministers of Dodona. Lycophron (l. 223), addressing Prylis, the Lesbian prophet who foretold to the Greeks the capture of Troy by means of the wooden horse, and to whom the adage *Lesbius Prylis* refers, says :

τόμουρε πρὸς τὰ λῶστα νημερτέστατε.

In this same passage (l. 220) Lycophron mentions Lesbos by the name of Issa. There is another island called Issa off the Dalmatian coast. Another name for Lesbos is Pelasgia, and the tradition is that the island was originally Pelasgian. Remembering Homer's Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίῃ Πελασγικέ (ll. xvi. 233), we may perhaps infer that by addressing Prylis as τόμουρε Lycophron meant to convey that he was prophet of a Pelasgian oracle in Lesbos. Such a use of the word would well accord with the application of τόμουρα in the *Ichneutae* to the primitive oracle of the Arcadian Pan on mount Cyllene.

In Demosthenes' speech *In Midiam* are incorporated two oracles from Dodona. Both of them, like the laws inserted in the speeches of the orators, are no doubt the inventions of editors, but still of very ancient editors, and are therefore of documentary importance. In the former of these two oracles (531 E), the Athenians are ordered *inter alia* ἀπάγειν τῷ Διὶ τῶν ἀροτρεῖς (v. ll. ἀροτρίς, ἀρωτρίς, ἀρωτρεῖς) βοῦς. Paris r however, instead of τῶν ἀροτρεῖς, presents τῷ νᾶρω τρεῖς, and the Antwerp codex exhibits a marginal note τομαρω. Buttmann in his text reads τῷ Διὶ τῷ ἐν Τομάρῳ τρεῖς βοῦς, for which however he afterwards suggested τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νατῷ τρεῖς βοῦς : see *Excursus* III. to his third edition

of the *In Midiam* (published in 1841). Buttmann's earlier treatment was on the right lines, but he wrongly inserted ἐν without warrant of any indication in the mss. For his τῷ ἐν Τομάρῳ we ought as a first stage to substitute τῷ τομάρῳ, and then we ought to emend τομάρῳ to τομούρῳ, reading the passage as ἀπάγειν τῷ Διὶ τῷ τομούρῳ τρεῖς βοῦς. We have already seen, in the epitome of Strabo, a confusion in writing between Τόμαρος and τόμouρος; we see the same confusion here, and we shall see it again in a moment when we come to the Orphic writings.

A feminine adjective, Τομαριάς, is twice presented in the text of the Orphic *Argonautica* in the expressions (l. 264) Τομαριάς ἔκλυε φηγός and (l. 1154) Τομαριάς ἔκλαγε φηγός. It is certain however that the first syllable of Τμάρος is short: see Callimachus (*Demet.* l. 52) ὥρεσιν ἐν Τμαρίοισιν, Virgil (*Ecl.* viii. l. 44) 'Aut Tmaros aut Rhodope,' and Claudian (*Bell. Get.* l. 18) 'Tmarii Jovis augure luco.' We may therefore infer with security that the middle syllable of Τόμαρος is short also. Accordingly, Eschenbach, followed by Meineke, emends in both cases to τομουριάς. Dindorf however, in his Stephanus, doubts whether an error of quantity ought not rather to be attributed to the writer of the *Argonautica*. I agree myself with Eschenbach, and am unable to ascribe an error of the kind to the Orphic author. Moreover I query whether he would have employed the form Τόμαρος or any derivative. The regular Greek name for the mountain is not Τόμαρος but Τπάρος: indeed I doubt whether Τόμαρος or *Tomarus* is to be found in any author, Greek or Latin, before the elder Pliny, who (iv. 1) speaks of *Tomarus*, or in any Greek author or lexicographer, except in connexion with some discussion of the etymology of τόμouρος, although it is true that the modern name of certain villages in the vicinity is (according to Leake) Τομαροχώρια. Such is the ascertainable literary history of the strange word τόμouρος.

### B, 3.

The third group consists of verbs which depart from the standard paradigm. The examples are five in



number, *a*, ἐκκυνηγέσαι (l. 73), *b*, ἐλεῖς (l. 197), *c*, κυνηγέσω (l. 43), *d*, ὑπέκλαγες (l. 169), and, *e*, ὑπέκριγες (l. 169).

*a* (and *c*). Not only is the compound ἐκκυνηγῶ unknown elsewhere, but the simple verb κυνηγῶ presents itself first in Aristotle (*H. A.* ix. 32, 10), if we except the spurious *Epistle* of Plato (349 B), but after that date, as is observed by Lobeck on Phrynichus, it became common, its use extending to verse as well as prose. Earlier Greek including tragedy, comedy, and Attic prose, employs κυνηγετῶ instead. Hence the use of any tense of κυνηγῶ or ἐκκυνηγῶ in this play is unexpected: it is still more unexpected to find that, at least at first sight, as from κυνηγῶ is formed the substantive κυνηγέτης, not κυνηγήτης, so from the simple verb is formed the aorist subjunctive κυνηγέσω, not κυνηγήσω, and from the compound ἐκκυνηγῶ is formed the aorist infinitive ἐκκυνηγέσαι, not ἐκκυνηγῆσαι. In later times κυνηγῶ certainly formed its tenses with an η, not with an ε: see κεκυνηγῆσθαι in Polybius (32, 15, 4). Putting these facts together, I accept in a sense the view, first advanced by P. Maas, that κυνηγέσω and ἐκκυνηγέσαι come, not from κυνηγῶ and ἐκκυνηγῶ, but from κυνηγέσσω and ἐκκυνηγέσσω. As he points out, there is a close parallelism between the two groups ἐρέσαι, ἐρέτης plus εἰρεσίη, ἐρέσσω and κυνηγέσαι, κυνηγέτης plus κυνηγέσιον, κυνηγέσσω. The difficulty is to understand why, seeing that ἐρέσσω, standing for ἐρέτω, appears to be formed from ἐρέτης, and that κυνηγέσσω, standing for κυνηγέτω, appears to be formed from κυνηγέτης, of all the Greek substantives in -της, denoting agency, none, so far as is known, except these two should give rise to verbs in -γω. ἐρέσσω dates back to Homer (ἐρεσσεμέναι, *Il.* ix. 361). I would suggest a possible solution on the assumption that both ἐρέσσω and κυνηγέσσω originated in some type of Greek which had rules of its own with regard to verb-formation. The use in tragedy of the Doric κυναγός\* shows clearly enough that the word was, to some extent at least, regarded in Attica as a term of art. Now κυνηγέσσω, unlike κυναγός, is, quite apart from the η, no more a normal Doric formation, at any rate in any variety of Doric now sufficiently known to us to justify

\* See *Addenda*.

a conclusion, than it is a normal Attic formation. But still, seeing that tragedy borrowed κυναγός from ordinary Doric, Satyric drama may have borrowed κυνηγέσσω from some other local idiom of huntsmen, who, to judge by the η, had Ionic affinities. Similarly, έρέσσω may have been taken over, as a maritime term, from some linguistically related Ionic community. The point on which I differ, in a manner, from Maas, is the following. If έρέσσω is formed from έρέτης, έρέτης in its turn is formed from a lost έρέω, the aorist of which must have been ήρεσα, not ήρησα, as otherwise we should have έρήτης in place of έρέτης. Also, if κυνηγέσσω is formed from κυνηγέτης, κυνηγέτης in its turn is formed from a lost—lost, that is to say, so far as early Greek is concerned—κυνηγέω, the aorist of which must originally have been έκυνήγεσα, not έκυνήγησα, as otherwise we should have κυνηγήτης in place of κυνηγέτης. Therefore, though it is impossible to dispute that έρέσαι served as the aorist of έρέσσειν, and though I admit, coupling the analogy with the otherwise rather slender evidence, that κυνηγέσαι similarly served as the aorist of κυνηγέσσειν, yet it may well be that in origin έρέσαι comes direct from έρέω (standing probably, though the θ is a moot point in all such cases, for έρέθσαι), not from έρέσσω (in which case it would stand for έρέτσαι), and that κυνηγέσαι comes direct from κυνηγέω (standing probably, subject to the doubt as to the θ, for κυνηγέθσαι), not from κυνηγέσσω (in which case it would stand for κυνηγέτσαι). Indeed my discussion of κανάσσω in this chapter (§ III. A, a) raises the question whether in Satyric drama the proper aorist of κυνηγέσσειν would not be κυνηγέξαι. The evidence for the existence of κυνηγέσσειν and of the purer κυνηγέττειν is to be found in a statement by Theognostus (Cramer, *Anec.* II. 143), τὰ διὰ τοῦ -εσσω ῥήματα, πυρέσσω, έρέσσω, ἀηθέσσω, κυνηγέσσω, and in a much more authoritative dictum of Phrynichus (Bekker, *Anec.* p. 48), in which, however, the accentuation has been corrupted, but can be set right from Theognostus, κυνηγεττεῖν διὰ δυοῖν ττ λέγουσι, where Buttman righty emended to κυνηγέττειν. b, έλεῖς, a highly probable reading in an expression dealt with later in this chapter (§ III. A, c) under έφθά, introduces us to a future of the verb αἰρῶ, which future the

best scholars have rightly been at pains to expel from the pages of Aristophanes, but which nevertheless certainly existed, and indeed is a form of the very type for which the language of Satyric drama, as disclosed in this play, prepares the reader. The *Ichneutae* is bizarre in more than one way : it is not only its vocabulary, strictly so called, that is peculiar, seeing that in *κυνηγέσω* (l. 43) and *ἐκκυνηγέσαι* (l. 73) it presents a quite extraordinary instance of paradigmatic abnormality. The future *ἐλῶ* and *ἐλοῦμαι*, to include under one head the active and the middle not only of the simple verb but also of its compounds, possess, so far as literary evidence goes, the following history. In a strict manner of speaking, they are unknown to early Epic. But this statement is highly incomplete ; for Homer employs in the sense of the future indicative the undifferentiated aorist subjunctive *ἔλωμαι* (*Il.* i. 324), though indeed that employment only puts on record a usage of the legitimacy of which, even apart from the record, no doubt could exist. But that in its turn is very nearly tantamount to saying that the differentiated futures *ἐλῶ* and *ἐλοῦμαι* were bound to come into being. As regards post-Homeric Epic, we first encounter, perhaps not with absolute certainty, but with almost as close an approximation to certainty as attaches to any emendation, the differentiated future in question in a hexametrical oracle in the *Adonis* of Plato the comic poet (*Fr.* 1, l. 3) : *δύο δ' αὐτὸν δαίμον' ἐλεῖτον*. Three mss. give *ἔχειτον*, and two *ἔχῃτον*. Meineke, in his text, follows Jacobs in reading *ὀλεῖτον* : but in his commentary he suggests *ἐλεῖτον*. In this he is, in view of the likeness between *Λ* and *Χ*, almost certainly right, although he thereby drew on himself the furious anger of Cobet, who, though the leader of that school of criticism to which I have myself, I trust, the honour to belong, yet was not always alive to the distinction between different styles of writing. It must be remembered that the passage is an oracle, and does not profess to be written in Attic or even in Homeric Epic. Plato the comedian was a contemporary, though a greatly junior contemporary, of Sophocles, his date being from about 450 B.C. to about 389 B.C. He first exhibited in 427 B.C. The year in which he produced the *Adonis* cannot in any way be fixed. What is probably,



in chronological order, the next example of the future in question is the indubitable use of ἀφελοῦμαι by the comic poet Timostratus (the word constitutes the only fragment of his *Philodespotes*, and is preserved by the Antiatticista, 80, 12). The date of Timostratus is curiously doubtful. That he enjoyed a certain reputation is clear from the fact that Photius (*Bibl.* 374) mentions him among the poets quoted by Stobaeus, although he does not figure in the re-arranged edition of Stobaeus which we now possess. Also it is not improbable that the expression διὰ χειρός, *out of hand, without huckstering*, which seems to occur only in Timostratus (in the one fragment of his *Pan*) and in the extremely elegant novelist Charito (1, 12), is borrowed by the latter from the former. Timostratus is quoted by name in five separate passages in the Antiatticista: he is mentioned nowhere else, except by Photius, at the reference given above and once besides (*Lex.* 49, 22), and possibly by Suidas once (*s.v.* χάραξ), where however the existing text speaks of Δημόστρατος Δημοποιήτω. Every time the Antiatticista cites Timostratus, it is naturally in order to put in evidence authority for something actually or supposedly contrary to general Attic usage. I do not see that he would have had any motive for quoting Timostratus so often, unless Timostratus was a witness to classical, though not strictly Attic, idiom, or, in other words, unless he was a writer of the classical period. I therefore provisionally put him down as more or less contemporary with Menander. Two of the scraps of his language that have come down to us are highly peculiar. The known titles of his plays are the *Asotos*, the *Pan*, the *Paracatathece*, and the *Philodespotes*. The title *Pan* suggests a Satyric drama or something of an equally rustic nature. The fragments, so far as they go, do not encourage one to assume that Timostratus was an exponent, however late, of the traditions of normal Attic comedy. I will catalogue next the form διελεῖ, third person singular active, which occurs in an inscription of Thera (*C.I.* 2448). This inscription, though of uncertain date, appears, from its use of the Doric dialect, to be at least of respectable antiquity. From this point onwards, I do not find that any serious attempt, since that of Lobeck (Buttmann's

*Grammar*, vol. 2, p. 100), has been made to collect the instances of the future in question. On this subject both Dindorf's Stephanus and Liddell and Scott are hopelessly incomplete and outrageously unsystematic. Veitch is not much better, while Blass does nothing to amplify Kühner's almost useless treatment of the matter under the heading *Verbalverzeichnis*. For example, in no discussion of the question that I have seen, and indeed in no cognate discussion, except in a foot-note in Jannaris (*Historical Greek Grammar*, p. 227), where the accentuation in late Greek of certain futures is debated, is there any mention of the fact that the future καθέλῶ occurs in the New Testament. I have put together from the sources at my disposal the following list; but I am afraid that it is far from being exhaustive. ἐξελῶ, or ἐξελοῦμαι, or both, is or are stated by Dindorf—his language is ambiguous—in his Stephanus (s.v. ἐξαίρέω) to occur in the *Septuagint* (which was begun and perhaps completed in the third century B.C.); but Dindorf supplies no reference of any kind. I have myself noted in the *Septuagint* the following examples: ἀφελῶ (*Exodus*, xxxiii. 23; *Numbers*, xi. 17; 1 *Kings*, xvii. 46; *Isaiah*, i. 25, and v. 5; *Ezekiel*, xxxvi. 26), ἀφελεῖ, third person active (*Leviticus*, i. 16, and vi. 10), ἀφελοῦσι, indicative (*Ezekiel*, xxiii. 25), ἀφελοῦμαι (*Hosea*, ii. 9); ἐξελεῖται, perhaps the instance meant by Dindorf (1 *Kings*, iv. 8); περιελῶ (*Numbers*, xviii. 5; *Zephaniah*, iii. 11), περιελεῖ, third person active (*Leviticus*, iii. 4, iv. 8, 9, 31, and 35). Moreover καθέλῶ comes twice (*Jeremiah*, xxiv. 6, and xlix. 10), where however the context almost imperatively requires an aorist subjunctive: yet I hesitate to read καθέλω, seeing that sometimes in not very dissimilar Greek a circumflexed future indicative, at any rate in the first person singular, seems to take over the functions of a second aorist subjunctive of, except for the accent, identical form (cf. ἐὰν μὴ βαλῶ, *Protevangelium Jacobi*, xix. 3). In Theodotion's version, subsequent to the *Septuagint*, of the *Book of Daniel* I find (xi. 39) διελεῖ, third person active, where the *Septuagint* presents ἀπομεριεῖ. After the *Septuagint* (and perhaps after Theodotion, whose date is uncertain) the first author to

employ the future we are discussing appears to be Polybius (*circa* 150 B.C.), who writes ἀφελεῖται (x. 12, 4), ἀφελούνται (III. 29, 7), and ἐξελοῦμενος (xv. 22, 4). In succession to Polybius we come to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*circa* 30 B.C.), who uses the simple ἐλοῦμαι (*A.R.* 4, 75), and the compounds ἀνελούμεν (*A.R.* 11, 18), ἀφελεῖται (*A.R.* 10, 49), διελεῖται (*A.R.* 4, 60), ἐξελεῖ, third person active (7, 56), and καθελούντες (9, 26). All these instances, except ἀφελεῖται and καθελούντες, occur in speeches: this fact may be significant, since in Thucydides, at any rate, history disguised as oratory is written in an altogether special style. Subsequently Diodorus Siculus (*circa* 8 B.C.) presents παρελεῖσθαι (18, 62), though with a variant, impossible on grounds of sense, παρελέσθαι. Somewhere about this place in the list should be cited the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in which (p. 628) ἐξελεῖται occurs. When we come to the Christian era, we find St. Luke (xii. 18) employing the future καθελῶ. About the same time the exact and graceful epigrammatist, Antiphilus of Byzantium, composed an epitaph for the tomb of Diogenes at Corinth, in which (*Append. Plan.* 334, l. 2) he used the third person future active καθελεῖ. Something like 80 years later Aquila (*circa* A.D. 130) writes ὑφελεῖτε (in his translation of *Exodus*, v. 19). At or about the same date we find ἐξελοῦμεν in Arrian (*Periplus*, 11, 2). This passage is somewhat important, as having a bearing on the reading to be adopted in Herodotus (III. 59) in a passage dealt with below. Arrian is speaking of a tribe in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea which had in the past been irregular in its payment of tribute, and he winds up his remarks with the words: ἀλλὰ νῦν γε διδόντος θεοῦ ἀκριβώσουσιν, ἣ ἐξελοῦμεν αὐτούς. I think it will be agreed that it was no part of Roman practice to remove beyond the confines of the Empire tribes that made default in payment: such a course would have been financially unsound. Therefore we must not translate ἐξελοῦμεν αὐτούς as *we will remove them*, nor must we alter to ἐξελῶμεν. We must on the other hand translate *we will make an end of them*. Arrian is not indeed seriously suggesting their utter extermination, but is speaking somewhat jocosely, as the words which I have quoted



from him sufficiently indicate. Two excellent examples of ἐξαιρεῖν, *to make an end of, to destroy*, present themselves in the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides, viz. (ll. 38–40) :

ὁ κλεινὸς οὗτος τῆσδε γῆς ἄρχων Λύκος  
τοὺς Ἑρακλείους παῖδας ἐξελεῖν θέλει  
κτανῶν δάμαρτά θ', ὥς φόνω σβέσῃ φόνον,

and (ll. 150–153) :

τί δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν σῶ κατείργασται πόσει,  
ὕδραν ἔλειον εἰ διώλεσε κτανῶν,  
ἦ τὸν Νέμειον θῆρ', ὃν ἐν βρόχοις ἐλὼν  
βραχίονός φησ' ἀγχόναισιν ἐξελεῖν ;

The verb more than once has the genitive χθονός added to it, e.g. in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides (ll. 17–19) :

χλωρὰν δ' ἂν ὕλην παρθένω ξυνὼν ἀεὶ  
κυσὶν ταχείαις θῆρας ἐξαιρεῖ χθονός,  
μείζω βροτείας προσπεσῶν ὀμιλίας.

But the meaning plainly is *destroys from the land*, not *removes from the land*. Liddell and Scott agree with me as to the three passages just quoted. But the evidence of these passages supports me in disputing an entry in their lexicon (*s.v.* ἐξαιρέω) which runs: '*to expel people from their seats, like ἐξιστάναι*, Hdt. 1, 159, 2, 30, Thuc. 5, 43, etc.' The former of the two passages which they cite from Herodotus deals merely with the *taking out* of nesting sparrows and other birds from a temple; and later in the same chapter the god says τοὺς ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κερατίζεις; I consider that the word κερατίζεις shows that the action was that of *taking away*, not of *expelling*. The latter Herodotean reference runs thus: ἦσαν οἱ διάφοροί τινες γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν· τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας, τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν. With the Euripidean passages in my mind I should certainly translate *he bade them destroy these and possess their land*. In the alleged instance adduced from Thucydides the object of the verb is Ἀργείους, and there Bétant takes the meaning as *exscindere*, not as *expellere*. In fact I doubt whether ἐξαιρεῖν has anywhere the particular specialised meaning attributed to it by Liddell and Scott. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the

period at which Arrian lived may perhaps be placed a so-called *Sibylline Oracle* (8, 184), which exhibits ἐλοῦνται : but the text in the passage is insecure, and there is a variant, τελοῦνται. In this period also the mathematical and geographical writer Ptolemy is found employing the active future ἀφελῶ quite a number of times in his mathematical writings (*Math. Comp.* vol. I. 205 D, 370 B, 386 B, and 387 A). We next come to Alciphron (*circa* A.D. 200). Alciphron's usage always deserves minute attention. He is an Atticist of the Atticists in one sense ; but his Attic, which is largely based on the language of comedy, has the flavour, not of Aristophanes, but of Menander and lesser playwrights who admitted into their writings not so much neologisms as a mass of floating traditions of the 'common dialect' which the earlier comedians had succeeded in keeping at arm's length. The later comedians, the newest, that is to say, of the New Comedy, are thus in a position distinctly comparable to that of Sophocles in his capacity of Satyric dramatist, though no doubt the analogy must not be pressed too far. But the works of the comedians in question exist only in fragments, and the language of Alciphron, though we may learn something from Lucian, is, as it were, the only clear photograph we possess of the lost original. Alciphron writes (1, 9) ἐξελοῦνται. This is in conformity with the evidence supplied by Timostratus (see above). But Hermann entertained so firmly fixed an idea as to the impossibility of the future in question in any author with classical pretensions that he went the length of arbitrarily proposing (on Euripides, *Helen*, l. 1297) to read ἐξέλουντ' ἄν. Subsequently to Alciphron, Sextus Empiricus (*circa* A.D. 225) employs ἀφελεῖται thrice (*Adv. Math.* XI. 164, twice, and 166, once). A little later still the eminent mathematician, Diophantus (*circa* A.D. 250), writes (*Prop.* 9, *de Numeris Multangulis*) ἀφελοῦμεν. In addition it must be mentioned that in an anonymous elegiac epigram (*Anth. Pal.* IX. 108), of unknown date, but much akin in subject-matter to a passage in Achilles Tatius (I. 1), who lived somewhere about A.D. 500, ἀφελοῦμαι (l. 1) presents itself. Another elegiac epigram comes into question (*Anth. Pal.* XI. 33). Its authorship is ascribed to Philip ;

but which of the uncertain number of epigrammatists of that name is meant there is nothing to show : among them they may possibly have ranged, though the whole subject is obscure, from 36 B.C. to A.D. 600. In this epigram (l. 3) the Palatine reading is ὀλεῖται : but the piece is extant in the Planudean collection also, and the Planudean reading is ἔλοιτο. Jacobs, followed by Dübner, emends to ἔλοιτ' ἄν : but Meineke (p. 117, arabic figures, in the former of the two volumes containing the index to the *Fragmenta Comicoꝝ Graecorum*) unquestioningly corrects to ἐλεῖται. The epigram is such that either ἐλεῖται or ἔλοιτ' ἄν will make good sense. The more vivid ἐλεῖται goes well in the particular context, but the less vivid ἔλοιτ' ἄν is more in conformity with, if I may so put it, humdrum usage. On the whole, of the two possibilities I prefer ἐλεῖται as the more likely to have given birth to the double corruption. To turn to dictionaries, Dindorf's Stephanus (*s.v.* ὑφαιρέω), not Stephanus himself, states : 'Fut. Ὑφελοῦμαι, nisi quod ὑφελεῖτε affertur ex Aq. Exod. 5, 19.' The example from Aquila I have catalogued above : but I am unaware on what grounds the middle ὑφελοῦμαι is set up as a norm from which Aquila departs. The words in Dindorf's Stephanus seem to amount to a positive assertion that forms of the future middle, ὑφελοῦμαι, present themselves several times. If they do, I should like to know where they are to be found. Similarly Liddell and Scott's lexicon (*s.v.* συναιρέω) remarks 'fut. 2 συνελῶ.' This statement cannot be taken as merely an inaccurate way of saying 'on the analogy of αἰρέω and various of its compounds we may conclude that συναιρέω forms fut. 2 συνελῶ,' seeing that the lexicon in question (*s.v.* αἰρέω) condemns both ἐλῶ and its compounds as late, and does not make a practice of attributing hypothetical 'second futures' to the compounds of αἰρέω at large. If συνελῶ occurs, its *locus* ought to be mentioned. We have now come to the end of our list except as regards the passages, shortly to be dealt with, in which the future in question has been catalogued by error, is manifestly the result of corruption, or has been introduced by false emendation. Of the most striking feature emerging from the usage of the later writers, namely the employment by Alciphron



of the form ἐξελοῦνται, I have already indicated the bearings. But the evidence afforded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus is only a little less remarkable. That writer uses the future in question six times. It cannot indeed be said that he wrote good Attic, but equally it cannot be said that he permitted himself to write anything which he did not consider to be good Attic. Neither can he be reproached for want of care. Where he erred was in the discrimination of his materials. I advance the contention that the repeated use of this future by Dionysius is almost tantamount to proof positive that he found it well established in literature of the classical period and of a complexion which seemed Attic to him. The fact mentioned above, that four out of the six examples which he supplies occur in speeches, suggests to me that he may perhaps have found the future in question, as it certainly does not occur in Thucydides, in some speech in the works of Philistus (*circa* 435–356 B.C.), the imitator of Thucydides. There is one passage in which this future form is erroneously catalogued as occurring. Veitch (*s.v.* αἰρέω) gives ἀνελῶ (meaning, as is shown by other examples in his very summary treatment of this future, some form of ἀνελῶ, not necessarily ἀνελῶ itself) as presented in Diodorus Siculus, 2, 25. In that chapter there is nothing of the kind to be found, except that the participle ἀνελουῖσιν occurs twice: but each time it is demonstrably aorist, not future. The first passage runs: διότι Σαρδανάπαλλος τοῖς μὲν ἀνελουῖσιν Ἀρβάκην τὸν Μῆδον δώσει χρυσίου διακόσια τάλαντα, τοῖς δὲ ζῶντα παραδοῦσι χρήματα μὲν δωρήσεται δις τοσαῦτα, τῆς δὲ Μηδίας ὑπαρχον καταστήσει. On the second occasion the words are: ἀνελουῖσιν ἢ ζωγρήσασιν. But Diodorus does once (see above) use παρελεῖσθαι in a passage not catalogued by Veitch. The passages in which the future in question is presented as a result of corruption next claim our attention. In Herodotus (III. 59) the mss. present: ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελοῦντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου. The context plainly demands ἐξελῶντες. This Bekker proposed, and it is now accepted without question. See my remarks above on Arrian's use of ἐξελοῦμεν. The *Helen* of Euripides exhibits (l. 1279) a future indicative, ἐξελῶ, which scholars at one time,

*e.g.* Beatson in his *Index*, sought to refer to ἐξελαύνω, but which, on the strength of its meaning, cannot, as it stands in the mss., be anything other than the future of ἐξαίρω. Helen, Menelaus, and Theoclymenus are conversing immediately outside the palace of the last-named (see ll. 68, 435-438, 1165-1168, 1185). The identity of Menelaus is unknown to Theoclymenus, to whom it is represented that Menelaus has been drowned at sea, and that Helen, in accordance with Greek customs, ought to proceed in a ship to a certain distance from the shore and there perform funeral rites. The requirements for these rites are (ll. 1255-1265) a victim such as a horse or a bull, an empty bed or bier, with the appurtenant draperies, brazen armour, seeing that the funeral is that of a warrior, and kindly fruits of the earth. These things Theoclymenus undertakes to provide, and (ll. 1279-1281), speaking to Menelaus, uses these words:

ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς οἴκους ἐξελῶ κόσμον νεκρῷ,  
καὶ σ' οὐ κεναῖσι χερσὶ γῆς ἀποστελῶ,  
δράσαντα τῇδε πρὸς χάριν.

Theoclymenus a few moments later goes into the palace. Now, an examination of the lexicon is sufficient to show that no meanings of the verb ἐξελαύνειν can so much as be taken into consideration in connexion with this passage save to *drive out*, as one *drives out* horses or cattle, and to *drive out*, as one *drives out* the contents of a carriage or cart. The former of these meanings would suit the sacrificial victim; but it would not suit the rest of the articles required for the funeral rites. Seeing that the words are ἐξελῶ κόσμον νεκρῷ, we may definitely rule it out of court. The latter of the two meanings would suit the whole of the κόσμος in question, including even, at a pinch, the sacrificial victim, on the assumption that it was Theoclymenus' intention to put the articles on a vehicle somewhere inside the house and then drive the vehicle out into the open. In view of the possibility of a court-yard, accessible to vehicles, being spoken of as part of the house, I do not deny that Theoclymenus might conceivably, though with considerable awkwardness, have expressed himself in this way, if, that is, it was a question of bringing out the articles in a cart. What

certain scholars have failed to see is that it was not a question of anything of the kind. Theoclymenus shortly (l. 1390) reappears from the palace, accompanied, not by a horse and cart, but by slaves laden with the articles in question, whom (ll. 1390–1391) he addresses thus :

χωρεῖτ' ἐφεξῆς, ὥς ἔταξεν ὁ ξένος,  
 δμῶες, φέροντες ἐνάλια κτερίσματα.

It is thus seen that the latter meaning of ἐξελαύνειν is no less inappropriate than the former. We are thrown back upon ἐξαιρεῖν, unless we resort to emendation. Hermann, with far less than his usual felicity, reads, with a full stop at the end of the line :

ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς οἴκους ἐξέλω κόσμον νεκρῷ.

A glance at Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* (ed. 1899, par. 257) will show that such a use of the subjunctive is contrary to Greek idiom, at least in post-Homeric times. The main offence is the particle δέ, but, even without the δέ, some kind of justificatory introduction would be required by the subjunctive in the singular number. Hermann, in his note, sets down ἐξελὼν as a possible alternative. The combination of the two participles ἐλθὼν and ἐξελὼν would be clumsy beyond words, and in addition the καὶ in the subsequent line constitutes a fatal impediment. Hermann might as well have left the passage alone. It was reserved for English scholarship to come to the rescue. Badham, agreeing with Hermann to the extent of putting a full stop at the end of the line, proposed the convincing :

ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς οἴκους ἐξέλου κόσμον νεκρῷ.

ἐξέλου, *choose out*, is the right word in the right place, and it fits admirably with the ὥς ἔταξεν ὁ ξένος of l. 1390 (quoted above). Kirchhoff and Nauck follow Badham, whose emendation may now be said to have established itself in the fullest sense. Aristophanes (*Equites* l. 290) presents a line which in the mss. runs :

περιελῶ σ' ἀλαζονείας.

In this reading, περιελῶ must be taken as the future of περιαιρῶ, and the expression has to mean 'I will



strip you of your false boasting.' An insuperable objection to the reading is that, as might be expected, περιαιρῶ always takes the accusative of the thing stripped off and the genitive of the person or object from which it is stripped, not *vice versa* : moreover the definite article would, in the Aristophanic style, seem to be required. Consequently the correct expression, assuming the lawfulness of περιελῶ in the sense of περιαιρήσω, would be περιελῶ σοῦ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν. Elmsley, followed by editors at large, emends to

περιελῶ σ' ἀλαζονείαις,

making περιελῶ the future of περιελύνω. Personally I suggest the singular, ἀλαζονεία, as a trifle more likely to have given rise to the corruption. As the next line begins with a vowel, ἀλαζονεία would appear to produce an hiatus ; but in this metre there is no synapheia (see the end of l. 292). Meineke (in the passage referred to above in the discussion on *Anth. Pal.* xi. 33) suggests the possibility of reading :

περιελῶ σάλαζονείας,

*i.e.* περιελῶ (from περιαιρῶ) σου ἀλαζονείας. The violence of the crasis is not a sufficient argument against this possibility : I attach greater weight to the absence of the definite article. It may be observed that, apparently by a misprint, Meineke gives Elmsley's emendation as ἀλαζονείας, which is the reading of the mss. In another passage of Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* l. 542) the mss. vary between ἔλοι (B, Δ) and ἐλεῖ (C, N, R). The line occurs in a chorus which, manifestly and by common consent, is extravagantly corrupt. It runs in the mss. :

οὐδὲ (so N, R, but B, C, Δ οὔτε) τὰ γόνατα κόπος ἐλεῖ  
(so C, N, R, but B, Δ ἔλοι) μου καματηρός.

Two remarks must be made *in limine*. (1) The strophic line, of which this is the antistrophic counterpart, seems to establish the metre as

— ∪ ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ ∪ | — ∪ — | — ∪ — |.

I take the dance accompanying this chorus to be the *Cordax*, and therefore (see my *Anti Mias*, Chapter VIII.) I look for strict syllabic correspondence but also for the absence of synapheia. (2) The adjective *καματηρός* is impossible, seeing that the previous line contains the word *κάμοιμ'*. From these two remarks the gravity of the corruption becomes evident. Editors and others have had recourse to most violent remedies, but without, it seems to me, any realisation of the objection to *καματηρός* or other forms from the same root. Bentley gives :

οὔτε τὰ γόνατα κόπος ἔλοι με καματηρός ἄν.

Hermann reads :

οὔτε γόνατ' ἄν κόπος ἔλοι με καματήριος.

Dindorf at one time read the same, with the exception of οὐδὲ for οὔτε, but subsequently adopted from Enger :

οὐδὲ γόνατ' ἄν κόπος ἔλοι με καματηρός ἄν.

But in Dindorf's opinion we are dealing with an interpolation. Blaydes prints :

οὐδέ με τὰ γοῦνα καματηρός ἄν ἔλοι κόπος.

Blaydes also suggests *γυῖα* as an alternative to *γοῦνα*. Reisig, on the other hand, was of opinion that *ἐλεῖ*, not *ἔλοι*, should be read. For my own part I reject all these transpositions, and suggest that the root of the whole corruption was the evolution of *καματηρός* out of an original οὐκ ἄν μὰ τήν. I propose :

οὐδὲ γονάτων κόπος ἔλοι μ' ἄν, οὐκ ἄν μὰ τήν.

For *μὰ τήν* see Menander's *Orge* (Fr. 7) in Meineke. In the *Politicus* of Plato (284 A) we find a sentence which runs as follows in the mss. : οὐκοῦν τὰς τέχνας τε αὐτὰς καὶ τᾶργα αὐτῶν ξύμπαντα διελοῦμεν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ζητουμένην νῦν πολιτικὴν καὶ τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν ὕφαντικὴν ἀφανιοῦμεν; For *διελοῦμεν* the sense obviously requires *διολοῦμεν*, which Stallbaum, with general approbation, restores. The corruption *διελοῦμεν* is no doubt due to the fact that the passage occurs in a context, extending on either side of it, in which the division of *μετρητική* into two parts is discussed. A little before this point we have

(283 D) διέλωμεν τοίνυν αὐτὴν δύο μέρη, and a little afterwards (284 E) δῆλον ὅτι διαιροῖμεν ἂν τὴν μετρητικὴν. This concludes the list of passages in which the future in question possesses manuscript authority. There remain two places into which emendation has conjecturally, and wrongly, introduced it. In the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles (ll. 1372–1374) the mss. read :

οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως πόλιν  
 κείνην ἐρεῖ τις (so L and other mss., but with a variant  
 τις), ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν αἵματι  
 πεσεῖ μιανθεὶς χῶ σὺναίμος ἐξ ἴσου.

Turnebus, rightly, and with the approval of nearly all, subsequent scholars, restored ἐρεΐψεις. But Süvern followed by Reisig, reads ἐλεῖ τις. Apitz proposes κενὴν ἐρεῖ τις, while Campbell actually keeps κείνην ἐρεῖ τις. Döderlein, followed by Schneidewin, modifies Turnebus' ἐρεΐψεις into an unscholarly reading, ἐρεΐπεις. In the same play (ll. 1453–1455) we find :

ὁρᾷ ὁρᾷ ταῦτ' αἰὲ χρόνος  
 ἐπεὶ μὲν ἕτερα,  
 τάδε πῆματ' (so L) αὔθις αὔξων ἄνω,  
 or τάδ' ἐπ' ἤματ' (so B and Vat.) αὔθις αὔξων ἄνω,  
 or τὰ δὲ παρ' ἤμαρ (Canter) αὔθις αὔξων ἄνω  
 (The scholium runs : πολλὰ μὲν αὔξων παρ' ἤμαρ).

The antistrophic passage (ll. 1468–1470) runs :

τί μὲν ἀφήσει τέλος ; δέδεια (so L : most mss. δέδια)  
 τόδ' (so L and most mss. : T and Farn. not τόδ', but δ')  
 οὐ γὰρ ἄλιον  
 ἀφορμᾷ (but first hand of L ἀφορμᾷ : second hand  
 ἐφορμᾷ) ποτ' οὐκ (Heath οὐδ') ἄνευ ζυμοφορᾶς.

It does not seem to me that the scholiast read παρ' ἤμαρ : he was only paraphrasing the ἐπ' ἤματ' of two mss. For ἐπεὶ in l. 1454 Hartung reads στρέφων, Meineke ἐφείς, and Wecklein ἐπέχων. Reisig however changes ἐπεὶ to ἐλεῖ, a fact which brings the question of the true reading within the purview of the present discussion. I myself once (*Anti Mias*, vol. 1, p. 272) substituted ῥέπων for Hartung's στρέφων, and read τὰ δὲ πτώματ' instead of τάδε πῆματ'. Now however, after further consideration of the



*ductus* of the text, I think that I was not sufficiently independent, and I propose with some little confidence the following strophic reading :

ὁρᾷ ὁρᾷ ταῦτ' αἰεὶ χρόνος, ὅς  
ἐπεῖλεν ἕτερα  
τὰ δ' ἔφθη μεταῦθις αὔξων ἄνω.

This involves close adherence to the vulgate in the Antistrophe :

τί μὲν ἀφήσει τέλος; δέδισα  
τόδ'· οὐ γὰρ ἄλιον  
ἀφορμᾷ ποτ' οὐδ' ἄνευ ξυμφορᾶς.

I will conclude my treatment of ἐλῶ and ἐλοῦμαι by mentioning the scanty *dicta* of an annotatory nature. In informing us that Timostratus (see above) employs ἀφελοῦμαι, the Antiatticista (80, 12) confines himself to the bald statement : ἀφελοῦμαι, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφαιρήσομαι. Τιμόστρατος Φιλοδεσπότη. On περιελῶ in Aristophanes' *Equites* (l. 290) there are what appear to be three separate scholia. The first is : οἷον ἀποδύσω σε καὶ παύσω τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων. This evidently takes περιελῶ as from περιαιρῶ, in the sense of ἀποδύω, making no account of the fact that περιαιρῶ would require σοῦ ἀλαζονείαν, not σέ ἀλαζονείας. The second is : ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρεσσόντων· παύσω καὶ περικόψω τῆς ἀλαζονείας. The writer of this second scholium was intelligent. Apparently he saw that the construction does not admit of περιελῶ being the future of περιαιρῶ and consequently tried to get at much the same ultimate sense by making it out to be the future of περιελάνω meaning *I row round, I intercept*. I imagine that the genitive would be quite impossible : but the idea is ingenious. It may be noted that Plutarch (*Anton.* 68) actually employs περικόπτω, one of the words used by this scholiast, with a genitive in the phrase πόλεις περικεκομμένοι χρημάτων. The third scholium is very brief and, though it may be doubted what the scholiast read, very plain : περιελάσω, νικήσω. There exists a scholium on the passage in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (l. 542) ; but, so far from containing any reference to the reading ἐλεῖ, it employs the word ἔλαβε, from which fact it looks as if the scholiast read εἴλε. Photius

(121, 15) has the entry: καθαιρήσετε, οὐ καθελεῖτε· Θουκυδίδης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους. As the actual form καθαιρήσετε is in use in Thucydides (*e.g.* III. 13), this entry seems to be in substance a comment on the text of Thucydides, not a criticism on a second person plural καθελεῖτε in some other author. The cautious character of Photius' statement is noticeable. He is certainly, at least in intention, a purist; yet he abstains from directly condemning such forms as καθελεῖτε. Hesychius, in the present state of his text, is made to say: ἀφελοῦνται· ἀποστεροῦνται. But the entry is out of its alphabetical order and in the place appropriate to ἀφαιροῦνται. Consequently ἀφαιροῦνται· ἀποστεροῦνται is the generally received correction. *c*, See *a* above. *d*, Not only is the compound ὑποκλάζω unknown elsewhere, but the second aorist ἔκλαγον comes to us with credentials of so limited a character that in tragic trimeters its use would excite wonder. It is found once in the Homeric *Hymns* (XIX. 14), once in Theocritus (XVII. 71), and in the *Anthology* and the *Orphica*: in addition the compound ἀνέκλαγον comes once in a chorus of Euripides (*I.A.* 1062). Here also ὑπέκλαγες stands in a chorus; but this chorus is abusive in tone, and its language has no relation to that of a chorus in tragedy. *e*, The compound ὑποκρίζω occurs indeed once elsewhere, namely in Aelian (*N.A.* 6, 19); but the only support for ὑπέκριγες now known is Herodian's reading κρίγε in *II.* XVI. 470, where the received text presents κρίκε. This small group of verbs contributes real materials towards a judgement on Satyric diction.

#### B, 4.

The fourth group consists of words, simple, derivative, and compounded, which seem in various ways remote from the language both of tragedy and of comedy. The examples are these: *a*, ἀγρωστήρων (l. 32), *b*, ἀλκασμάτων (l. 245), *c*, γράπις (l. 175), *d*, δρακίς (l. 175), *e*, ἐξευθετίζω (a probable restoration in l. 268), *f*, ἐξυπελθόντα (l. 203), *g*, κέρχνος (l. 126), *h*, κύβρα (l. 120), *i*, κυνορτικόν (l. 165), *k*, ὀπποποῖ (l. 189), *l*, τρόχης (a highly probable restoration in l. 224), and *m*, ψ' ψ' (l. 168).

*a*, No form of ἀγρωστήρ occurs elsewhere; but ἀγρωστήρ

is known to us, though only from Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* ἀγρός). The σ is supported by the tragic ἀγρώστης (Soph. *Fr.* 94, Eur. *H.F.* 377 and *Rhes.* 266), if that form be correct, and by the Syracusan ἀγρωστῖνος. *b*, ἀλκασμάτων, unknown elsewhere, is formed from a verb ἀλκάζω, of which the active is mentioned in the *Etymologicum Magnum* and the middle in Hesychius. *c*, γράπις is defined by Hesychius as 'the slough of a grasshopper, of a snake, and of things which cast their skins': he adds that it also means 'a kind of bird' and 'wrinkled,' and derives it from γράφειν (ἀπὸ τοῦ γραμμὰς ἔχειν τὰς ρυτίδας). It is also mentioned by the *Etymologicum Magnum*, Zonaras, and Ugutio. The word is given a paroxytone accent by the second hand of the papyrus: it is so accented also by Hesychius and Zonaras. Hesychius does not indicate the gender: Zonaras expressly classes it as feminine. The *Etymologicum Magnum* classes it as masculine, and gives it an oxytone accent. Ugutio, writing in Latin, says nothing of accent or gender, but confirms Hesychius' statement as to the word meaning 'a kind of bird.' The chief point to observe is that the meanings given by Hesychius imply that γράπις occurred in literature at least five times, or, at any rate, if we take his words 'and of things which cast their skins' as merely intended to bring grasshoppers and snakes under the same category, at least four times. One of his four or five sources is presumably the *Ichneutae*. Seeing that the *Ichneutae* proves the word to be in some sense Satyric, it is natural to assume that some of the lost sources are Satyric plays. Few other classes of Greek literature have perished so almost completely. If that natural assumption be correct, then γράπις is a characteristically Satyric word. *d*, δρακίς is utterly unknown elsewhere. It is unaccented in the papyrus, but is evidently the feminine of δράξ, a *dragon*, which does not indeed occur as an independent substantive, but is used by Sophocles in composition as part of the word δράκκυλος in the *Tympanistae* (*Fr.* 643). The title of the play, which was also the title of a comedy by Autocrates, shows that the Chorus was a Chorus of drum-beaters, and that consequently it is a case not of a tragic but of a Satyric drama. The fact that in one Satyric drama Sophocles employed,



in a compound, the masculine δράζ, instead of the tragic masculine δράκων, and in another Satyric drama the feminine δρακίς, instead of the tragic feminine δράκαινα, contributes towards our knowledge of the Satyric sub-dialect. *e*, ἐξευθετίζω is unknown elsewhere: εὐθετίζω comes in Hesiod (*Th.* l. 541), in Hippocrates (*Fract.* 757 and 764) and in late prose and verse. *f*, ἐξυπελθόντα is an otherwise unknown compound. The inversion however of the order of prepositions which it presents is not at all unknown, but prior to the discovery of this play could only have been termed a mark of late Greek. ἐξυπάλυξις occurs in the Orphic *Argonautica* (l. 682), ἐξυπαλύξειν in Quintus Smyrnaeus (xii. l. 502), and συνεξυπήγετο in Anna Comnena (p. 354 A). The origin of the inversion seems to be the Homeric line (*Il.* ii. 267) :

σῶδιζ δ' αἵματόεσσα μεταφρένου ἐξυπανέστη,

where however there is in reality no inversion at all, seeing that the ἐξ governs μεταφρένου and consequently has to stand where it stands in fact. It seems probable that the late examples of inversion are modelled on the example in the *Ichneutae* and on other examples, now lost, in Satyric drama. *g*, κέρχνος in the *Ichneutae* is not, as appears plainly from the context, the substantive meaning *roughness*, which occurs in Sophocles' *Inachus* (*Fr.* 279) and elsewhere, but another substantive, perhaps of kindred derivation, meaning a *hawk*. This form is otherwise unknown, but the feminine κέρχνη is given in Hesychius, and the cognate feminine κερχνής, in the same sense, comes twice in Aristophanes (*Aves* l. 304 and l. 589). Here, as in the case of γράπις and δρακίς, and also of τρόχη (see *l. infra*), we seem to have an instance of an unfamiliar nomenclature applied to natural history. *h*, κύβα, the reading of the first hand of the papyrus, is an adverb, otherwise unknown, with the sense of κύβδα, to which the second hand alters it at the expense of destroying the metre. As κρύφα stands by the side of κρύβδα and of the verb κρύπτω, so κύβα stands by the side of κύβδα and of the verb κύπτω. So complete indeed is this analogy, that it seems worth while to examine it somewhat closely. κρύβδα is the form employed in Homer (*Iliad* xviii. 168), Aeschylus (*Cho.* l. 177), and Pindar

(*Pyth.* iv. l. 201): κρύφα is of a quite different order of language, occurring in Thucydides (i. 101 and iv. 88) and in Plutarch; from which facts one would infer that Thucydides took it over from some Ionic prose source, seeing that his use of the word finds no echo either in later Attic prose or in Attic comedy. Similarly κύβδα is the form employed by Archilochus (*Fr.* 32, l. 2), whose language somewhat approximates to that of Homer, in a context, it should be noted, apparently free from any suggestion of impropriety; and afterwards, though, seemingly owing to its later associations, it could find no place in Pindar or in tragedy, it established itself in Attic comedy (Aristophanes *Eq.* l. 365, *Pax* l. 897, and *Thesm.* l. 489), yet emphatically not as an ordinary portion of the Athenian vernacular, but as a word, which, though innocent in itself, was in comedy employed only in salacious passages; and the word is used by Machon of Alexandria (*ap.* Athenaeum x. p. 427 c): κύβα could, like κρύφα, have been employed, but for its associations, by Thucydides, and afterwards by Plutarch; it had however to content itself with the less dignified refuge of Satyric drama. *i.*, κυνορτικόν would, before the discovery of the *Ichneutae*, have been regarded as a twofold neologism. Not only is the derivative form κυνορτικός unknown elsewhere, but κυνορτής, from which it is derived, exists only in the Doric proper name Κυνόρτας. It is derived from κυνορτής, not from a missing κύνορτος, because it is active in signification. I imagine that no Athenian would have coined on his own account compounds so unfamiliar as κυνορτής and κυνορτικός, and therefore I am disposed to regard κυνορτικόν as a traditional Satyric word, due probably to Pratinas and the Doric of Phlius. *k.*, ὀπποποῖ is an interjection unknown elsewhere. We may compare it with ὀτοτοῖ, which often in the mss., but wrongly in the opinion of modern editors, is written ὀττοτοῖ. I am not on that account disposed to emend here to ὀποποῖ. ὀποποῖ would be no less unparalleled than ὀπποποῖ. Compare ἀππαπαῖ (Aristophanes *Vesp.* l. 235) and ἀτταταῖ (Sophocles *Phil.* l. 743 and l. 790; Aristophanes *Ran.* l. 57; and elsewhere). I suggest that the influence of the Homeric ὦ πόποι, not mere chance, restrained the tragedians from indulging in

mutations of πόποι, whereas there was no such restraining influence in the case of τοτοῖ or of παπαῖ. They probably were at least half of the opinion of Lycophron and Euphron that ὦ πόποι meant *ye gods*. I therefore am inclined to regard ὀπποποῖ as distinctly untragic. *l*, τρόχης, if a correct restoration, is the genitive singular of τρόχη, a *she-badger*. The feminine does not occur elsewhere; but the masculine τρόχος, a *badger*, is used twice in a modified quotation by Aristotle (*Gen. An.* III. 6, 6) of a statement by Herodorus (*circa* 520 B.C.). As this τρόχος is apparently nothing else in origin than the adjective τροχός converted into a substantive by retraction of accent, the feminine τρόχη would seem to be a no less legitimate formation. For a similar variation of gender in the *Ichneutae* see κέρχνος, a *hawk*, instead of κέρχνη. Compare also, as unfamiliar terms of zoology, that word and γράπις and δρακίς. *m*, ψ' ψ' is an interjection unknown but for its use in the *Ichneutae*. It bears no accent in the papyrus; but, seeing that it is scanned as a spondee, I have accented it as though it contained two vowels. It is natural to compare with ψ' ψ' the interjections ψίττα and φύττα and the verbs ψιττάζω and ψιττακίζω. ψίττα is mentioned by a scholiast on Theocritus (IV. l. 45), who himself writes σίττα, and by Hesychius (who accents ψιττά), etc. Pausanias is quoted by Eustathius (p. 1631, 5) as explaining the meaning of ψιττάζω, and Hesychius mentions the same verb. The other verb, ψιττακίζω, is employed by Eustathius (*Opusc.* p. 51, 80). φύττα is actually used by Euripides in the *Cyclops* (l. 49), and is therefore unquestionably Satyric: it does not afterwards occur until we come to Lucian (*Lexiph.* c. 3 and *Ep. Sat.* 35), Alciphron (3, 24, and 3, 72), and Palladas (*Anth. Pal.* XI. 351, l. 5). In the *Cyclops* it is an interjection, addressed to a he-goat; but in all other passages it is an adverb meaning *quickly* and is joined with some form or other of the verb κατατείνω. More remarkable however than the occurrence in Satyric drama of interjections which find no echo known to us until after the lapse of many centuries are the presentation of a word without a vowel and the scansion of ψ' ψ' as a spondee. I know of nothing like this in Greek, but the Latin *st* is to the point and, if doubled, as in Plautus'



*Epidicus* (2, 2, 1), 'St st : tacete,' presents an exact parallel to  $\psi' \psi'$ . The parallel becomes more startling when we consider that Sophocles, being pre-Euclidean, perhaps wrote, not  $\Psi\Psi$ , but  $\Phi\Sigma\Phi\Sigma$ . One is led to wonder whether it was on the strength of the usage of Greek Satyric drama that the early Latin comedians and even Cicero in a letter (*Fam.* xvi. 24) permitted themselves to write *st* and to scan it in verse as a long syllable. This fourth group appears to me, so far as its evidence extends, to differentiate widely the Satyric style from other styles of composition.

### B, 5.

The fifth group consists of words which do not occur elsewhere (including one word which merely does not occur in the same sense elsewhere), but which might, it seems to me, have been employed on occasion, not indeed in tragedy, but some of them in epic, others of them in comedy or prose, and some in more than one style, so that I cannot regard the group as in any way distinctively Satyric. The examples, which are eight in number, are the following : *a.* ἀποθυμαίνεις (l. 120), *b.* ἀπόψακτον (l. 361), *c.* βούφωρα (a doubtful restoration in l. 36), *d.* ἐγγόνους (used in a unique sense in l. 220), *e.* κυκησμός (l. 115), *f.* στίφρωμα (an almost certain restoration in l. 96), *g.* συμποδηγέται (l. 161), and *h.* ὑποῤῥυπαίνεται (l. 151).

*a.* ἀποθυμαίνεις exhibits a compound of θυμαίνω which occurs here only ; but the simple is found in Hesiod (*Sc.* 262), Aristophanes (*Nub.* ll. 609, 1478), and Eupolis (*Maricas*, *Fr.* 21). *b.* ἀπόψακτον is a verbal adjective which does not occur elsewhere ; but the sister verbal adjective ἀποψηχτέον comes in *Geoponica* (17, 20, 3), and the verb ἀποψήχω is found in Aristotle (*H.A.* 9, 45, 6) and Dioscorides (5, 89), while the simple ψήχω is common to tragedy, comedy, Xenophon, Aristotle, and late Greek, including late epic, and καταψήχω goes back to Simonides (*Fr.* 100). *c.* βούφωρα (a distinctly doubtful restoration in l. 36) is a compound otherwise unknown ; but φώρ is common to Herodotus, Sophron, Attic comedy, Attic prose, and late Greek. Various of the compounds of βούς are employed in tragedy. It is in all probability

from this Satyric drama that βοοῖκλεψ (for that apparently is the right reading), presumably a double compound of βοῦς and κλεψ, is quoted by Athenaeus : see my treatment of that word (Sophocles, *Fr. Incert.* 318, at the end of the text of this play). The word βούφορα is so highly uncertain that I will abstain from further comment. *d.* ἐγγόνους, in the place where it occurs in the *Ichneutae*, is an adjective meaning *kindred* : it is thus equivalent to ἐν γένει οὔσαις, and I can see no reason why any writer who employs the word ἐγγονος, with the ἐγ-standing for ἐν-, should not use it in that sense, seeing that ἐγγενής is so used ; and further I see no reason why the word should not be employed in any of several styles. As a matter of fact however this ἐγγονος, compounded with ἐν, does not occur in tragedy, or, indeed, in literature at all, until we come to late prose, and there it has the specialised meaning of *grandchild*, which it also has in certain inscriptions. I conclude that tragedy deliberately avoided the word ; but it is in its nature a compound so easily formed that it is difficult to suppose that Attic eschewed it altogether, and the late prose use in a specialised sense presupposes an earlier use in a general sense, which, again in view of the facile formation of the compound, can scarcely have been restricted to Satyric drama. It is essential to remember that the word written in modern texts as ἐκγονος and in the mss. sometimes as ἐκγονος, sometimes as ἐγγονος, *i.e.* the compound of ἐκ, was, at any rate during a large portion of the strictly classical period, regularly written ἐγγονος. I suppose that, whereas the compound of ἐν was pronounced *eng-gonos*, the compound of ἐκ was pronounced *eg-gonos*. Be that as it may, the sorting out of the two distinct compounds must have taken place in or not much before Alexandrian times, and it is quite possible that sometimes the sorting has been erroneous. For example, in Plato's *Timaeus* (40 D) we now read : πάντες ὅσους ἴσμεν ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν ἔτι δὲ τοὺς τούτων ἄλλους ἐκγόνους. But ἐγγόνους, *members of their families*, would be quite as natural as ἐκγόνους, *descendants*, and indeed would in the context convey almost exactly the same meaning. And it seems certain that, whichever word Plato meant, they were at one period both spelt

ἐγγόνους with no possibility of graphic distinction. Wilamowitz has maintained that, wherever ἔγγονος occurs, it is only a way of writing ἔκγονος. This contention seems to me to be difficult to reconcile with the fairly common use in late prose (*e.g.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *A.R.* 6, 37) of ἔγγονος, so spelt, in the sense of *grandchild*. The examples, though the subject is beset with difficulties and the spelling in the mss. is by no means always ἔγγονος, appear nevertheless to be sufficiently numerous to show that respectable writers of late prose, at dates when, except owing to error in transcription, ἔκγονος was no longer written ἔγγονος, recognised a separate word, ἔγγονος, compounded, not with ἐκ, but with ἐν. Eustathius (*Il.* p. 611, 12, *Od.* p. 1682, 16, and p. 1871, 35) recognises this use. But he also mentions (*Od.* p. 1460, 18) a contrary use, or supposed use, which is defined concisely by Zonaras in the words : ἔγγονος ὁ υἱός· ἔκγονος δὲ ὁ τοῦ υἱοῦ υἱός. Furthermore, several times in inscriptions of the Roman Imperial period ἔγγονος means *great-grandchild* (*e.g.* Boeckh, *Inscr. Lac.* vol. 1, p. 45, 1315). The reasons why in this passage of the *Ichneutae* I take ἐγγόνους as meaning *kindred* are these. I have argued (see Chapter III) that the δεσπότης, whose ἔγγονοι the Nymphs are, is Pan. If that be so, I do not see my way to supposing that Pan could be termed either their father or their grandfather. I cannot discover the slightest trace of any such legend. But it would be an easy matter to ascribe to Pan an undefined kinship with them. Moreover the servitude of the Satyrs to the δεσπότης in question would be a difficulty, were the δεσπότης father or ancestor of the Nymphs, seeing that (according to ll. 33–34) the Nymphs were the mothers of the Satyrs. I cannot help wondering whether the passage with which we are dealing may not have been laid under contribution by Virgil, when he wrote (*Georg.* II. ll. 492–493) :

‘Fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestes,

Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.’

*e. κυκησιμός* is unknown elsewhere, but *κυκῶ* (*κυκάω*) is common to Homer, Hippocrates, Archilochus, Sappho, tragedy, comedy, Plato, and late Greek, so that the



appearance of *κακησμός* even in Aristophanes would excite little surprise. *f.* *στίφρωμα*, an almost unavoidable restoration, presents us with a verbal substantive not found elsewhere. Neither does the verb *στιφρώω* occur, though *στιφράω* does (Athenaeus, vii. 323 F, and Eustathius, 1913, 45): but from *στρυφνός*, which is the usual late Greek equivalent of the Attic *στιφρός*, we have *στρυφνώνω* (e.g. Plutarch, *Mor.* 624 F). *στιφρός* itself is said by Moeris (p. 342) to be the Attic for the Hellenic *στριφνός* (which is merely another way of spelling *στρυφνός*). *στιφρός* occurs first as Galen's reading in a passage of Hippocrates (probably p. 282, 34, where however the mss. of Hippocrates now present *στρυφναι*), and afterwards is found in Attic comedy (Aristophanes, *Geras*, *Fr.* 5, l. 3, Crobylus, *Pseudypobolimaëus*, *Fr.* 2, l. 1), in which *στιφρότης* also presents itself (Timocles, *Marathonii*, l. 3 of the only *Fr.*). *στιφρός* is used by Xenophon (e.g. *Cyn.* 4, 1), and frequently by Aristotle (e.g. *H.A.* iii. 1, 24), but apparently not by any authors other than those already mentioned, except that in late prose it occasionally is employed by careful writers (e.g. St. Gregory of Nyssa, vol. 3, 423 D) as an Atticism instead of *στρυφνός*, and once in late verse (a fragment of Nicander quoted by Athenaeus, xv. 684 A). *στρυφνός*, for which the mss. frequently exhibit *στριφνός*, is extremely common in ordinary late prose (e.g. Aretaeus, p. 31, 10) and also comes thrice in the Doric, of late date, ascribed to Timaeus of Locri (p. 100 E, twice; p. 101 C), but is also presented several times in the mss. of classical authors (Hippocrates, Aristophanes and other comedians, Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle), though in all such cases it is highly probable that *στιφρός* ought to be read. *στρυφνός* is found, though rarely, in late verse (e.g. Oppian, *Cyn.* i. l. 411). The derivative *στρυφνότης* is presented by mss. twice in Aristotle, and occurs in late prose. I doubt greatly whether any distinction of meaning can be drawn between *στιφρός* and *στρυφνός*. They both signify *hard, strong, stubborn*; the fact that *στρυφνός* (so presented in the mss.) is several times used of a *harsh* taste does not appear to indicate any divergence of sense between the two words. *g.* *συμποδηγέται* presents a compound unknown elsewhere, and even *ποδηγέτης*

appears only in Lycophron (l. 385), and ποδηγετῶ in Lycophron (l. 11), Oppian (*Cyn.* iv. 360), and Philo (I. 294); but ποδηγῶ comes not only in Lycophron (l. 965) and in late prose, but also in Plato (*Legg.* 899 A). On the analogy of the use of κυνηγετῶ as compared with that of κυνηγῶ (see above) we should expect ποδηγετῶ to be even better Attic than Plato's ποδηγῶ. *h.* ὑποῤῥυπαίνεται presents a compound unknown elsewhere; but the simple ῥυπαίνω, though foreign to tragedy, occurs in comedy (Pherecrates, *Fr.* 48), in Xenophon (*Loc.* 11, 3), and in Aristotle and late prose, while καταῤῥυπαίνω comes in Isocrates (245 D).

## B, 6.

At this point it is convenient to consider the word κατεῤῥιχνωμένος, which the papyrus presents, applied to a tortoise, in l. 293. The compound occurs nowhere else; but the simple verb ῥιχνοῦμαι, in the sense required by the context, if κατεῤῥιχνωμένος is the correct reading, viz. *I am shrivelled*, occurs in Aristotle (*H.A.* v. 20, 5), in Oppian (*H.* v. l. 592), and in late prose. The simple verb is also stated by Photius and Suidas to occur in this play, but in another sense, namely that of assuming an unbecoming stooping posture, and of this I will speak in a moment. But I do not consider κατεῤῥιχνωμένος in l. 293 to be anything better than a mistake for κατεῤῥιχνωμένος, *covered with a hard skin*. κατεῤῥιχνωμένον is given by Hesychius, and κατεῤῥιχνωμένους is the almost certain reading of H. Voss for κατεῤῥινημένους in Aeschylus' *Supplices*, l. 747.

In connexion with κατεῤῥιχνωμένος, I must here mention my reading ῥιχνοῖ in l. 124. I introduce a form of ῥιχνοῦμαι into a lacuna in that line, which seems to be the only possible place for it, because of the above-mentioned statement by Photius and Suidas as to the use of ῥιχνοῦμαι in a particular sense in this play. The only other passage where ῥιχνοῦμαι has the same meaning is in Lucian (*Lexiph.* 8).

## B, 7.

We have now reached the end of the list of words which present themselves in the *Ichneutae* only, and in the course of discussion I have for the sake of convenience

included a few words which also occur, in some sense, elsewhere. Before passing on to the next list, which is made up of the words, save a few already discussed, that occur both in the *Ichneutae* and elsewhere, but not in tragedy, it is desirable that I should mention separately the relative adverb τώς, as that form seems from this play to be in the highest degree characteristic of the Satyric style, and therefore, though its use is not absolutely confined to the Satyric drama, to go most naturally with the class of words of which I have already treated.

The relative adverb τώς occurs twice in the papyrus of the *Ichneutae*, viz. in l. 38 :

[.....] σοῦ φώνημα τώς ἐπέκλυον,

and in l. 294 :

ὥς αἰέλουρος εἰκάσαι πέφυκεν, ἥ τὼς πόρδαλις ;

In both cases the second hand accents τώς. In l. 38 Hunt alters the text to φωνήμαθ' ὥς, but he is unable to change l. 294. I on the other hand am very nearly certain that a third instance of τώς is disguised in l. 223, where

ὁμοῦ πρέπον κέλευμά πως κυνηγετῶν

seems to me to be a mistake for

ὁμοῦ πρέπον κέλευμα, τὼς κυνηγετῶν.

τως also occurs at the beginning of l. 286 : but the passage is so fragmentary that it is impossible to say whether this τως is (for we are here dealing with a chorus) the end of an adverb continued from the preceding line, or the relative τώς, or the demonstrative τῶς. I have myself adopted the third of these possibilities as furnishing what is perhaps the most natural way of reconstructing the passage.

The other places where the relative τώς is read are three in number. In Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, l. 762, the Megarian uses the expression

ὅκκ' ἐσβάλητε, τὼς ἄρωραῖοι μύες.

Gregory of Corinth (p. 244) says that in this passage τώς is Doric for ὥς. It may be observed that in l. 740 of the *Acharnians*, where also the Megarian is speaking,



Hamaker emends τὰς ὀπλὰς τῶν χοιρίων to τὰς ὀπλὰς τῶς χοίρια, and Blaydes follows him.

In Aeschylus' *Septem*, l. 637, the vulgate gives :

ἦ ζῶντ' ἀτιμαστῆρα τῶς ἀνδρηλατῶν.

Madvig emended to σῶς ἀνδρηλάτης, and Paley completed the emendation by reading σῶς ἀνδρηλατῶν. Paley is almost certainly right ; but still in the vulgate reading the τῶς has been taken as the relative τῶς. In the fourth *Epigram* of Theocritus, l. 1, the vulgate presents :

τήναν τὰν λαύραν, τῶς αἰ δρύες, αἰπόλε, κάμψας.

In this reading τῶς manifestly stands for the relative τῶς, which in this place has to mean *where* : and a good case can be made out for τῶς, seeing that in Theocritus (*Id.* i. l. 13) ὧς is used to mean *where*. As regards the words τῶς αἰ the vulgate follows the editions of Junta and of Calliergus, which possibly are partly based on mss. now lost. The only other reading which makes sense, and is not known to be conjectural, is τόθι ται, that of the first edition of the *Planudean Anthology*.

τῶς, not τως, is correct. All syllables, not acute or circumflex, are grave. In the case of "unaccented," i.e. grave, non-enclitic monosyllables the grave accent is, by exception, expressed in writing for the sake of ornament, if the vowel be not already decorated with a breathing. Thus μῆ, πρὸ, πρὸς, σύν, τὸ, but οὐ, εἰς, ἐν, ἔξ, ὁ : so also τῶς, but ὧς. The acute μῆ, πρό, πρόσ, σύν, τό, τῶς are false extensions, but sanctioned by tradition. The accents on dissyllabic prepositions are likewise ornaments and are disregarded in scansion by the accentual versifiers, who treat such prepositions as metrically part of the next word.

We thus see that all that can be gathered from elsewhere with regard to the relative τῶς is that it was certainly in use in Megarian Doric and was possibly employed by Theocritus. The case is on all fours with that of ἄνις, which also was in use in Megarian Doric and crops up again after a lapse of centuries. We may therefore provisionally conclude that, like ἄνις, the relative τῶς was imported into Satyric drama from Phlius by Pratinas and established itself securely in its new home.

## III

We will now turn to those words in the *Ichneutae* which, though not tragic, are used by non-tragic authors as well as in this play, or rather to that considerable majority of them which we have so far left untouched.

## A

The first group of these consists of words that occur also in some other Satyric drama, and of one word that is used by Pratinas, the father of that style, although not in a Satyric drama, but in an aulodic composition. The words that occur in some other Satyric drama are these : *a.* διακανάσσεται (a probable emendation in l. 253 of an unintelligible διαχαράσσεται), *b.* εὐιάζετο (l. 219), *c.* ἐφθά (a highly probable reading in l. 197), *d.* λαλίστατοι (l. 127), *e.* τράγος (l. 356), and *f.* φαλακρόν (l. 357), while the word that occurs in the aulody of Pratinas is, *g.* παροίνοις (a probable emendation in l. 147 of παροικιοῖς). To this list I might add ἀρσαβῶνα (a tempting restoration in l. 419) ; but, as ἀρράβων occurs in Satyric drama in the late *Agon* of Python (l. 18) only, I prefer to treat the word under III. c, though in so doing I perhaps am illogical.

*a.* διακανάσσεται, which seems to be almost inevitable as an emendation of διαχαράσσεται, exhibits a verb of markedly Satyric character. The compound διακανάσσω occurs elsewhere only in Euripides' *Cyclops* (l. 157), where the form διεκάναξε is exhibited, which passage is apparently referred to by Hesychius in a corrupt entry which now reads : διεκάνεξε· διέσεισε, διεσάλευσε. ἐγκάναξον is found in Aristophanes' *Equites* (l. 105), and is a convincing emendation of Pierson's in Euripides' *Cyclops* (l. 152) in lieu of the ms. reading ἐκπάταξον, for which emendation Musgrave had paved the way by proposing ἐκκάναξον ἐγκανάξας presents itself in Alciphron (3, 36). ἐκκάναξει occurs in the *Amici* of Eupolis (*Fr.* 8), and Hesychius gives ἐκκάναξεν. ἐξεκάναξα is used by Aelian (*Ep.* iv.). Hesychius also gives ἐξεκοδόξεν, which, as he interprets it by ἐξέχεεν, is apparently a corruption of ἐξεκάναξεν. He further gives ἐπεγκανάξαι. The use of the uncompounded verb is attested by Pollux (x. 85), who states that both

κανάξαι and ἐκκανάξαι were employed in the sense of ἐκκενώσαι or ἐκπιεῖν. It will be observed that of the six places where compounds of κανάσσω occur in extant literature, reckoning in, that is to say, the restoration in the *Ichneutae* and in the *Cyclops*, three present themselves in Satyric drama, two in comedy, and one in late prose. But, if scholars have been correct in taking Hesychius' ἐξεκοδόαξεν as a corruption of ἐξεκάναξεν, it is highly probable that that form, in view of its scansion, was found by Hesychius in some poem written in hexameters or in elegiacs. Pollux (*l.c.*) derives the verb from the substantive κάναστρον: he employs the nominative plural, κάναστρα, as it should be spelt to suit the context; but a false reading, κάνωστρα, has crept in. Eustathius however (*Od.* p. 1402) appears to derive the substantive from the verb; and that view seems to be sound. I take κανάσσω itself as formed from the root of κάνειν, and κάναστρον as in its turn formed from κανάσσω. But a verb with a present κανάσσω and an Attic aorist ἐκάναξα would yield, not κάναστρον, but κάνανκτρον, just as μάσσω, ἔμαξα, yields, not μάστρα or μάστρον, but μάκτρα and the late μάκτρον. I therefore conclude that we have in κανάσσω a verb of the exact type of ἀρμόσσω. ἀρμόσσω is the proper Ionic present, and appears in Hippocrates (*III.* 358), while ἀρμόττω is the strict Attic present, and occurs in Plato and the orators. A Doric present ἀρμόζω is found in Pindar (*P.* ix. l. 117) and, in the form ἐφαρμόσδω, in Theocritus (*I.* l. 53). Similarly the Doric imperfect ἄρμοζον is employed by Pindar (*N.* viii. l. 11), but ἤρμοστον by Plato and the orators. But a complication supervenes. ἀρμόζω is not solely the Doric, but likewise the Homeric form (*Od.* v. 162); and as a result of this it not only presents itself when the Epic dialect is used (*e.g.* Scythinus, *Fr.* 1, 1), but also on the only two occasions that the present or imperfect occurs in tragedy (Sophocles, *Tr.* l. 731, and Euripides, *Elec.* l. 24), and in prose from Aristotle downwards. Beyond all reasonable doubt, as is recognised by recent editors, the form proper to comedy is ἀρμόττω: but even there copyists have introduced ἀρμόζω, and they have gone the further length of importing ἀρμόζω into the pages of Hippocrates himself. Owing to a conflict of readings, the usage of Xeno-



phon is doubtful. Now with this Homeric ἀρμόζω we have here nothing to do : we are not now concerned with the traces left by Homer on literary Greek. Our business is exclusively with the Ionic ἀρμόσσω and the Attic ἀρμόττω on the one side and with the Doric, not the Epic, ἀρμόζω on the other side. With regard to these it is to be observed that, although the strict Doric aorist of ἀρμόζω is ἄρμοξα (e.g. Pindar, *Ol.* III. l. 5 ; *Isth.* I. l. 16), yet ἥρμοσα, the Ionic and Attic form, is paralleled by a milder Doric ἄρμοσα (Pindar, *Pyth.* III. l. 113 ; *Nem.* VII. l. 98), and in Lacedaemonian Doric was formed, not ἀρμοκτάς, but ἀρμοστάς, in the same way as the Attic ἄρμοσμα (Euripides, *Hel.* l. 411). Applying this evidence to the case of κανάσσω, we should expect an Ionic present κανάσσω, an Attic present κανάττω, and a Doric present κανάζω. We should also expect an Ionic and Attic aorist ἐκάνασα, and a Doric aorist ἐκάναξα. Further we should expect, not only Ionic and Attic, but Doric also, to agree in presenting the substantival form κánαστρον. All this we probably should find, were only the facts accessible. What we do find is an aorist ἐκάναξα coupled with a substantive κánαστρον, not κánακτρον. ἐκάναξα cannot be coupled with κánαστρον, except on the hypothesis that ἐκάναξα is the Doric aorist of a verb of which the Attic aorist would have been ἐκάνασα. If that verb was of the type of ἀρμόσσω, its present would in Attic have been κανάττω, or, in a Satyric drama, κανάσσω. Neither the present nor the imperfect occurs anywhere ; but on the strength of these considerations I feel that in proposing διακανάσσεται for διαχαράσσεται I am proposing a reasonable and probable form. I go further and say that the -άσσεται of διαχαράσσεται furnishes a distinct argument in favour of the present of ἐκάναξα having been κανάσσω. But in that case we have an instance in this verb of the use in Satyric drama of a Doric aorist side by side with an Attic present. Remembering Pratinas and what we have seen above with regard to ἄνις and to τῶς, I do not regard this as surprising. Neither am I astonished at comedy twice borrowing this aorist from the Satyric drama. A most striking instance of the deliberate use of a Doric tense-form in an Attic sentence is to be found in Xenophon's *Symposium* (9, 2), where

however it is true that the speaker is a Syracusan. If I am right in maintaining that *κάναστρον* is formed from *κανάσσω*, it follows that, however far back *κάναστρον* may be traced, *κανάσσω* is still older. In literature of the ordinary kind we cannot track the substantive to an earlier date than about 388 B.C. when the plural *κάναστρα* was employed by the comic poet Nicophon (*Fr.* 2), for, although *κάναστρα* occurs in the 14th *Epigram*, the *Caminos* (l. 3), attributed to Homer, it is impossible to say with any certainty whether that epigram, which is clearly Orphic in its affinities, was composed before or after the time of Nicophon. A similar uncertainty as to date attaches to the *Chelidonisma*, which (l. 9) presents *κάνιστρον*, which, I think, should be written *κάναστρον*. It seems to me that the Latin *canistrum* was formed by the Roman populace from the Greek *κάναστρον* because of the proparoxytone accent, when it ceased to be tonic, affecting the second vowel with a certain obscurity. It would seem that in later Greek *κάναστρον* died out entirely. The modern *κανίστρι* appears by its accent to indicate that it is reborrowed from *canistrum*. It is probably the reborrowed Latin word that is responsible for the spellings *κάνιστρον* and *κάνυστρον* in mss. Evidence of a different character exists for assigning to *κάναστρον* and consequently to *κανάσσω* a considerable antiquity. The promontory at the end of Pallene went by the name *Κανάστραιον*, and in extant literature is first mentioned by that name in Herodotus (VII. 123). For this geographical derivative to have been in established use in the time of Herodotus, it is clear that *κάναστρον* itself dates back at least to about 500 B.C. and probably to a much earlier period. As Pallene was colonised from Eretria, it is natural to suppose that the word *Κανάστραιον* is a Euboic formation. I have dealt with *κανάσσω* at some length : it is one of those words which, if one deals with them at all, cannot be dealt with summarily. *β. εὐάζετο* is an instance of a verb absolutely confined, so far as existing evidence goes, to Satyric drama, seeing that it occurs only here and in Euripides' *Cyclops* (l. 495). It is not that tragedy and other styles have no occasion to express the idea : they do express it, but by a slightly different verb *εὐάζω*, which is employed by Sophocles

(*Ant.* l. 1135), by Euripides (*Bacch.* l. 1035, and, in a disputed reading, l. 68), by the parodist Sopater (quoted by Athenaeus, iv. 175 D), in the Orphic *Hymns* (xliv. l. 4), by Meleager (*A.P.* ix. 363, l. 11), by Nonnus (*St. John*, ii. 23) and elsewhere in late literature, including prose. It gave rise to the Latin participle *evans.* c. ἐφθάζ is an instance of a verbal adjective which is unknown to tragedy, but occurs no less than thrice in Satyric drama (Euripides, *Cyclops*, ll. 246, 358, and 373). It also presents itself as many as 35 times in comedy. It makes its first appearances (apart from a passage in Simonides shortly to be mentioned) in Ionic prose, viz. Herodotus (ii. 77), and Hippocrates (*Vet. Med.* 13). It is not infrequent in other styles, e.g. Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, vi. 2, 28; *Anabasis*, v. 4, 32), Plato (*Republic*, iii. 404 c), Dioscorides (ii. 128), and Athenaeus (ix. several times). In all these cases, but not in the *Ichneutae*, it has the general meaning *boiled*. In the *Ichneutae* it bears the specialised sense *refined*, of gold. This specialised sense it also bears in Simonides (*Fr.* 64, l. 1), who is by far the earliest author to use the word, having been born some 72 years before the birth of Herodotus. ἐψόμενος is similarly employed of gold in Pindar (*Nem.* iv. l. 133). I conclude that in this particular instance Sophocles, doubtless with Satyric precedent, is making use of a somewhat archaic meaning of ἐφθός, and that the employment of the word by Euripides in the *Cyclops*, though possibly justified to Euripides' mind by this very passage, ought not to be brought into direct comparison. The expression in the *Ichneutae*, if I am right in my reading, is ἔφθ' ἐλεῖς.\* This glaringly un-Attic locution has all the appearance of a proverb (for ἐλεῖς see above under § B, 3). The normal equivalent of the simple ἐφθός, in the sense *refined*, is the compound ἄπεφθος, which is used by Theognis (l. 449), by Herodotus (i. 50), and by Thucydides (ii. 13). It should be observed that the simple ἐφθός has in Hippocrates one other specialised meaning, that of *languid* (1125 E), and the word, in this sense, must in the professional diction of that author have established itself as almost an independent adjective, seeing that

\* In Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (l. 730) for ἔρπ', εἰ θέλεις, we perhaps should read ἔρπ' ἔφθ' ἐλεῖς: for the *spiritus lenis* compare ἄπεφθος.



he actually employs (*Acut.* 392) an abstract substantive ἐφθότης, *languor*. This latter fact is not without its bearing on the possibility of ἐφθ' ἐλεῖς without the addition of any word signifying *gold*. *d.* λαλίστατοι is an example of a superlative which in older Greek seems to be found only here, in Euripides' *Cyclops* (l. 315), and in Menander (*Epicleus*, Fr. 1, l. 1), though later it presents itself in Plutarch and Lucian. But λαλίστατος cannot be separated from λαλίστερος, which comparative occurs in Aristophanes (*Ran.* l. 91), in Alexis (*Thraso*, l. 1 of only *Fr.*), in Menander (*Plocium*, Fr. 13), and in Aristotle (*H.A.* iv. 9). These facts show that we are dealing with a form peculiar in early times to Satyric drama and to comedy, and apparently beneath the dignity of prose in the strictly classical period. The positive adjective λάλος stands on a somewhat different footing. Like λαλίστερος and λαλίστατος, it is used in comedy (Aristophanes, *Ach.* l. 716, *Pax*, l. 653, and *Thesm.* l. 393), in Aristotle, and in Plutarch and other late writers; but, unlike the comparative and superlative, it is also employed in tragedy (Euripides, *Suppl.* l. 462), and by Plato (*Gorg.* 515 E). Moreover it can be brought into a kind of relation with Satyric drama, being used by Epicharmus (139 Ahrens), whose Doric comedies are very near akin to the Satyric drama of Athens. It must be observed also that the positive λάλος developed a picturesque meaning: see, for example, the Orphic *Argonautica* (ll. 706-707):

διὰ πέτρας

κυανέας ἤμειψε λάλος τρόπις,

or the so-called Anacreontic poems (13, l. 7):

λάλον πιόντες ὕδωρ.

*e.* τράγος is a word which has more distinctively Satyric authority than any other in the Greek language. It occurs not only in the *Ichneutae* but also in another Satyric drama by Sophocles (*Salmoneus*, Fr. 540), in a Satyric drama by Aeschylus (*Prometheus Pyrcaeus*, Fr. 190), in a Satyric drama by Euripides (*Cyclops*, l. 80), and in a travesty of Satyric drama in a chorus of Aristophanes (*Plutus*, l. 295). A most peculiar circumstance is that, outside Satyric drama, the word, uncompounded, hardly makes its appearance in any kind of Attic, being found,

outside Aristotle, only in Menander (*Theophorumene*, *Fr.* 2, l. 3) with any degree of certainty. It occurs also in what is called *Fr.* 215 of the Anonymous Comedians; but there is no proof that that fragment comes from an Attic writer, and, if it does, it is as likely to belong to a Satyric drama as to a comedy, being almost identical with Sophocles' *Fr.* 540 (from the *Salmonesus*) mentioned above. Discussing this fragment, Meineke quotes Cratinus (*Fr.* 61 of uncertain plays) as using τράγος: but this involves an arbitrary alteration of Hesychius' κόρσακις τράγος, παρὰ Κρατίνῳ. Hesychius does not attribute the word τράγος to Cratinus. In Antiphanes' comedy, the *Cyclops* (*Fr.* 2, l. 3), ms. authority leaves us free, in anapaests, to choose between ταῦρος ὑλήβατος and τράγος ἡλιβάτης. I do not think that the nominative ἡλιβάτης is a possible form. The fragment reposes on the combined authority of Athenaeus (ix. 402 E) and Eustathius (1753, 24). It seems that the mss. of Athenaeus vary between ταῦρος ὑληβάτας, τράγος ὑλιβάτης, and τράγος ὑλιβάτας, while Eustathius gives ταῦρος ἡλιβάτας. The termination -τας, impossible in anapaests, seems to indicate an original -τος. The compounds of τράγος are in a different position. τραγέλαφος occurs not only in comedy (e.g. Aristophanes, *Ran.* l. 937) but even in Plato (*Rep.* 488 A). τραγοειδής comes in Plato (*Crat.* 408 D). τραγοκτόνος actually presents itself in tragedy (Euripides, *Bacch.* l. 139). τραγομάσχαλος is found in Aristophanes (*Pax*, l. 811). τραγοπώγων occurs in Cratinus (*Malithaci*, *Fr.* 6). Of τραγικὸς and τραγωδός, with its derivatives, it is unnecessary here to speak. τράγαινα makes its appearance in Aristotle (*G.A.* iv. 4, 15), as also does τράγος itself (*H.A.* v. 14 etc.). The avoidance of the simple τράγος in good Attic, outside the Satyric drama, is all the more remarkable in view of the authority imparted to the word by its use in the *Odyssey* (ii. 239), in Herodotus (iii. 112), and in Pindar (*Fr.* 215).<sup>\*</sup> Herodotus (ii. 46) also uses the compound τραγοσκελής, and Simonides (*Fr.* 134) employs τραγόπους. *f.* φαλακρόν is an example of a word common to this play and to Attic comedy (Eupolis, *Baptae*, *Fr.* 16, l. 2, and *Aureum Genus*, *Fr.* 4,

<sup>\*</sup> The word occurs also in a *Pythian Oracle* (Pausanias, iv. 20), which, if authentic, is of about the date 683 B.C.

l. 5 ; Aristophanes, *Nubes*, l. 540, and *Pax*, ll. 767, 771 ; probably also Apollodorus Carystius, *Hecyra*, *Fr.* 5), but also common to this play, to Herodotus (iv. 23), to Hippocrates (p. 1040 c, and often), to the *Mimes* of Sophron (13 Ahrens), and to two other Satyric plays (Sophocles, *Dionysiscus*, *Fr.* 171, l. 3, and Euripides, *Cycl.* l. 227). It is clear that the *Ichneutae* goes with the writings of the latter group rather than with Attic comedy. It is interesting to find that, as we have seen Epicharmus employing λάλος, so Sophron employs φαλακρός. I do not suggest that Sophron's *Mimes* come anywhere as near to Satyric drama as do the comedies of Epicharmus ; but I admit that I expect a certain similarity of language. Not only do the writers above mentioned use φαλακρός, but the word occurs in Plato (*Rep.* v. 454 B and C), in Aristotle, and in late prose. Plato, I imagine, borrows the word from the same sources as does Satyric drama, and does not use it on the mere strength of its being, as is proved by comedy, vernacular Attic. γ. παροίνους presents a word which is found several times in late prose (e.g. Lucian, *Tim.* 55). Athenaeus employs it himself (xiv. 629 E), but in another place in his writings (x. 445 C) a question is put as to where the word occurs, to which the answer is given that it comes in the *Lydus* of Antiphanes. This seems to show that it was unfamiliar as good Attic. Besides the example from Antiphanes just mentioned (the only extant fragment of the *Lydus*) the word occurs in Attic in Lysias (101, 20) only. The sole other place where it comes, apart from late prose, is in Pratinas (*Melic Fr.* 1, l. 8). I suspect that, if I am right in reading παροίνους in the *Ichneutae*, its occurrence here is connected with its use by Pratinas.

## B

We next come to three diminutives, *a.* θηρίων (l. 145), *b.* ὀνθία (an almost certain restoration in l. 139), and, *c.* παιδάρια (an uncertain restoration in l. 370). It is well known that diminutives cannot be employed in tragedy, and it is proved by Euripides' *Cyclops* that they may freely be used in Satyric drama.

*a.* θηρίων presents a substantive, in habitual use from Homer downwards, though not in the *Iliad*, which, though



diminutive in form, is seldom diminutive in meaning (see *Od.* x. 171 and 180 : μάλα γὰρ μέγα θηρίον ἦεν). Being a diminutive, it cannot be employed, whether simple or compounded, in tragedy. This fact however has been somewhat disguised by the existence of a false reading, θηρίων, in the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus, of two alleged fragments of Aeschylus and two alleged fragments of Euripides which contain the word, and of three false readings which attribute to Euripides forms of the adjective θηριώδης. In the passage in the *Choephoroe* (l. 232) the old reading was θηρίων γραφήν, but the θηρίον of the Medicean ms. is sufficient to show that the right reading is θήρειον γραφήν. The first alleged fragment of Aeschylus is that which used to be numbered *Fr. Incert.* 5, and runs

σοὶ δὲ θηρίων  
ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

This fragment has for almost a century been rejected as non-Aeschylean; yet it is possible that it may come from a Satyric drama of Aeschylus, and indeed the discovery of the *Ichneutae*, with its free use of iambic tetrameters acatalectic, encourages one to take the passage as Satyric, scanning it as part of such a tetrameter (it presents no caesura proper to a trimeter):

⏏ — ⏏ σοὶ δὲ θηρίων ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

If it be from a Satyric drama of Aeschylus, then the subject-matter suggests that that Satyric drama is the *Leo*. I hope, circumstances permitting, to recur to the fragment in the *Addenda* to this volume.

The second alleged fragment of Aeschylus (*Glaucus Pontios*, *Fr.* 26) is presented thus by Phrynichus (Bekker, *Anec.* p. 5, 21):

ἀνθρωποειδὲς θηρίον ὕδατι συζῶν,  
ἐπὶ τοῦ Γλαύκου ἀναφανέντος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. Αἰσχύλος.

The line can be reduced to a sort of scansion by reading ζυζῶν instead of συζῶν, so as to constitute a scazon. But the result is, not a tragic scazon, but a comic scazon with an anapaest in the fourth foot, seeing that the position of the caesura in that foot absolutely precludes the possibility of scanning it as a tribrach. A preliminary

difficulty is created by the quantity, as we certainly are not dealing with epic, or with anything like the hexameter from Euripides quoted by Aristophanes in the *Ranae* (l. 1339), of the first syllable of ὕδατι: but, altogether apart from that, in the first place one can hardly attribute a scazon of any kind to Aeschylus, and in the second place a scazon of comic scansion seems to be a thing entirely unknown.\* I therefore propose to write the line:

ἀνθρωποειδὲς θηρίον συζῶν ὕδει.

I suggest that συζῶν ὕδει was corrupted into συζῶν ὕδατι, and that ὕδατι συζῶν is a partial attempt to restore metre. The dative ὕδει occurs in Hesiod (*Op.* l. 61) and in Theognis (l. 955), and late Epic has a nominative ὕδος (*Orphic Arg.* l. 113, and Callimachus, *Fr.* 466). In that case we have an iambic trimeter constructed on the metrical model common to Ionic writers and to Attic tragedy, but evidently not taken from Attic tragedy. I suggest that in Phrynichus we should read Αἰσχρίων in place of Αἰσχύλος, and attribute the verse to the iambic writings of Aeschrion of Samos or Mitylene, a companion of Alexander the Great. The works of Aeschrion are now represented by one hexameter, fifteen scazon iambic trimeters, and one scazon trochaic tetrameter. That he wrote in an Ionic widely removed from the language of tragedy is sufficiently proved by two of his lines,

ἱρις δ' ἔλαμψε, καλὸν οὐρανοῦ τόξον (*Fr.* 4, Bergk),

and

χλεύην τε ποιεῖ καὶ γέλωτα καὶ λάσθην (*Fr.* 8, l. 4, Bergk).

The Glaucus theme was a commonplace of literature: Anaxilas, Antiphanes, and Eubulus all three wrote comedies entitled *Glaucus*. The alleged fragment of Aeschylus has hitherto almost escaped attention owing to an improbable suggestion of Dindorf's that it is some grammarian's paraphrase of an Aeschylean original. The first of the alleged fragments of Euripides, which used to be numbered *Fr. Incert.* 14, is in reality, as is proved by an express ascription in Stobaeus (*Flor.* II. 27),

\* Except, doubtfully, in post-classical composition (e.g. Cougny's *Appendix to A.P., Addenda*, I. n. 300 b, l. 1).

*Fr. 3* of the *Fabulae Incertae* of the comic poet Philemon. In the second line of that fragment *θηρίοις* occurs. The second of the alleged fragments of Euripides, which used to be numbered *Fr. Incert. 30*, and runs

οἶω μ' ὁ δαίμων θηρίῳ συνώκισεν,

is cited by Casaubon as the source of l. 6 of the only extant fragment of the *Phasma sive Philargyrus* of Theognetus :

οἶω μ' ὁ δαίμων φιλοσόφῳ συνώκισεν.

Casaubon states that the verse which he alleges from Euripides comes from the *Andromeda* of that poet. No kind of corroboration of Casaubon's statement has been discovered, and for the verse which he produces no authority can be found. On the other hand, it would appear that the line in Theognetus is a parody, not of Euripides, but of the ninth *Fragment* of the dramatic dithyrambist Philoxenus :

οἶω μ' ὁ δαίμων τέρατι συγκαθεῖρξεν.

There is thus no question arising as to a use of *θηρίῳ*. The fragment of Philoxenus comes from his dramatic dithyramb the *Cyclops*, and Galatea is plainly the speaker. The adjective *θηριώδης* presents itself thrice in the Euripidean text in the forms *θηριῶδες* (*Or.* l. 524, and *Tr.* l. 671) and *θηριώδους* (*Suppl.* l. 202). I consider it to be clear that *θηροειδές* and *θηροειδοῦς* ought to be read. The nominative *θηριώδης* also presents itself in l. 2 of what used to be accounted *Fr. 1* of Euripides' *Sisyphus*. As the *Sisyphus* of Euripides was certainly a Satyric drama (see Aelian, *V.H.* 2, 8), the occurrence in it of *θηριώδης* would be possible : but, although Plutarch and Galen mistakenly assign the fragment to the *Sisyphus* of Euripides, Sextus Empiricus rightly says that it comes from the *Sisyphus* of Critias. This play also was apparently a Satyric drama, as it presents (l. 39) another diminutive, *χωρίῳ*. The fragment is 42 lines in length and is not Euripidean in style. *θηριώδης* may perhaps be allowed to stand in it. I have written at length on the point of the word *θηρίον* not being tragic, and I have done so for the reason that such evidence as seems, or once seemed, to make against the conclusion, has not previously, so far as I know, been presented in



a synoptic form. I discredit the evidence myself; but I think that scholars should be enabled, without laborious search in a large number of books, to see for themselves what it is and why it has been discredited. *b.* ὀνθία, a seemingly inevitable restoration, exhibits a diminutive otherwise not found. ὀνθίων is of course formed from the Homeric ὄνθος, which perhaps occurs in this play (l. 395). *c.* παιδάρια, if the restoration be correct, presents an instance of a word which, like θηρίον, is a diminutive in form, but, unlike θηρίον in its ordinary sense, is also a diminutive in meaning. The word is frequent in comedy (e.g. Aristophanes, *Aves*, l. 494), occurs in Plato (*Conv.* 207 D), and is used by the orators (e.g. Demosthenes 1252, 28) and also by Xenophon (*Ages.* 1, 21): it comes in late prose (e.g. Callixenus, quoted by Athenaeus, v. 200 F).

## C

In the third group I class together 26 words, forms, and usages, foreign to tragedy, but common to the *Ichneutae*, if the readings and restorations be correct, and to other writers outside the Satyric drama or, in some cases, at any rate not known to have been Satyric. The connecting link between these 26 instances is simply that all of them, in my opinion, are in one way or another sufficiently striking or peculiar to stand out from among the other instances with which I shall deal later. The striking or peculiar instances are these: *a.* ἀκάλως (an uncertain restoration in l. 62), *b.* ἀρσαβῶνα (an uncertain but tempting restoration in l. 419), *c.* βαῖτας (an apparently inevitable restoration in l. 67 in a passage which I consider an interpolation), *d.* γέλω (an uncertain accentuation, involving emendation in the context, of the reading of the first hand in l. 359), *e.* δυσφορηθῆς (l. 327), *f.* εἶπες (l. 216), together with an almost certain reading or emendation ἔπω (l. 15), *g.* εἶσθα (an apparently almost inevitable restoration in l. 50), *h.* ἔνος (an apparently necessary emendation in l. 355), *i.* ἐξενίσμεθα (the reading in l. 135 exhibited by Theon instead of the reading, apparently ἐξηγίσμεθα, of the first hand of the papyrus), *k.* ἐχέτλη (an almost inevitable restoration in l. 103 of the reading of the first hand of the papyrus), *l.* κόλακι

(l. 152), *m.* κροκίδιζε (l. 184), *n.* λιχνῖτιν (l. 267), *o.* οὔρει (almost certainly the reading of the first hand in l. 116, where the second hand seems to read εὔρες), *p.* πόρδαλις (l. 294), *q.* ποσσί (l. 65, in a passage which I consider an interpolation), *r.* σεῖ (which, though the second hand divides the first hand's σεῖ after the σ, can best be taken as one word in l. 143), *s.* συνάμα (the existing reading of the first hand in l. 68, in a passage which I consider an interpolation, where however the second hand alters to ξυνάμα, and has also interfered with the writing of the first hand in such a way as to suggest that the συνάμα of that hand is in reality part of a miswriting of σὺν Ἀμαλθείᾳ), *t.* σύνδυο (an apparently inevitable restoration in l. 46), *u.* σύρβη (a probable restoration in l. 304), *x.* τέγην (a doubtful restoration in l. 259), *y.* τόλμην (l. 11), *z.* ὕνιν (an uncertain but tempting restoration in l. 369), *aa.* ὑπόνομα (l. 62), *bb.* φῦσα (a restoration difficult to avoid in l. 142), and, *cc.* χρῆσθαι (the reading in l. 91 exhibited by Theon in lieu of the χρηστά of the first hand of the papyrus).

*a.* ἀκάλως, the first syllable of which is long, presents itself in a chorus. It does not come from the adjective ἀκαλός, oxytone and with a short first syllable, employed by Parthenius (quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Παρθένιος) in the expression ἀκαλὰ προρέων, which forms part of the compounds ἀκαλαῤῥείτης (*Il.* vii. 422, and *Od.* xix. 434) and ἀκαλαῤῥοος (*Orph. Arg.* l. 1185), but from the adjective, proparoxytone and with a long first syllable, which appears in lexicæ in the Attic form ἡκαλος. The variation of accent and quantity between the two adjectives is clearly set forth in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (*s.v.* ἀκαλός), so that no attention need be paid to misaccentuations in Suidas or others. If the word be rightly read in the *Ichneutae*, it is plain that it must also have occurred elsewhere for the *Etymologicum Magnum* (*l.c.*) and Suidas (*s.v.* ἀκαλός) to be able to quote it in its Attic form. *b.* ἀρσαβῶνα, if this doubtful restoration in the *Ichneutae* be correct, supplies an example of the adoption by Satyric drama of a Phoenician word accepted by Attic comedy (Antiphanes, *Cnaphæus*, only *Fr.* l. 6; Menander, *Fab. Inc. Fr.* 148, l. 2, and *Fr.* 223, l. 1), found in oratorical prose (Isæus, 71, 20), employed

by Aristotle (*Polit.* i. 11), and current in the *New Testament* and in late prose, though of course with -ῥῥ- everywhere except (by conjecture) here. ἄρῥαβών actually occurs once in post-Attic Satyric drama, viz. in the solitary fragment of Python's *Agen* (l. 18). *c.* βατας, which seems to be absolutely the only possible restoration consistent with the indications afforded by the papyrus, presents itself in a passage which on various grounds I regard as an interpolation, and therefore the word is less surprising than it would be if we were, in my opinion, dealing with the true text of Sophocles. The first syllable is shown by the metre to be short, the second syllable to be long. Apart from this passage, I can find no evidence of the existence of the word βατια until we come to the writer of the Epitome of Strabo, who knows the word, but takes it to be Latin in origin, an idea which seems to have no foundation. He writes, speaking of Baiae (v. 1129 D): ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βατίαν καλοῦσι τὴν τροφὸν καὶ βατούλον διὰ τὰς Βατας, τόπον ὄντα ἀπολαυστικώτατον καὶ τρυφῶντι ἐπιτήδειον. The Epitome of Strabo is thought to have been composed about A.D. 980. But an *Etymologicon*—not the *Lexicon*—once current under the name of Suidas, quoted \* in du Fresne's *Glossarium* (published in 1688), appears somewhere to have presented: τεθῆ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τίθη, ἡ τρόφος, ἡ βατια· ἡ δὲ βατια ἐτυμολογεῖτο ἀναβιβάζουσα, ἡ εἰς τὴν βᾶσιν ἡλικίας τὸ τρεφόμενον ἄγουσα. The writer of that statement evidently considered βατια a Greek word not borrowed from Latin. Seeing that the newer Greek pronounces γ before ι as a consonantal γ, so that for practical purposes the use of γ before ι is simply to mark a diaeresis, from medieval times onward βατια would graphically be expressed as βαγία. This βαγία comes in the *Romance of Apollonius King of Tyre* and in other late Constantinopolitan writings. The derivative βαγίτζα occurs in Emmanuel Georgillas' *de Mortalitate Rhodi* and elsewhere. No doubt the literary authority of the word βατια does not show it to be better than medieval; but the statement of the epitomiser of Strabo and the way in which the word is dealt with in the etymological passage

\* Avowedly—see du Fresne, *Index Auctorum*, p. 41—at second hand from Meursius' *Glossarium Graecobarbarum* (A.D. 1614).



attributed to Suidas indicate that in mediæval times it was considered to have behind it a more or less classical history. It is presumably on grounds such as these that βαῖτα is actually given in Liddell and Scott. The almost certain occurrence of the word in an all but demonstrably interpolated passage of this Satyric drama is, I suggest, a striking example of the *humilis sermo* deprecated in Satyric dramas by Horace (*de Arte Poetica*, l. 229), who writes :

‘Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces  
 Conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,  
 Ne quicunque deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,  
 Regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,  
 Migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas ;  
 Aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet.’

If, as cannot easily be disputed, we are dealing with an interpolation, whether thrown in for some other reason, or designed to replace an original passage hopelessly corrupt, the date of the papyrus renders it not at all improbable that the interpolation may have been composed somewhere about the time at which Horace wrote. *d.* If the accentuation of γέλω which I assign to it is correct, the word is the genitive of γέλως declined like λαγῶς, *i.e.* *N.* γέλως, *G.* γέλω, *D.* γέλῳ, *A.* γέλων or γέλω, *V.* γέλω. The genitive just given is extant, if at all, here only, and the vocative, as might be expected from the nature of the word, is not found. The accusative and dative however have first-rate authority. Moeris says (Pierson’s edition, p. 108) : γέλων Ἀττικῶς, γέλωτα Ἑλληνικῶς. γέλων is the regular Aristophanic form (*e.g.* *Ran.* l. 45). γέλωτα has however invaded the Aristophanic text. In the *Nubes*, l. 1035, γέλωτ’ ὀφλήσεις should be emended into γέλων ὀφλήσεις : the expression γέλων ὀφλών actually occurs in Aristophanes (*Fab. Incert. Fr.* 3, l. 1). In another of his fragments (*Fab. Incert. Fr.* 75) we read :

ἐπὶ τῷ ταρίχει τὸν γέλωτα κατέδομαι.

This seems to be corrupt, and I suggest :

ἐπὶ τῷ ταρίχει τὴν γε λῶπα κατέδομαι,

*When I have finished the bloater, I will eat up the paper it is wrapped in.*

In tragedy the accusative γέλων is equally secure. It is the only accusative of the word presented in Aeschylus, being read in the text and guaranteed by the metre in the place where it occurs (*Choeph.* l. 727). In Sophocles γέλων is in two places (*Aj.* l. 303, *Ant.* l. 647) both read in the text and guaranteed by the metre, while in one other place (*Aj.* l. 382), the mss. vary between γέλωθ' and γέλων, and either\* will scan; and in yet another place (*Ant.* l. 551), where the text presents εἰ γέλωτ' ἐν σοὶ γελῶ, it is clear that γέλων would scan equally well, but, partly on the strength of an original accentuation γελῶτ' in the Laurentian ms., an emendation εἰ γελῶ γ', ἐν σοὶ γελῶ has been favoured. In one place only in Sophocles (*Aj.* l. 958), the sole remaining place in which the poet uses the accusative of this word, is γέλωτα both presented in the text and guaranteed by the metre: but this passage, unlike the others, is lyrical, a fact which makes all the difference. In Euripides, who uses the word only in trimeters, γέλων is in six places (*Bacch.* ll. 250, 1081, *Ion*, l. 1172, *Medea*, ll. 383, 1041, *H.F.* l. 285) both read in the text and guaranteed by the metre. In three other places of Euripides (*Ion*, l. 600, *Medea*, l. 1049, *Suppl.* l. 846) γέλωτ' in elision is presented by the text, and in these I would read γέλων. It is said by some moderns that the tragedians use γέλων indeed, but only when the metre compels them. For my own part, I more than doubt whether the great classical authors ever used any form under the compulsion of metre: metre however is frequently a witness to the forms which they did use, because in many passages it exercised a compulsion on the copyists by preventing them from altering those forms: where the metre permits equally either of two forms, there the copyists were able to insert the wrong form. But there remain two places in Euripides (*Bacch.* l. 854, and *Medea*, l. 404) where the text presents and where the metre confirms γέλωτα. I suspect both passages: but neither of them, without considerable alteration, will admit γέλων. In the former, for

χρήζω δέ νιν γέλωτα Θηβαίοις ὀφλεῖν,

I suggest:

χρήζω δέ νιν γέλων, ὅσ' ἡβαιοῖ σ', ὀφλεῖν.

\* *Pace* various authorities.

In the latter, instead of οὐ γέλωτα δεῖ σ' ὀφλεῖν, I propose : οὐ γέλων ἔδει σ' ὀφλεῖν. It is a matter of some doubt whether the normal Homeric accusative was or was not γέλω. The long form γέλωτα occurs in one Homeric line (*Od.* xviii. 100) where it is guaranteed by the metre. It also occurs in a place (*Od.* xx. 8) where there exist the rival readings γέλω τε and γέλων τε. γέλω, with an alternative γέλον and an unmetrical variant γέλων, is found once (*Od.* xx. 346). Once also (*Od.* xviii. 350) γέλων presents itself under conditions of metre which would equally well permit us to read γέλω. That is the Homeric evidence, and it is inconclusive. But at any rate it shows that one school at least of grammarians regarded γέλω as a good Homeric form of the accusative. The genitive and the dative stand in Attic on a different footing from that of the accusative. Neither in Attic nor elsewhere, except perhaps in the *Ichneutae*, does γέλω actually present itself as a genitive, γέλωτος being invariable. As regards the dative, γέλωτι is in Attic equally invariable; in Homer γέλῳ comes once (*Od.* xviii. 100). In this Homeric passage there is a remarkable, but quite impossible, variant, γέλω, without an ι, which was taken by some grammarians to be formed by apocope from γέλωτι, as they imagined δῶ to be formed by apocope from δῶμα (see Eustathius, p. 1607, 18, and p. 1697, 17). It will be seen from all this that, if in the *Ichneutae* γέλω is rightly taken as a genitive, Sophocles is writing, so far as the word goes, in a somewhat peculiar style, remote from Attic but not altogether remote from Epic, in such a style in fact as is apparently congruous with Satyric tradition. *e.* δυσφορηθῆς is a striking example of the use of the passive δυσφοροῦμαι instead of the active δυσφορῶ, which is common to Ionic prose, to Attic prose, and to tragedy. Indeed, apart from the *Ichneutae*, the only certain example of δυσφοροῦμαι is in Xenophon (*Cyr.* ii. 2, 5), where the participle δυσφορούμενος occurs. Xenophon (*ibid.* 8) also presents ἐδυσφοροῦντο καὶ ἔλεγον, but with a variant ἐδυσφόρουν τε καὶ ἔλεγον. In Isocrates (215 c), where the ordinary reading δορυφορούμενος is shown by the context to be correct, δυσφορούμενος is a negligible variant. It may be observed that, until the discovery of the *Ichneutae*,



it was quite uncertain whether the voice used by Xenophon was the middle or, as we now see, the passive. An affinity of this kind between Xenophon and Satyric drama is instructive. The un-Attic character of many of Xenophon's usages has become a commonplace of scholarship. It is clear that to some extent Xenophon set himself to follow in the footsteps of Thucydides, but it is even more patent that he drew much of his language from sources which Thucydides abstained from laying under contribution. I do not suggest that Xenophon borrowed from the Satyric drama: my view is that both Pratinas and Xenophon made considerable use of a sort of *lingua franca* dating from at least the sixth century B.C., whereas Thucydides confined himself in the main to the adaptation to Attic requirements of a strict Ionic tradition. *f. εἶπες* (to which must be added the almost certain reading or emendation ἔπω), meaning *thou wast wont to busy thyself with*, is a remarkable example of the use of an uncompounded verb which elsewhere is not found, save once in Homer (*Il.* vi. 321):

τὸν δ' εὖρ' ἐν θαλάμῳ περικαλλέα τεύχε' ἔποντα.

ἔπουσι is wrongly cited by Liddell and Scott from Nicander (*Al.* ll. 429, 490; *Th.* ll. 508, 738). In all four cases the word means *they call*, and should be written ἔπουσι. The compound ἀμφέπω on the other hand, used either with or without tmesis, is common in Homer, and ἀμφέπω is used in Pindar, tragedy, etc. Just as we have seen that γέλω, if rightly taken as genitive in the *Ichneutae*, receives a bare modicum of support from the occurrence once of the dative γέλῳ in the *Odyssey*, so now a single Homeric passage is all that εἶπες can show in its favour. It is scarcely credible that Sophocles permitted himself to borrow an Homeric ὅπαξ εἰρημένον: one may conclude with fair security that he was availing himself of a usage which, while just and barely known to Epic, was not unfamiliar in the sources on which the Satyric drama drew for its vocabulary. *g. εἶσθα*, which, though doubtless not quite demonstrably certain, is an almost inevitable restoration in the *Ichneutae*, stands on nearly the same footing as εἶπες. The second person singular of εἶμι is in all kinds of Greek εἶ, except that Epic varies between

εἷς (Hesiod, *Op.* 208) and εἴσθα (*Il.* x. 450, and *Od.* xii. 69). If εἴσθα be the right restoration, Sophocles can hardly have used the form on the mere strength of its occurrence twice in Homer. Like εἶπες it must surely have been known in the style on which Satyric drama based itself. *h.* ἔνος, an apparently necessary emendation of νέος, is an instance closely cognate to γέλω, εἴσθα, and εἶπες. In the expression ἔνη καὶ νέα, *the last day of the month*, a term said (Diogenes Laertius, i. 57) to have been introduced by Solon, the adjective ἔνος, *old*, is in regular, though not very frequent, use both in comedy and in Attic prose; and ἔνη, with a smooth breathing, by itself comes in Hesiod (*Op.* 768) in the same or a similar sense. Plato (*Crat.* 409 B), playing with this expression, writes: νέον δέ που καὶ ἔνον ἀεὶ ἐστὶ περὶ τὴν σελήνην τοῦτο τὸ φῶς. Demosthenes (775, 25) uses ἔναι ἀρχαί in the sense *last year's magistrates*, and in late prose ἔνος seems to have the full meaning of περυσινός. But, apart from these specialised idioms, ἔνος in the simple sense of *old* survives only in the lexicographers (*e.g.* Suidas) and in one passage of Aristophanes (*Ach.* i. 610):

ἦδη πεπρέσβευκας σὺ πόλιος ὦν ἔνη.

There we may with probability take ἔνη as a locative adverb and follow the scholiast in interpreting it as ἐκ πολλοῦ. These examples indicate with sufficient clearness that in the background there lurked some style or literature from which the word was drawn. It is impossible that Solon should have coined or adopted the expression ἔνη καὶ νέα with no better warrant before him than a solitary line in Hesiod. *i.* ἐξενίσμεθα, which is stated by the second hand of the papyrus to have been Theon's reading in a passage where, before mutilation, the first hand seems to have presented ἐξηγίσμεθα, raises a complicated problem. In the context ἐξενίσμεθα must necessarily mean *we have been astonished*. If it could be proved that Theon's reading is right as against that of the first hand of the papyrus, then we should be face to face with a most instructive phenomenon, namely the use in Satyric drama of the verb in question in a sense hitherto regarded as characteristic of and

peculiar to later Greek : even as it is, the fact that Theon lends his authority to this reading is of special interest. It is necessary to distinguish between the active and the passive of the verb  $\xiενίζω$ , and further to distinguish between the transitive active and the intransitive active. The passive, *to be astonished*, occurs first in Polybius, who employs it several times (e.g. i. 23, 5) ; and Polybius is also the first to use (III. 114, 4) the intransitive active, *to be astonishing*. Polybius lived *circa* 167 B.C. The next authority in order of date appears to be the *New Testament*, which presents the same evidence as Polybius : the passive, *to be astonished*, comes in I Peter (iv. 12), and the intransitive active, *to be astonishing*, in the *Acts of the Apostles* (xxvii. 20). This intransitive active is affected, obviously as an elegance, by Lucian (e.g. *Hist. Consc.* 25), whose date is about A.D. 160. On the other hand the transitive active, *to astonish*, appears to be totally unknown until we come to the fourth century A.D., from which time onwards both it and the passive are in common use. The distinction between the intransitive active and the transitive active is not accidental. The former, meaning *to be astonishing*, is a mere extension of the strictly classical intransitive active  $\xiενίξεν$ , *to speak or act as a foreigner*, which appears in Demosthenes (1304, 6), and which evidently is in its nature incapable of governing an accusative. But it is not equally incapable of having a passive formed from it.  $\alphaνάσσω$  nowhere governs an external accusative, and yet a passive  $\alphaνάσσομαι$  is found, not only in tragedy but even in Homer. Consequently the  $\xiενίζομαι$ , *I am astonished*, of Polybius and of St. Peter is a formation not wholly alien even to strictly classical instinct. The further development of a transitive  $\xiενίζω$ , *I astonish*, marks a much later period in the history of the Greek language. Now if Theon had read the transitive  $\xiενίζω$ , *I astonish*, we could say with confidence that the reading was impossible : indeed Theon himself lived at a date anterior to the possibility of the usage. But, seeing that Theon reads, not the active, but the passive, and seeing further that the passive actually occurs in Polybius, I do not think that we can rule out of court the possibility of the employment of the passive even by Sophocles,



provided, that is, that we are prepared to admit that Sophocles could have used the active *ξενίζειν* in the sense *to be astonishing*. But that Sophocles could so have used the active there is nothing to show. The extension of meaning involved, figurative in origin, is not traceable before Polybius. If the first hand of the papyrus had read *ἐξενίσμεθα* and no variant were recorded, it would be more than legitimate to contend that we were dealing with a pre-Attic meaning of *ξενίζω* and *ξενίζομαι* which was merely revived, not originated, about the time of Polybius. But, seeing that *ἐξενίσμεθα* is only, so far as is known, the lection of Theon, it appears to me, in the absence of further evidence, to be our duty to find the probable and provisional verdict that Theon was misled by the idiom of his own times into attributing to Sophocles a post-Sophoclean usage. *k. ἐχέτλη*, if, as appears to be the case, rightly restored, is, like *εἶπας* etc., a word lying, so to speak, on the fringe of Epic. Early authority for it exists only in one passage of Hesiod (*Op.* l. 465), though it occurs also in Apollonius Rhodius (*III.* 1325) and in the *Palatine Anthology* (*vii.* 650, l. 1), while its adjective *ἐχετλήεις* also comes in the *Palatine Anthology* (*vi.* 41, l. 3). I should infer that the word had a history in early times, and that Sophocles is not borrowing a *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον* from Hesiod. A confirmation of this inference is offered by Nicander (*Th.* l. 825), who uses *ἐχέτλιον* in the sense, not of a *small plough-handle*, but of a *ship's hold*. Surely, for this to be possible, *ἐχέτλη* must in some style or other have been a fairly common word with divergent developments of its etymological meaning. *l. κόλακι* presents an example such as *ἐξενίσμεθα* would present, were its authority undisputed. In the context it manifestly has nothing to do with flattery, but is a very clear instance of a usage mentioned by Moeris (Pierson, p. 113), who says: *γόης Ἀττικοί, κόλαξ Ἑλληνες*. But Moeris has hitherto been taken as meaning that in the sense of *swindler* *γόης* was Attic, *κόλαξ* Hellenistic. In that signification I do not think that it would be possible to establish the *dictum*, though numerous passages can be cited from late prose in which *κόλακες* appear, sometimes side by side with *γόητες*, as *cheating rascals*. The

*Ichneutae* enables us for the first time to interpret Moeris correctly. *κόλακι* is employed as an epithet of a strange sound uttered by shepherds on the mountains, and is therefore to be equated, not with *γόητι* in any of its derivative senses, but with *γόητι*, a *howler of spells*, a *wizard* (*γοητεία* is used of *incantation*, without any implication of imposture, in Plato, *Conv.* 202 E: I find no other clear instance in good Attic), and here means *magical*. Owing to the misinterpretation put upon Moeris, such a use of *κόλαξ* has remained totally unsuspected, and indeed it is not a little remarkable. More remarkable however is the nomenclature employed by Moeris when he classifies the users of *κόλαξ* in this sense as *Ἕλληνες* in opposition to *Ἀττικοί*. No doubt Moeris had in his mind this passage, if not other passages also, of Satyric drama. It is of great importance to find Moeris characterising, not only as un-Attic, but also as *Hellenic*, a usage occurring in early Satyric drama. He speaks of those who employ *κόλαξ* after the manner of Sophocles in the *Ichneutae*, not as Dorians, or as Ionians, or as users of any particular dialect, but simply as *Ἕλληνες*. This fact makes strongly in favour of the probability that early grammarians (Moeris lived *circa* 200 A.D.), to whom Satyric drama as a whole was still accessible, recognised in the language employed by Pratinas and others a real *κοινὴ διάλεκτος*. It also puts us on our guard against the assumption that when a word or a meaning is described as *Ἑλληνικόν*, it is necessarily implied that that word or meaning is late. The 'common dialect' became predominant indeed with the decadence of Athens and the conquests of Alexander, but it had existed for centuries previously and had exercised an insidious effect on literature. *μ. κροκιδίζε* is another word that must have had a history, other than that now known to us, in order to justify its use by Sophocles in a Satyric drama. The verb *κροκιδίζειν* or *κροκυδίζειν*, between which two spellings the mss. vary, means *to pluck the nap, to fumble with the sheets* (Shakespeare, *King Henry V.*, Act II. Scene 3), and is the word regularly used of the action of plucking characteristic in cases of delirium. Apart from this passage, it is first employed by the comic poet Philyllus (*Fr. Incert.* 4) *circa* 392 B.C.:

it afterwards recurs in various medical writers. In the same sense, however, κροκυδολογέω is used by Hippocrates himself, who was born about 460 B.C., while κροκύς, *nap*, comes first in Herodotus (III. 8). It is sufficiently clear that Sophocles and Philyllius were basing themselves on something much more familiar to Athenians than the κροκυδολογέω of Hippocrates. *n. λικνῖτιν* presents the feminine, which does not occur elsewhere, of a masculine λικνίτης that is used in the Orphic *Hymns* (XLV. l. 1, and LI. l. 3), and in Plutarch (2, 365 A), and is mentioned by Servius (on l. 134 of Virgil's third *Georgic*). This adjective comes of course from the substantive λίκνον: but λίκνον has two meanings, that of a *wicker-work winnowing fan*, sacred to Dionysus, and that of a *wicker-work cradle*; and elsewhere the adjective relates always to the former meaning, but in the *Ichneutae* to the latter. λίκνον, a *winnowing fan*, is found in a passage probably by Sophocles (*Fr.* 844, l. 3), in Aristotle (*Meteor.* II. 8, 42), in an epigram by Phalaecus (*Anth. Pal.* VI. 165, l. 6), and in Athenaeus (V. 198 E); while its derivatives and compounds occur as follows: λικνάριον in Stephanus (from Glossaries), λικναφόρος in Sozopolis (Boeckh, vol. II. p. 75, n. 2052, 2). λικνητής in Stephanus (from Glossaries), λικνίζω in Stephanus (from Glossaries), λικνοειδής in Isidore of Pelusium (*Ep.* II. 273; which word Suidas and Zonaras impossibly interpret by ῥυπαρός, which, perhaps, conceals some adjective from ῥώψ, *brushwood*), λικνοστρεφέω in Hesychius, λικνοφορέω in Polemon (quoted by Athenaeus, XI. 478 D), and λικνοφόρος in Demosthenes (313, 28), and in Callimachus (*Hymn to Demeter*, l. 126). λίκνον, a *cradle*, is first found in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (II. 21, 63, 150, 254, 290, and 358), where its repeated use has clearly much to do with the occurrence of λικνῖτιν in the *Ichneutae*, and afterwards in Callimachus (*Hymn to Zeus*, l. 48), in Aratus (*Phaen.* l. 268), and in Themistius (224 C), while, according to a somewhat confident contention of my own (see *Anti Mias*, vol. I. p. 25), it is probable that in Pindar (*Pyth.* I. l. 17) for the unmetrical

Κιλίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον

we ought to read

λίκνον ἔθρεψεν πολυωνύμου ἄντρον.



It thus appears that λίχνον, at any rate in the sense of *cradle*, is another word on the Epic fringe. As we have seen, its occurrence in the *Hymn to Hermes* goes far towards accounting for λιχνῆτιν in this play; but still there is a difference between the substantive and the adjective, and Sophocles is unlikely to have coined the latter, so that there is ground for thinking that he found it in a literature now lost to us. ο. οὔρει, if rightly read, presents a verb, οὔρέω, *custodio*, which actually occurs elsewhere in etymological notes or entries only (*scholium* on Apollonius Rhodius iv. l. 1618; *E.M.* 54, 31, and 450, 21), but of which the third person imperfect, οὔρει, should almost certainly be read in Euripides' *Hercules Furens* (l. 399), as to which see *Anti Mias* (vol. ii. p. 314). οὔρος, *custos*, is confined to Homer, Pindar, and late Epic. ρ. πόρδαλις, which occurs in the extremely un-Attic expression ἢ τὼς πόρδαλις, is a substantive which, with this spelling, could not, so far as the extant evidence enables us to form a conclusion, have presented itself in tragedy. The other spelling is πάρδαλις: but whether even that form was potentially tragic may be doubted, the nearest, and indeed the only, approach to it, being the adjective παρδαλήφορον, in the *Ajax Locrus* of Sophocles (Sophocles, *Fr.* 11, l. 2). The expression there is παρδαλήφορον δέρος. The words are quoted both in a *scholium* on the *Aves* of Aristophanes (l. 934) and by Pollux (vii. 70). On either occasion the ms. reading is παρδαληφόρον, but this, as Liddell and Scott have seen, is impossible. The wrong accentuation presumably arose from an attempt to derive the compound adjective from παρδαλέη or παρδαλῆ, a *leopard-skin*. In reality it is derived (compare θανατηφόρος, which however, as the accent indicates, is active) from πάρδαλος, a *leopard*, which occurs in that sense once only, viz. as a variant reading for πάρδος in Aelian (*N.A.* i. 31), though it is the name of some kind of bird in Aristotle (*H.A.* ix. 23, 1). That word at any rate, it would seem, might have been lawfully employed in tragedy. Moreover παρδαλὴ ὑφασμένη, apparently meaning a *woven representation of a leopard-skin*, is quoted by Pollux (iv. 118) perhaps from tragedy. But our main concern is with the distinction between πόρδαλις and πάρδαλις.

The old lexicographers have futile notes on the subject, Apion having started an idea, apparently based on the premise that  $\sigma$  is masculine in its affinities and  $\alpha$  feminine, that *πόρδαλις* means a *he-leopard* and *πάρδαλις* a *she-leopard*. It is amusing that so strong an anti-Semite as Apion should have suggested the possibility of a modulation so ultra-Semitic. The truth appears to be that *πόρδαλις* was a word of distinctly limited circulation, *πάρδαλις* being the general Greek name for the animal. Yet *πόρδαλις* seems to have been the only form in vernacular Attic of the best period. Aristophanes has four times occasion to mention the leopard or its skin. Twice out of these four times he is engaged in parody. These are the two instances. In the *Aves* (l. 1250), in a passage compact of *paratragedia*, he writes (the mss. are unanimous) *παρδαλᾶς ἐνημμένους*. In the *Nubes* (ll. 346-7), using the anapaestic tetrameter catalectic metre and presenting, as is shown by the incessant recurrence of hiatus, a violent burlesque of Epic, he writes (the mss. are again unanimous) :

ἤδη ποτ' ἀναβλέψας εἶδες νεφέλην Κενταύρω ὁμοίαν  
ἢ παρδάλει ἢ λύκῳ ἢ ταύρῳ ;

The other twice there is no disturbing element to divert Aristophanes from the strict vernacular. In the *Lysistrata* (l. 1015) he writes (on the testimony of the *Ravenna codex*, supported by N and by a corrector of B, although B, C, and Δ present *πάρδαλις*) :

οὐδὲ πῦρ, οὐδ' ὧδ' ἀναιδῆς οὐδεμία πόρδαλις.

In the *Scenas Catalambanusaе* (Fr. 9) he writes (here the mss., in this case those of Pollux, who—vii. 202—preserves the line, are apparently unanimous) :

τὴν πόρδαλιν καλοῦσι τὴν κασαλβάδα.

I attach great importance to the unanimity of the mss. in the two passages that present parody as contrasted with their divided evidence in the third passage. On the strength of it I have ventured to affirm what otherwise I should have hesitated to suggest. But, except in comedy, we find no trace (save in the *Ichneutae*) of *πόρδαλις* or cognates with *πορδ-* in actual use in any kind of Attic whatsoever, even if we extend the term

“ Attic ” so as to include the Greek prose of Alexandrian and Roman times, unless we choose to take into account two faulty presentations by Photius, or possibly by copyists of Photius, of the text of Philostratus. In Philostratus (p. 50) we find the accusative πάρδαλιν, and the same accusative recurs almost immediately afterwards (p. 51). But Photius (*Bibl.* 324), quoting Philostratus, now presents the first πάρδαλιν as πορδάλιον (except that the *Paris codex* preserves the correct πάρδαλιν) and the second πάρδαλιν as πόρδαλιν. False readings such as these need not delay us. But in Strabo (619) we once find the word πόρδαλιν, not indeed in actual use, but mentioned as a word side by side with πορδακοῖσιν cited from Simonides and with πορδακὸν cited from Old Comedy, in a peculiar passage in which the geographical name Πορδοσελήνη is being discussed. The Greeks generally identified the root of πάρδαλις and πόρδαλις with that of πέρδομαι (*e.g.* *scholium* on Aristophanes, *Pl.* 1. 699); and this fact probably accounts for the silence as to the animal which, as we shall see shortly, is preserved by various of the late poets. Strabo in this passage, dealing with the same kind of notion, though he does not etymologise, writes (618, 619): πλησίον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Πορδοσελήνη, πόλιν ὁμώνυμον ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῇ. καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἄλλη νῆσος [πόλις] μεῖζων αὐτῆς, καὶ πόλις ὁμώνυμος ἔρημος ἱερὸν ἄγιον ἔχουσα Ἀπόλλωνος. τὰς δὲ δυσφημίας τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων φεύγοντές τινες ἐνταῦθα μὲν Πορδοσελήνην δεῖν λέγειν φασί, τὸ δ' Ἀσπορδηνὸν ὅρος τὸ περὶ Πέργαμον, τραχὺ καὶ λυπρὸν ὄν, Ἀσπορηνόν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐνταῦθα τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν Ἀσπορηνῆς. τί οὖν φήσομεν τὴν πόρδαλιν καὶ τὸν σαπέρδην καὶ τὸν Περδίκκην καὶ τὸ Σιμωνίδου

σὺν πορδακοῖσιν ἐκπεσόντες εἵμασιν

ἀντὶ τοῦ διαβρόχοις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ που κωμωδίᾳ

πορδακὸν τὸ χῶριον

τὸ λιμνάζον; We have already seen that, even in the best period, tragedy rejected an analogue of πόρδαλις, employing not πορδαληφόρον but παρδαληφόρον, and from Aristophanes (*Aves*, 1. 1250) we have inferred that some tragedian wrote παρδαλᾶς ἐνημμένους. Similarly



Xenophon (*Cyn.* 11, 1) and Plato (*Lach.* 196 E) use *πάρδαλις*, not *πόρδαλις*, and Aristotle (*e.g.* *H.A.* ix. 6) employs the word frequently. From Aristotle's time onward (*e.g.* Aelian, *N.A.* v. 40; Pausanias, viii. 2, 7), *πάρδαλις* is in regular use in prose. But not merely did tragedy and the prose-writers reject the vernacular *πόρδαλις*; after Aristophanes comedy itself, in other words the spoken language, abandoned the form. In Anaxandrides (*Fr. Incert.* 14), who began to exhibit in the year 376 B.C., we find the line :

ἀρκτῆ, λεοντῆ, παρδαλῆ, μοσχῆ, κυνῆ.

As this line is preserved by Pollux (v. 16), who also preserves *πόρδαλις* in a fragment of Aristophanes (see above), we are not without some guarantee as to the correctness of the reading. It might indeed be argued (see my discussion of Pollux, v. 83, under § III. E, x. of this Chapter) that Aristophanes' contemporary Eupolis, who was probably a little his senior, presented in a comedy the words *σῶμα παρδάλεως*. I consider it indeed likely that the passage of Pollux in question ought to be so emended as to state that Eupolis employs *πηδητικόν* in the sense of *ἀλτικόν* with reference to a *σῶμα παρδάλεως*: but that statement would not be a statement that the actual word *παρδάλεως* is used by Eupolis. We may therefore safely leave out of this discussion that entry in Pollux. We will now turn to the authority claimed by *πόρδαλις* and *πάρδαλις* respectively in avowedly non-Attic literature. As regards early Greek, we possess evidence relating to Epic, to Ionic, and to Doric. It will be convenient to take first that relating to Ionic and to Doric, as early Epic shows a divergence, so far as the mss. are concerned, which gave rise to two conflicting traditions in the Epic of later times, so that it is desirable to embrace both early and late Epic under one heading. The evidence as to Ionic is short, but, so far as it goes, conclusive. In Simonides of Amorgos (*Fr.* 14, l. 2) we encounter the accusative singular *πάρδαλιν*, in Herodotus we once (vii. 69) find the accusative plural *παρδαλέας*, *leopard-skins*, without any variant reading, and *παρδάλειος* is said to be Ionic both in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. *πάρδαλις*) and by a grammarian in Cramer's *Anecdota* (i. p. 356): *πάρδαλις* itself,

in the nominative singular, occurs twice in the late Ionic of Babrius (95, l. 18, and 102, l. 8). That is the whole evidence. The case as regards Doric is still briefer. In Pindar (*Pyth.* iv. l. 81) the mss. are divided between two readings, παρδαλέα, the nominative singular, and παρδαλέα, the dative singular, either of which readings makes good sense. It is to be observed that the forms in πορδ-, wherever they occur, are as a matter of fact exclusively confined to the substantive πόρδαλις itself and to the three derivatives πορδαλέοισι (once occurring in the *Halieutica* attributed to Oppian: see below), πορδαλιαγχές, and πορδαλιδεῖς\* (except for the false reading, πορδάλιον, for πάρδαλιν, mentioned above as occurring in some mss. of Photius, while quoting from Philostratus), the substantives παρδαλέα and παρδαλέη being invariable. We shall see in a moment that Homeric copyists, though differing among themselves as between πόρδαλις and πάρδαλις, were nevertheless unanimous in support of παρδαλέη: but it is plain that in dialect properly so called, a very different thing from the artificial patchwork of scribal tradition, πάρδαλις is implied in παρδαλέα or παρδαλέη, and πόρδαλέα or πορδαλέη is implied in πόρδαλις. We will now consider the Epic evidence. In the *Iliad* the nominative singular πόρδαλις, or πάρδαλις, occurs once (*Il.* xxi. 573), the genitive singular πορδάλιος, or παρδάλιος, once (*Il.* xvii. 20), and the genitive plural, πορδαλίων or παρδαλίων, once (*Il.* xiii. 103), while the dative singular παρδαλέη, without variation of reading, occurs once (*Il.* x. 29), and the accusative singular παρδαλέην, equally without variation of reading, once (*Il.* iii. 17): in the *Odyssey* the nominative singular πόρδαλις, or πάρδαλις, occurs once (*Od.* iv. 457): in the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (l. 71) the nominative plural πορδάλιες, or παρδάλιες, presents itself. It appears from various *scholia* that Aristarchus judged πάρδαλις, not πόρδαλις, to be the true Homeric form. The grounds of his opinion are unknown, and, although his verdict carries great weight, it is not on record that any other of the ancient Homericists came to the same conclusion. In the *Iliad* the preponderance of ms. authority is on the side of πόρδαλις, in the *Odyssey*

\* πορδαλιδεῖς: Eustathius, *Od.* p. 1645, 26.

and in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* on that of *πάρδαλις* : but a brief statement of the facts will show that in this matter the same ms. is not always consistent with itself, so that it is by no means easy to divide them into two groups of opposite traditions. In the *Iliad*, *πάρδαλις* (xxi. 573) is presented by the British Museum Papyrus *add. mss.* 17210 (sixth or seventh century A.D.), by families *b*, *c*, *g*, and *l*, and by individual *codices* of the highest authority, viz. A, B, C, and D, as also by others of lesser weight, *e.g.* T, while *πάρδαλις* has the inferior support of the numerically larger bulk of mss. : *πορδάλιος* (xvii. 20) is presented by the Ambrosian Papyrus F 205 *inf.* (fifth or sixth century A.D.), by families *b*, *g*, and *l* (but not by family *c*, though that family presents *πάρδαλις* in xxi. 573, and *πορδαλίων* in xiii. 103), and by individual *codices* of the highest authority, viz. A, B, and D (but not by C, though that *codex* presents *πάρδαλις* in xxi. 573), as also by others of lesser weight, while *παρδάλιος* has the inferior support of the numerically larger bulk of mss. : *πορδαλίων* (xiii. 103) on the other hand is presented by the great majority of mss., the important exceptions, which give *παρδαλίων*, being families *d* and *e*, *codices* B and C (though B gives *πάρδαλις* in xxi. 573, and *πορδάλιος* in xvii. 20, and though C gives *πάρδαλις* in xxi. 573), and the marginal corrector of A. In the *Odyssey*, *πάρδαλις* (iv. 457) has a good deal the best support, both numerically and otherwise ; but still *πάρδαλις* is presented by the important family *b*, and also by *codex* M<sup>2</sup>. In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, *παρδάλιες* is presented by *codices* A, C, D, E, G, L<sup>1</sup>, L<sup>4</sup>, P, Π, Q, T, and V<sup>1</sup>, *πορδάλιες* by *codices* B, Γ, L<sup>2</sup>, L<sup>3</sup>, N, R<sup>1</sup>, and R<sup>2</sup>. A welter such as this clearly does not indicate an originally general spelling *πορδ-* emended by Aristarchus to *παρδ-* : it is plain that before the time of Aristarchus *πορδ-* and *παρδ-* were fighting for the crown in the Homeric text. But the probable explanation of the inconsistency of individual mss. and of the fact that the weight of authority is on different sides in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, while in the *Iliad* itself it is variable in decisiveness, seems to me to be that the recension from which all of our existing mss. ultimately derive, though based throughout to a considerable extent



on the semi-atticised text of Homer previously current at Athens, was nevertheless composite in the sense that it drew also on texts approximated to other dialects, yet not so as to seek the help of all or even of any such texts constantly or uniformly, but rather so as to make great use of some one of such texts for a book or for a few books, and of some other one of such texts for another book or for a few other books. That means that at the time of the recension the non-Attic texts of Homer were not available as wholes at Athens, but that portions of various of them were available. On no other general theory (unless, going against the evidence of whatever artistic sense I may possess, I deny to the *Iliad* substantial unity of authorship) am I able to account for such phenomena as the frequent use of ἰδέ in certain books coupled with its total absence from most books. I therefore conclude that in *Iliad* XIII. (103) πορδαλίων was at the time of the recension adopted from the previous Atticised text, and in *Odyssey* IV. (457) πάρδαλις was similarly adopted from some other dialectic text, Doric, perhaps, or Ionic. What the recension read in the other two passages in the *Iliad* (XVII. 20, and XXI. 573) it is difficult to say: possibly it may have presented alternative readings. What was presented in the strictly original *Iliad* and *Odyssey* it seems useless to inquire, though, if we knew the Aeolic form of the word in question, we might hazard a probable conjecture. To pass from Homer, Hesiod employs neither πέρδαλις nor πάρδαλις, nor any cognate or derivative. Neither does Theognis. The same, except for Simonides of Amorgos (*Fr.* 14, l. 2; see above), is true of the entire mass of Epic and semi-Epic literature conventionally included in the *Lyric Fragments*, and indeed of the *Lyric Fragments*, not excepting Timotheus, as a whole and irrespective of dialect. It is also true of Theocritus, Bion, Aratus, Callimachus, Moschus, and Apollonius Rhodius. Nicander however (*circa* 150 B.C.) breaks this silence, employing (*Al.* 38) a form in πορδ-, viz. πορδαλιαγκές, *aconite*. The silence is broken also by the unknown and undated author of the *Orphic Argonautica*, who presents us (l. 447) with the strange expression νεβρῇ παρδαλέη: from his pen the form in παρδ- is scarcely evidence, as

literary tradition of the central kind was to him, though he had his merits, a sealed book. After Nicander, Greek Epic almost ceased for a space of some three hundred years to be composed by writers sufficiently talented to survive, Roman Epic taking its place. Dionysius Periegetes, who does not mention the leopard, is the representative of the interval. But Oppian's *Halieutica* saw the light *circa* A.D. 170, and in that work (i. l. 368) we find, as in Nicander, a form in πορδ-, viz. πορδάλις: in the passage in question the word does not mean *leopards*, but *sea-leopards*, a sort of fish. We next come to the *Cynegetica*, a work also passing under the name of Oppian, but now, rightly or wrongly, commonly held to be a forgery of about the year A.D. 210. As in the *Cynegetica* of Xenophon we noted an example of πάρδαλις, so in the *Cynegetica* attributed to Oppian, we might, in view of the subject-matter, expect to come across some case of πόρδαλις. As a matter of fact, the animal is mentioned by name in this Epic treatise no less than seven times, and an adjective derived from the name occurs once. We find the accusative singular πόρδαλιν (iii. l. 463), the nominative plural πορδάλιες (iii. l. 63), the genitive plural πορδαλίων (iv. l. 327), the dative plural πορδαλίσσι (i. l. 325), with πορδαλίσσιν (i. l. 433), and also a corrupt dative plural πορδαλίδεσσι (iii. l. 336), which Schneidewin corrects to πορδαλίσσι. On the other hand we find one form in παρδ-, viz. the genitive plural παρδαλίων (ii. l. 299), which on the strength of the other instances Schneidewin necessarily corrects to πορδαλίων. The necessity of this emendation is rendered the more evident by the additional fact that the treatise presents (iii. l. 467) πορδαλέοισι, the dative plural masculine of the adjective πορδαλέος, which elsewhere occurs in the form παρδαλέος only (e.g. Aristotle, *Mirab.* 6: for the substantive παρδαλέα, παρδαλέη, see above *passim*). The context shows unquestionably that in this passage this adjective means *of a leopard*: Dindorf's Stephanus impossibly takes it as an example of the other adjective πορδαλέος (formed from πέρδομαι) which actually occurs in Lucian (*Lexiph.* 10). Up to this point we have seen that the evidence of late Epic (apart from the negligible evidence of the *Orphic Argonautica*), though represented

exclusively for our purposes by Nicander, by the certainly genuine *Halieutica* of Oppian, and by the possibly spurious, but in any case only slightly later, *Cynegetica* attributed to the same author, demonstrates that the current Homeric tradition of the period in question favoured not  $\pi\alpha\rho\delta$ - but  $\pi\omicron\rho\delta$ -. One might even argue with great probability from the  $\pi\omicron\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$  of the *Cynegetica* that the author in his copy of the *Iliad* read  $\pi\omicron\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$  (III. 17), and  $\pi\omicron\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  (X. 29), although  $\pi\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$  and  $\pi\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  seem to be presented by all mss. now extant. But when we come to still later Epic we find marked evidence of a divergence of tradition, the Constantinopolitan school apparently making its election in favour of the forms in  $\pi\alpha\rho\delta$ -, while the African retained those in  $\pi\omicron\rho\delta$ -. The date of Quintus Smyrnaeus is by no means certain; but the structure of his hexameters, which are entirely free from the beginnings, such as present themselves in the fifth century A.D., of the accentual system of scansion, has induced scholars to place him somewhere about the year 400 A.D. His precise domicile is equally unknown; but he represents himself (XII. ll. 309-313) as having spent at least part of his boyhood in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, and one would gather from several passages (notably X. ll. 125-137) that he was personally well acquainted with the Asiatic mainland in the vicinity of the Propontis, whereas he makes no more mention of Africa or of anything African than is necessitated by such circumstances as the appearance of Memnon in his pages. We may safely infer that he lived in the more northerly portion of the Greek world of his day, and that he fell under the literary influence of Constantinople rather than under that of Alexandria. He is apparently the first extant writer of late Epic to abandon  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$  in favour of  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$ . In his work we find the nominative singular  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$  (I. l. 541), the genitive singular  $\pi\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (I. l. 480), four times over the nominative plural  $\pi\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\epsilon\varsigma$  (III. l. 202, V. l. 19, X. l. 183, and XIII. l. 72), and the accusative plural  $\pi\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$  (V. l. 248). Once however (XII. l. 580) we read the nominative singular  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$ , which, evidently, in view of the other instances, with justice, Spitzner emended to  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$ . The next and, so far as I am aware, the only other imitator



of the Homeric style who employs *πάρδαλις* instead of *πόρδαλις* is Agathias, who does so (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 578, l. 2) in an elegiac epigram written in the Epic dialect. Nowhere else (except in one place soon to be mentioned) in epigrammatic literature have I discovered either *πόρδαλις* or *πάρδαλις*, or any cognate or derivative. Agathias wrote at Constantinople *circa* A.D. 560. He was educated as a schoolboy at Alexandria, but as a young man was a student at Constantinople, where, or in the neighbourhood of which, he afterwards lived. His epigrams indeed are, at least superficially, of the ancient school and are composed with much elegance; but the extent to which he lacked the Alexandrian tradition may be gauged by the fact that his prose *Histories*, in five books, are, though they possess merits and have been praised by competent judges, not written in any established style of Attic, nor yet in any approach to the vernacular of the period, but in a vehicle specially improvised, which, while aiming at a close imitation of the manner of Herodotus, yet is so far Attic as to reject entirely the use of the Ionic dialect. Such is the short history of *πάρδαλις* in the Epic of Constantinople. Meanwhile in Africa the Egyptian tradition had continued to maintain itself. Nonnus of Panopolis wrote *circa* 410 A.D., at a period probably subsequent to that of Quintus Smyrnaeus. His hexameters are characterised by the fact that an accent is required to fall on one or other of the two syllables of the sixth foot. The same rule also holds good with regard to the *Hero and Leander* which passes under the name of Musaeus, in the case of hexameters ending in a word of three syllables,\* but in the case of such hexameters only. We may therefore with probability ascribe the *Hero and Leander* to nearly, but not to quite, the same date as that of Nonnus, and to the African school. Exactly the same rule, though a little obscured by slight corruption, applies to the *Rape of Helen* by Colluthus (for so his name apparently should be spelt) as to the *Hero and Leander*. The date of Colluthus is known to have been *circa* A.D. 500, and his birthplace Lycopolis in the Thebaid. In one group with Nonnus, with the 'Musaeus' of the *Hero and Leander*, and with Colluthus the name of Tryphiodorus is some-

\* Or, *ex vi termini*, of two syllables.

times mentioned. There is extant his Epic poem the *Taking of Troy*. As in this poem he observes no accentual rules whatever, and as he is known to have been an Egyptian, I am inclined to conclude that he was anterior to Nonnus. As however it is also known that he imitated Nestor of Laranda, he cannot well have flourished earlier than A.D. 250. I should put him between A.D. 250 and A.D. 400. Neither he, nor 'Musaeus,' nor Colluthus employs either πόρδαλις or πάρδαλις, or any cognate or derivative. But with Nonnus the case is entirely different. The subject-matter of the 48 books of his *Dionysiaca*, seeing that the leopard is associated with Dionysus, necessitates frequent mention of the creature. He mentions it by name 33 times. On 31 of these occasions the vulgate reading presents forms in πορδ- and Koechly in his *apparatus criticus* records no ms. variants. These are the 31 instances. The nominative singular πόρδαλις occurs 9 times (I. l. 23, v. l. 361, XI. l. 78, and l. 341, XXIII. l. 50, XXXVI. l. 186, XLIII. l. 232, XLIV. l. 32, and XLVIII. l. 912): the accusative singular πόρδαλιν occurs 5 times (VIII. l. 344, XVI. l. 143, XXVII. l. 135, XL. l. 43, and XLVIII. l. 902): the genitive plural πορδαλίων occurs 17 times (I. l. 25, and l. 159, II. l. 255, VII. l. 324, XI. l. 129, XIV. l. 131, l. 261, and l. 358, XV. l. 188, and l. 195, XVIII. l. 11, l. 14, and l. 51, XX. l. 73, and l. 108, XXIII. l. 128, and XXIV. l. 342). Two instances remain over. Once (v. l. 296), where Koechly reads πόρδαλιν, I seem to gather, interpreting a note in Koechly's *apparatus criticus* in the light of an extraordinarily difficult sentence in his *praeſatio* (p. xvi), that πάρδαλιν is the reading of *codex Monacensis* and that πόρδαλιν is an emendation of Graef's; but whether the emendation is or is not confirmed by other ms. authority Koechly fails to state. In the other place (XLVIII. l. 1), where Koechly reads πορδαλίων, I in the same way gather that παρδαλίων is the reading of *codex Monacensis* and that πορδαλίων is an emendation of Graef's; but here again Koechly fails to state whether or no the emendation is confirmed by other ms. authority. It is quite plain, from the other 31 examples, that the two emendations are necessary. This almost concludes

the evidence to be gathered from classical and more or less classical Greek. That *πάρδαλις*, not *πόρδαλις*, survived in popular speech and not merely in literary prose, appears to be indicated by the occurrence in Manuel Philes, who wrote *circa* A.D. 1300, of the accusative singular *παρδάλιν* (*de Animalium Proprietate*, l. 707), at the end of a *versus technicus*, so that the paroxytone accent is essentially required by the metre. That accent is due to the influence of the trisyllabic cases *παρδάλει* (used by Philes in l. 714) and *παρδάλεις* (used by Philes in l. 703). Such accommodations of the accent of the nominative singular etc. to that of other cases have not received due attention from the editors of medieval Greek literature. I take it that such a change of accent stamps a word as belonging to the inherited vernacular. *πόρδαλις* however makes a curious and belated appearance in an epigram (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* III. 281, l. 7), the date of which can be put with certainty within the limits A.D. 1222–1251 and with high probability within the narrower limits A.D. 1224–1240. It is a monumental inscription from Smyrna and deals with the restoration of the public buildings of that city by the Emperor John III. (*Βατάτζης*) and his consort, who was still living at the time of its composition. John ascended the throne in A.D. 1222 and died in A.D. 1251. At the time of his accession he was already married to his first wife, Irene: she died in A.D. 1240, and four years afterwards he married a second time. But it was in company with his first wife that he engaged in the work of building (Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, II. 7, β'), so that we have as one probable limit the year A.D. 1240. The circumstances of John's reign render it most unlikely that he started building before A.D. 1224 at the earliest. The epigram is in Epic hexameters, so remarkably classical on the whole—being *inter alia* free from any trace of accentual scansion—as to suggest that a literary tradition had lingered on at Smyrna. A large part of this discussion has been directed to the ascertainment, at all times as far as possible, of the actual Epic tradition with regard to *πόρδαλις* and *πάρδαλις*. As the tradition was certainly divergent to some extent, I have had to take note not



only of those writers who give evidence on one side or the other, but also of those who give no evidence : otherwise I should convey a false impression as to the respective weight of the two bodies of testimony. As matters stand, I consider that I have shown that the appearance of *πάρδαλις* in late Epic is a sign that the composition in which it occurs was produced under non-Alexandrian influences. There is no evidence, that will hold water, for any Alexandrian form other than *πόρδαλις*, which is guaranteed from Nicander onwards. This, I think, is as much as to say that Aristarchus' *πάρδαλις*, although not an emendation, yet ran counter to the main current of tradition as regards the *Iliad*, and that *πόρδαλις* was in all probability already established in the *Iliad*, but not in the *Odyssey*, in the texts of Homer used by Athenians of the Sophoclean period. I have argued above that some such hypothesis as this conclusion seems alone consistent with the confusion of readings in the Homeric mss., and I have suggested what seems to me the only explanation consistent with the *Iliad* being substantially the work of a single author. Now, if Sophocles read *πόρδαλις* in the *Iliad* and knew the word as also existing in colloquial Attic, the combination is sufficient justification for his having introduced it, instead of *πάρδαλις*, into a Satyric drama, and particularly into a passage where the juxtaposition of *τῶς* demands, so to speak, a form of peculiar literary flavour. *q. ποσσί* presents itself in a passage which I regard as an interpolation, but, as it is choric, it is possible to argue that the occurrence in it of the form in question is no necessary proof either of corruption or of interpolation. As a matter of fact *ποσσί* is one of the regular forms of the dative plural of *πούς* in Homer (e.g. *Il.* viii. 443); but outside Epic it seems only to occur in an anapaestic dimeter of Cratinus (*Malthaci*, *Fr.* 5). The line is preserved only by Pollux (vii. 171), in whose text the form is spelt with a single *σ* : but Meineke on metrical grounds necessarily doubles the *σ*. Meineke also discusses (*Quaestiones Scenicae*, ii. p. 25) the general question of the use of Epic forms in anapaestic verse. I should myself conclude that even Aristophanes could, had he so wished, have employed *ποσσί* in anapaests : but, apart

from this violently suspect passage in the *Ichneutae*, there exists no ground for supposing the form to have been possible in the choric compositions, properly so called, either of tragedy, of Satyric drama, or of comedy. *r.* σεῖ, if, as seems to be the case, φ (?) [. .] ητεσειδε ought to be read as ψῶζ' ἤτε σεῖ δέ, not as φαλῆτες εἰ δέ, exhibits the third person singular of the present indicative of a verb σεῖν, *excitare ad micturitionem*. The question whether the form is admissible is of importance, in view of the fact that the adoption of the division which introduces it appears to be the only way either to secure a reasonable and articulate sequence of expression (from l. 137 to l. 145 inclusive), or to avoid the employment, highly doubtful, *pace* modern grammarians and editors, in any kind of Attic, of εἰ with the subjunctive. σεῖν was used by Aristophanes (constituting *Fr.* 247 of the *Fragmenta Fabularum Incertarum*). We know this from Photius (*s.v.*) and from a Grammarian in Bachmann's *Anecdota* (I. 362, 31), both of whom have the entry: σεῖν· τὸ λεγόμενον τοῖς παιδίοις ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν, ὅταν αὐτὰ βούλωνται οὐρῆσαι· οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης. Now σεῖν, so used, is certainly not a transitive verb, but something that grammatically would have to be classed as an interjection, an interjection more or less equivalent to the intransitive οὔρει. But still the form is that of an infinitive, accent included, so that a verbal use, transitive and causative, of σεῖν would, under the special conditions, not be *a priori* improbable. That use I seem to find in Menander (*Anepsii*, *Fr.* 4, l. 2), where there is a play on the word σεῖν. The *Fragment* of Menander is presented by Athenaeus (xv. 700 B) thus: Μένανδρος Ἀνεψίοις·

ὁ φανός ἐστι μεστὸς ὕδατος οὐτοσί,  
δεῖ τ' οὐχὶ σεῖν, ἀλλὰ ποδιεῖν αὐτόν.

Bentley acutely perceived that αὐτόν is a corruption of αὐτόθεν, but his

δεῖ τ' οὐχὶ σεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀποσεῖν αὐτόθεν

is not really intelligible. Taking account of the δ in ποδιεῖν and of the circumflex, read:

δεῖ τ' οὐχὶ σεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπονεῖ σεῖν αὐτόθεν,

*Don't go and shake it, but without troubling yourself just whistle to it from where you are.*

σ. συνάμα, which the second hand of the papyrus alters to ξυνάμα, not only comes in the choric passage which I consider to be an interpolation, but also lies under grave suspicion of being merely a part of an original, though, as I think, interpolated, σὺν Ἀμαλθείᾳ or, to preserve dochmiac metre, καὶ σὺν Ἀμαλθείᾳ. As the text of the *Ichneutae* now stands, συνάμα or ξυνάμα is an adverb. This adverb, but with a tmesis, σὺν δ' ἅμα, first occurs in Meleager (*Anth. Pal.* iv. 1, l. 27), whose date is about 60 B.C.: without tmesis it seems first to present itself in Lucian (*circa* 160 A.D., that is to say, at or just before the time when the papyrus of the *Ichneutae* was written), who employs it frequently (*e.g.* *Piscat.* c. 51, *Apol.* c. 15, *Bis Acc.* 11, *Timon*, c. 23, *Harmonid.* c. 3, *Merc. Cond.* c. 1). The preposition συνάμα on the other hand, though late, is not so late as the adverb. Euripides, though he does not use it, shows how it came into being by the expression (*Med.* l. 1143) σὺν τέκνοις ἅμ' ἐσπόμεν. It actually first presents itself in Aristotle (*Plant.* ii. 7, 1), and is afterwards found in Theocritus (*Id.* xxv. l. 126), in Damagetus (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 9, l. 2), and in Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Math.* 11, 159). t. σύνδυο, which is a restoration difficult to avoid, presents a word which is common to the Epic fringe (*Hymn to Aphrodite*, l. 74), to Herodotus (iv. 66), to Pindar (*Pyth.* iii. l. 146), to Hyperides (*Euxen.* 29), to Demosthenes (564, 22), to Plato (*Leg.* 12, 962 E, *Tim.* 54 D, *Parm.* 143 D, *Hipp. Maj.* 282 E), to Xenophon (*Anab.* vi. 3, 2), to Polybius (viii. 6, 2), to Dionysius (*A. R.* 10, 32), and to Machon, *Dorione loquente* (quoted by Athenaeus, viii. 337 c). The derivative συνδυάζω occurs first in Plato (*Leg.* 840 D), and Xenophon (*Cyn.* v. 6), is frequent in Aristotle (*e.g.* *Eth. N.* v. 3, 11), and is used in later prose. συνδυασμός actually presents itself in Hippocrates (657, 3), is also used freely by Aristotle (*e.g.* *Pol.* iv. 4, 8), and likewise comes in later prose. The word σύνδυο has the exact meaning of the Latin *bini*. It is seen in its making, though not yet fully made, in one passage in the *Iliad* (x. 224):

σὺν τε δὺ' ἐρχομένῳ καὶ τε πρὸ ὁ τοῦ ἐνόησεν.

v. σύρβη, a tempting restoration of the remains in the papyrus, is, if I am right in reading it, used in the sense



of αὐλοθήκη, a *flute-case*. This meaning does not actually present itself in literature ; but Hesychius (s.v. συρβηνεύς) tells us that σύρβη equals αὐλοθήκη. Hesychius also says : σύρβη, παρὰ τοῖς μεταλλικοῖς. It is manifest from usage that he means writers on the lore of metals, not on mining ; but he gives no clue to the sense in which the μεταλλικοί used the word. Apart from these two uses of σύρβη mentioned by Hesychius, Suidas tells us that σύρβη equals τάραχος, while Photius writes : συρβάβυττα, καὶ τὸν τάραχον τύρβη· ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης. From this last entry one might not unreasonably gather that Aristophanes the comic poet employed, not indeed σύρβη, but τύρβη : but the *Etymologicum Magnum* dispels this impression by representing the same gloss in a better form : συρβάβυττα, τὸν τάραχον· καὶ σύρβη, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός. Suidas clearly knew, equally with Hesychius, the meaning αὐλοθήκη, seeing that he writes : συρβηνεύς, ὁ ταραχώδης, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐλούντων μετὰ θορύβου, ἢ πένης, διὰ τὸ τὰς αὐλοθήκας καὶ φαρέτρας κενὰς ἔχειν. Indeed his introduction of the word φαρέτρας seems to show that σύρβη meant, not only αὐλοθήκη, but also φαρέτρα, an implement of kindred shape. If that be so, I am disposed to draw a complete etymological distinction between σύρβη, a variation of τύρβη, a *tumult*, and σύρβη, a *flute-case* or *quiver*, and to derive the latter from the root of σύριγξ, which word is once in Homer (*Il.* xix. 387) used in the sense of *spear-case*. If that view be sound, it becomes unnecessary to discuss the adverb σύρβα, a variation of τύρβα, or the substantive συρβηνεύς, which is manifestly connected with τύρβη in its specific sense as the name of a particular Bacchic festival and dance (Pausanias, ii. 24, 6). Indeed Hesychius, in the very place where he tells us that σύρβη means αὐλοθήκη, assigns to συρβηνεύς two alternative renderings, αὐλητής and ταραχώδης. Be all this as it may, I will, before passing from σύρβη, quote for the sake of completeness the one passage in which a word of that spelling, whatever its etymology, occurs in actual use. The passage is from Zenobius, who writes (6, 1) : σύρβηνος (v.l. συρβήνης) χορός· αὕτη τέτακται κατὰ τῶν ἀτάκτων χορῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τινὰς τοῖς ὕσιν ἐπιφωνεῖν σύρβας· σύρβην δὲ τὸν τάραχον ἔλεγον. x. τέγην, a distinctly

uncertain restoration, but coming in a place where, on the assumption of regularity of writing, there is not room for στέγην, presents a word which, so far as actual literature is concerned, appears to occur in Dion Cassius (39, 61) only ; but it is given in Hesychius. τέγος on the other hand is overwhelmingly more frequent than στέγος, though both Pollux (I. 81) and Thomas Magister (p. 808) fall into the strange error of inverting facts and designating τέγος as poetical. γ. τόλμην, which, though not metrically necessary, is written by the first hand of the papyrus and left unaltered by the second hand, presents a form which demands careful consideration. The Attic declension, as exhibited in literature, is undoubtedly : *N.* τόλμᾱ, *G.* τόλμης, *D.* τόλμῃ, *A.* τόλμᾶν, *V.* τόλμᾱ. Not only is this the Attic declension, both in prose of all kinds, in tragedy, and in comedy, but it appears also, on the evidence of literature, to have been the Ionic declension ; nor can I discover anywhere any trace of an Ionic form τόλμη or τόλμην, except a most dubious trace in a passage from Democritus (mentioned below). The Doric declension on the other hand was : *N.* τόλμᾱ, *G.* τόλμᾱς, *D.* τόλμα, *A.* τόλμᾶν, *V.* τόλμᾱ. This Doric declension here concerns us to a certain extent, because it is possible, even in the absence of an Ionic τόλμη and τόλμην, that a style such as the Satyric, which originally seems to have been in some sense Dorian, may have retained in Attica the Doric τόλμᾱ and τόλμᾶν in substance, but *pro forma* labelled them as Attic by changing them into τόλμῃ and τόλμην. I am somewhat inclined to think that this is what actually occurred. At any rate it is certain that τόλμῃ firmly established itself in some kind of style or other which writers of such discernment and attainments as Phrynichus and Arcadius considered to be Attic ; and what that style can have been, unless it was the Satyric style, it is difficult to imagine. Phrynichus says (p. 66, 23) : τόλμῃ καὶ τόλμα, πρύμνῃ καὶ πρύμνα. It is of the last importance to note that this most fastidious of Atticists not merely abstains from casting the slightest stigma upon τόλμῃ, but actually mentions it before τόλμα, and then goes on to adduce, as similar, the doublets πρύμνῃ and πρύμνα, both of which have

first-rate Attic authority (e.g. *πρύμνη*, Sophocles, *Ph.* l. 482, Aristophanes, *Vesp.* l. 399; *πρύμνα*, Thucydides, II. 97), though there is the difference that *πρύμνη*, unlike *τόλμη*, is also Epic and Ionic (e.g. *Il.* XVI. 124, Herodotus, I. 194). I infer with confidence that Phrynichus found *τόλμη*, or *τόλμην*, or both, as part of the accepted and undoubted text of some classic reputed to be Attic. Arcadius, whose authority, though less than that of Phrynichus, is of a high rank, includes *τόλμη* in a list comprising *ἄλμη* and other words ending in *-μη* (p. 110, 2), and in another place (p. 96, 18) states that it is Attic for *τόλμα*. Arcadius, like Phrynichus, must have found *τόλμη* established in literature regarded in his time as Attic. L. Dindorf in Dindorf's Stephanus adduces from Attic literature three places, and three only, where *τόλμη* occurs as a variant ms. reading by the side of *τόλμα*, all of them from Demosthenes (p. 777, 12, p. 882 *extr.*, and p. 1289, 2). None of these readings being in the received text and no possibility of doubt existing but that *τόλμα* is the form employed by the orators, it cannot have been of variants such as these that Phrynichus and Arcadius were thinking. L. Dindorf also brings in a line from Euripides (*Ion*, l. 1416), which runs defectively in the mss. :

λέγ', ὥς ἔχει τι δεινὸν ἢ τόλμα σου.

This line W. Dindorf, with considerable violence, alters to

λέγ', ὥς ἔχει τι δεινὸν ἢ τόλμη γέ σου.

L. Dindorf himself emends it, much more simply and, I think, rightly, to

λέγ', ὥς ἔχει τι δεινὸν ἥδε τόλμα σου.

It is not of this line that Phrynichus and Arcadius were thinking. L. Dindorf also mentions the occurrence of *τόλμη* in Stobaeus (*Fl.* vol. 2, p. 381). I do not understand what numeration of Stobaeus L. Dindorf follows; but *τόλμα* is dealt with in the *Florilegium* under two headings only, *Περὶ Τόλμης* (vol. 2, pp. 303–311, Meineke) and *Ψόγος Τόλμης, Στρατείας, καὶ Ἰσχύος* (vol. 2, pp. 313–315, Meineke). Under the latter heading neither the nominative, accusative, nor vocative of *τόλμα* occurs;



but under the former, though the accusative and vocative are absent, the nominative comes twice, viz. once in a quotation from the *Ixion* of Euripides (p. 306, Meineke),

τά τοι μέγιστα πάντ' ἀπείργασται βροτοῖς  
τόλμ' ὥστε νικᾶν,

where there is no possibility of τόλμη, and once in an aphorism of Democritus (p. 307, Meineke): τόλμα πρήξιος ἀρχή, τύχη δὲ τέλος κυρίη. I conceive that L. Dindorf must be referring to this latter passage, and that here, though Meineke does not mention it, some ms. presents τόλμη. If so, it is a shadowy, though not a negligible, indication of an Ionic form, τόλμη: but it has no direct bearing on the use of τόλμη in Attic, of some sort, to which Phrynichus and Arcadius call attention. L. Dindorf further speaks of τόλμην presenting itself in Ephraem the Syrian (vol. 3, p. 286 F), in Dionysius (*A.R.* 4, 38), and in a note on the *Paludean Anthology* (t. 4, p. 458, 2): but examples of this sort have no bearing on the *dicta* of Phrynichus and Arcadius. More to the point, perhaps, is the statement adduced from the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. ἄλμυρός), which appears in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* as: τολμή, Χαρίεις. But it is not apparent who Charieis was, and I suspect a corrupted reference to the river of that name. L. Dindorf concludes by mentioning a statement by a grammarian in Cramer's *Anecdota* (vol. 2, p. 417, 19) that τόλμη is barytone, and by quoting an extraordinary genitive τόλμας from Tzetzes (*Hist.* ix. 403). In these circumstances it will, I imagine, be generally agreed that in the *Ichneutae* an emendation of τόλμην to τόλμαν would be rash in the extreme, and would appear to deprive the *dicta* of Phrynichus and Arcadius of the one basis which, by a process of exclusion, it seems possible they can possess, namely the usage of Satyric drama. z. ὤνιν, an extremely tempting, but, at the same time, a markedly uncertain restoration, presents, if correct, a substantive, meaning a *plough-share*, which occurs for the first time elsewhere in Babrius (37, 2), and afterwards in Plutarch (*Symp.* 4, 5, and *Rom.* c. 10), in the *Palatine Anthology* (vi. 104, vii. 175, 176, and 280), and in various late authors. The instances in the *Anthology* prove the first syllable

to be short, though Suidas wrongly states that it is long. Plutarch (*Symp.* 4, 5) derives the word from ὕς, saying that the employment of the plough-share was suggested by the rooting of hogs in the ground. Another form, viz. ὕννη, comes in Aesop (*Fab.* 33. de Furia); and ὕννης, ὕννης, and ὕννης are in various places presented by mss. It is a curious fact that in the well-known passage of Hesiod (*Op.* 421–438) dealing with the construction of a plough, there is no mention of the plough-share. This cannot, I think, indicate that in the comparatively primitive age of Hesiod the plough-share was unknown and the ploughing effected by some projection of the wood-work, for the reason that the *dentale* of the plough is called by Hesiod ἔλυμα (*Op.* ll. 428 and 434), which word seems etymologically to signify the *covering*, *case*, or *sheath*, in which the plough-share was fixed. I therefore conclude that Hesiod omits mentioning the share merely because his sole topic is the wood-work of the plough. It is more singular that, save for the occurrence of the Doric εὐλάκα in an oracle in Thucydides (v. 16), no name whatever for a *plough-share* seems, putting the *Ichneutae* on one side, to be found in any kind of Greek until we come to ὕνις in Babrius, except that once in the *Septuagint* (*Judges* III. 31) we find a word ἀροτρόπους employed with apparently that signification. But it must be remembered that, except in grammarians and scholiasts, γύης, *buris*, scarcely occurs outside Hesiod (a proverb of uncertain origin, γύης οὐκ ἔνεστ' αὐτῷ, is quoted by Suidas, and Apollonius Rhodius twice, III. ll. 232 and 1285, employs αὐτόγυος), and ἔλυμα, *dentale*, not at all. I conclude that all three words, ὕνις, γύης, and ἔλυμα were on the Epic fringe, though by accident ὕνις was not used by Hesiod, were felt to be too rustic for employment in Attic prose or even in Attic comedy, but were of the exact character most congruous with the genius of Satyric drama. *aa.* ὑπόνομα is the neuter accusative plural, used adverbially, of an adjective ὑπόνομος, *subterranean*, which first presents itself in Strabo (580 and 614), who also (578) uses it in the sense of *undermined*. In the latter sense it is likewise employed by Strabo's contemporary, possibly a trifle later in date as an author, Diodorus Siculus (III. 37). The former

sense is later exhibited in succession by Josephus (*A.J.* vii. 9, 6), by Dioscorides (v. 138), but by him as a specialised epithet of an ulcer beneath the surface of the skin, and by Appian (*Civ.* iv. 13): the latter does not seem to recur. But a masculine substantive, ὑπόνομος, reposes on far wider and better authority, being used in the sense of a *mine* by Thucydides (ii. 76), as well as later by Plutarch (*Caes.* 6), Polyænus (vii. 10, 5), and various other writers; in the sense of a *conduit* by Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 1, 7), Aristotle (*Meteor.* i. 13, 11), and later prose; and in the sense of a *sewer* by Strabo (235) and Appian (*Civ.* iv. 40). Thucydides also (vi. 100) employs an adverb ὑπονομηδόν, *by means of subterranean conduits*; the use of which adverb, however, no more implies an adjectival ὑπόνομος than λυκηδόν implies an adjectival λύκος. No doubt one would conclude, quite apart from the existence of the adjective in late prose, that the substantive in classical Greek was probably the specialised masculine of an adjective; but the *Ichneutae* supplies the only existing evidence that that adjective remained in use in classical times. In fact, so far as this word is concerned, the *Ichneutae* takes us back to the diction of the days, previous to those of Thucydides, when the substantive ὑπόνομος had not become specialised as such. It is reasonable to suppose that the adjective ὑπόνομος possessed the same kind of literary authority as those words which I have described as lying on the Epic fringe, although its scansion precludes its appearance in hexameter verse. But another consideration shows distinctly that the adjective ὑπόνομος must have had a real history before the time of Sophocles. Sophocles in the *Ichneutae* uses the adverbial neuter plural, not with the meaning *subterraneously* literally speaking, but in the markedly figurative sense *by secret stealth*. One does not thus extend the signification of a neologism or of a term disinterred by learning from some lurking-place of literature. In this connexion it should be observed that Hesychius, without mentioning the name of any author, interprets the plural substantive ὑπονομαί (of which the singular occurs, meaning a *mine*, in Strabo, 614, and in Diodorus Siculus, 20, 94) not only by ὀχετός, a *channel*, but also by κλοπαί, *thefts*. Hesychius



may be referring to some early use. In late prose both the substantive ὑπόνομος and the verb ὑπονομεύω are employed with the same metaphorical significance; but that fact is scarcely to the point. *bb.* φῦσα, which seems at first blush a most precarious restoration, but which in the context is perhaps the only known Greek word ending in -ᾱ and containing neither more nor less than four letters (which is the sum total of the papyrus indications) that will at once scan and yield appropriate sense, is introduced by me on the sole strength of the nick-name Φύσκων, *Pot-belly*, originally applied by Alcaeus to Pittacus and afterwards to Ptolemy V by his contemporaries. φῦσα in the *Ichneutae*, if it be right, must inevitably have the meaning *belly*. No doubt Φύσκων is derived directly from φύσκη, a *stuffed intestine*, a *sausage*; but φῦσα is by etymology closely akin, and, apart from its significations *bellows*, *breath*, and their immediate extensions etc., is actually used in the sense of a bird's *crop*, in explanation of τὸν πρόλοβον in *Leviticus* (I. 16), by Theodotion, a commentator on the *Old Testament*, whose exact date is unknown, but who was at any rate anterior to Justin Martyr, by whom he is mentioned. We also find a statement in Suidas, that φῦσα is one of the names for the crop of a bird. The passage in Suidas (*s.v.* πρόλοβος) runs: ὁ μετὰ τὸν στόμαχον κόλπος νευρώδης, ὁμοιος σκύτει, εἰς ὃν ἡ τροφή ἀκατέργαστος μένει· ὃ καὶ τοῖς ἀλεκτρυόσι πᾶσιν ἔνεστιν· ὃ καὶ ὑπ' ἐνίων καλεῖται φῦσα (mss. as commonly, φύσσα). Words of this type can hardly be expected to emerge frequently in literature. *cc.* χρῆσθαι, which according to the second hand of the papyrus is the reading of Theon where the first hand gives χρηστὰ (which admits indeed of translation, but is distinctly awkward), presents a use of χρῶμαι similar to its use in the sense *I consult an oracle*, but nevertheless distinct from that use, and peculiar to one passage in Herodotus (I. 99) and, if Theon be right, to this passage in the *Ichneutae*. Herodotus (*l.c.*) writes ἐπιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρέεσθαι, *that no one should in person approach the Crown, but conduct all enquiry by means of messengers*. The words in the *Ichneutae* (ll. 90-91), with Theon's reading, are:

οὕτως, ἔρευναν καὶ π[άρος γὰρ ἦδετε,]  
ἅπαντα χρῆσθαι κα[ὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τε]λεῖν,

*After this sort, for aforesaid also have ye had knowledge of hunting, proceed ye in all your enquiry and bring it to a worthy fulfilment.* I do not think that Herodotus is employing χρῆεσθαι metaphorically, putting βασιλεύς in the place of θεός: in view of the simplicity of his style, I imagine that he would have made such a metaphor clear and unmistakable, had he intended it. I consider it much more probable that, without any metaphor, he has slightly extended the scope of the word χρῆεσθαι, so as to render it applicable to enquiries addressed to the Persian Crown. It must be observed that βασιλέα is employed without the article. Usually, though I am not prepared to say always, the omission of the article before βασιλεύς indicates that the Persian King is being spoken of in his strictly official capacity. It is something akin to the English use of *Government* without the definite article. I should generally translate ὁ βασιλεύς as *the King*, βασιλεύς as *the Crown*. This consideration renders it easier to understand what is in any case a rather daring expression. To extend the scope of χρῆεσθαι to enquiries addressed to a mere mortal would perhaps verge on blasphemy: to extend it to enquiries addressed to the institution of monarchy betrays no irreverence. I take it that Sophocles, if, that is to say, Theon's reading is right, found the above passage in the writings of his friend, Herodotus, and deliberately imitated it, even to the extent of incorporating, in the form ἅπαντα, the cognate accusative πάντα. But, if so, Sophocles—who, as an Athenian, can in no measure have shared the almost instinctive sense of the sanctity of the Persian Crown, which Herodotus, though a Greek and the historian of Salamis, must, as an inhabitant of Asia, have felt—failed to grasp the justification of the Herodotean usage, and transferred the enquiry involved in the word χρῆσθαι to an enquiry by the Satyrs as to the whereabouts of the oxen they were seeking. Sophocles does not always shine when he borrows from Herodotus. The well-known passage in the *Antigone*, the authenticity of which is completely certified by the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle,

though by no means so open to censure as some critics have assumed, becomes comparatively inartistic when contrasted with its Herodotean original. With this use of χρῆσθαι we come to the end of the twenty-six words, forms, and usages which for the purposes of convenience I have included in one group.

## D

In immediate succession to the last group I desire to consider two words the treatment of which I have postponed, whether logically or illogically, to this late point in the discussion, because, although each of them might in one sense be included in some other group, yet, for two different reasons, neither of them can be assigned to the text of the *Ichneutae* without a doubtfulness major rather in kind than in degree to that which attaches even to such examples as ὄνις and φῦσα. The two words are, *a.* μαριλοκαυτῶν (l. 33) and, *b.* σαργάνοις (l. 267). *a.* Of μαριλοκαυτῶν nothing except the final τῶν is conserved in the papyrus. The restoration, which is due to Wilamowitz, suits the sense of the passage and presents the exact number of letters demanded by the lacuna. But the space could be filled up satisfactorily in various other ways, and the suggestion must be regarded, although very likely right, as in an especial sense speculative on the ground that not one of the letters of the root of the word survives to support it. Wilamowitz bases himself on an assumption that Photius states that the word μαριλοκαύτης is employed by Sophocles. Be that assumption never so well founded, it does not follow that the word is employed in the *Ichneutae*. But the assumption itself reposes upon conjecture. The existing text of Photius runs : μαρίνη· ἡ μεμαρασμένη ὕλη, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρακευτάς· Σοφοκλῆς. It is generally agreed that μαρίνη is to be corrected to μαρίλη, and it is clear that the end of the entry is in some way corrupt. Hunt, apparently expounding Wilamowitz' views, presents the words καὶ <μαριλοκαύτας> τοὺς ἀνθρακευτάς in lieu of καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρακευτάς, on the strength of an entry in Hesychius μαριλοκαυτῶν· ἀνθρακευτῶν, in which entry nothing is said about Sophocles. If we admit for the moment and



without prejudice that this restoration is correct, then a glance at Photius' entry as a whole, including the restoration, will show that the curious change of case from the nominative to the accusative suggests that Sophocles employed the accusative plural *μαριλοκαύτας*, not the genitive *μαριλοκαυτῶν*, or any other unspecified case of the word. But as a matter of fact there exists no reason of any kind for filling up the defective entry in Photius from the entry in Hesychius rather than from a quite equally relevant entry in Pollux, who (VII. c. 24, § 110) gives and explains the term *μαριλευταί*. If we were to avail ourselves of this word, we should correct Photius thus: *μαρίλη· ἡ μεμαρασμένη ὕλη, καὶ μαριλευτάς τοὺς ἀνθρακευτάς· Σοφοκλῆς*. In that case we should attribute *μαριλευτάς* to Sophocles, and, even if we took the genitive *μαριλευτῶν*, it would not scan in the lacuna of the *Ichneutae*. I have thought it right to point out the extraordinary uncertainty underlying Wilamowitz' suggestion and the obvious positive difficulty raised by the change of case in Photius: but at the same time I grant that uncertainty is no bar to possibility, and the difficulty of case is not to my mind insuperable. Indeed I admit that Wilamowitz' suggestion may be right; but scholars should beware of fancying it to possess a support which it cannot claim. In any case, however we emend the passage in Photius, it would appear to indicate that some derivative or other of *μαρίλη* is employed by Sophocles. If so, the word doubtless presented itself in a Satyric drama, as is indicated by the kind, or rather kinds, of authors in whose writings *μαρίλη* occurs. It is used by Hipponax (*Fr.* 62), by Hippocrates (648, 55), by Cratinus (*Horae*, *Fr.* 9), by Aristophanes (*Ach.* l. 350), by an unidentified comic poet (*Fr. Com. Anon.* 369), unless indeed this fragment be merely a misquotation from Themistius (see just below), by Aristotle (*Probl.* 38, 8), by Maximus Tyrius (18, 9, p. 353), by Themistius (*Or.* 21, p. 245 A), who appears to be adapting the words of the unidentified comic poet above mentioned, and by Julian the Apostate (*Or.* 7, p. 233). A form etymologically earlier, *σμαρίλη*, presents itself in Aristotle (*Mirab.* 41), and this form would probably have been employed by Sophocles also for the formation of his derivative or compound, if he

had taken the word from tragic sources : in tragedy as a whole *σμικρός* is much commoner than *μικρός* (even in Euripides it is a little commoner), whereas in comedy the exact reverse is the case. To turn to derivatives, *Μαριλάδης* is the jocose proper name of a collier in Aristophanes (*Ach.* l. 609), and *μαριλοπότης* is used of a blacksmith by an uncertain author in the *Planudean Appendix* (15, l. 6). In the passage of Aristotle which I have cited as exhibiting *σμαρίλη* (*Mirab.* 41) mention is made of a stone which takes fire on contact with water, the name of which stone the mss. of the passage variously present as *μαριεύς* and *μαριθάς*. Hesychius also mentions this stone, and his existing mss. call it *μαριζεύς*. We may therefore probably take *μαριεύς* as the right reading in Aristotle. The name of the stone seems to contain the same root as *μαρίλη*. That fact by itself would perhaps be insufficient ground for mentioning it ; but the use of *μαριεύς* is attributed to Sophocles himself. In the *Etymologicum Magnum* (69, 41) we read : τὰς χρίσεις καὶ ἐπαλείψεις ἀλοιμοὺς ἔλεγον. Σοφοκλῆς· μαριεύς ἀλοιμός, ἥ ἐπάνω τῆς τοῦ θαλάμου γανώσεως ἐνιεῖσα ἐπάλειψις καθαπερανεῖ πετάλωσις οὕσα ἐν αὐτῷ. Doubtless the same passage is alluded to in Hesychius, in the mss. of whom it is stated variously that *ἀλοιμός* (so *cod. Forl.*), or *ἄλοιμα*, is used in the *Acrisius* of Sophocles. Hence *μαριεύς ἀλοιμός* takes its place as a *Fragment* of the *Acrisius* (*Fr.* 69). I am disposed to think, in view of the just quoted comparison in the *Etymologicum Magnum* of the *ἀλοιμός* in question to *πετάλωσις*, i.e. to *gold-leaf*, that *μαριεύς* is here adjectival, and to translate 'varnish glistening like coals of fire,' rejecting an alternative, *Μαριεύς* (of *Marion* in Cyprus, later called *Arsinoe*). Thus we seem to have found one cognate of *μαρίλη* of sufficient dignity to be admitted in tragic diction, for, so far as one can say from extant evidence, the *Acrisius* of Sophocles was not a Satyric drama. *b.* I will now pass to *σαργάνοις*. Lines 266–268 of the *Ichneutae* run thus in the papyrus, if reduced into modern writing, the bracketed portions representing *lacunae* :

[κάσθητ]ὰ καὶ ποτῆτα καὶ κοιμήματα  
[πρὸς σ]αργάνοις μένουσα λικνῆτιν τροφήν  
[ἐξουθ]ετίζω νύκτα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν.

Hunt in l. 267 reads πρὸς σπαργάνοις. πρὸς appears certainly to be right, as being the only appropriate preposition of suitable length ; but for the σπ- of σπαργάνοις there is not sufficient room, if we assume reasonable regularity of handwriting, and indeed the shortness of the lacuna affords but scanty space for cramping on a sufficient scale to admit the introduction of an extra letter. I consider that if the writer meant to give πρὸς σπαργάνοις, he must have by oversight omitted the -ς of πρὸς. But, to put all technical considerations on one side, I cannot persuade myself that in the context πρὸς σπαργάνοις μένουσα is a tolerable expression. It does not seem to me that a nurse can naturally or even reasonably be spoken of as *abiding by the swaddling clothes* : *abiding by the cradle* is what seems to be really required. That is my chief reason for reading πρὸς σαργάνοις. But I grant that my introduction of the word σαργάνοις is attended with a doubt different from, but no less serious than, the doubt which attaches to Wilamowitz' introduction of μαριλοκαυτῶν. There are two words meaning a *wicker-work basket* or the like, viz. the feminine σαργάνη and the masculine σάργαλος. Sophocles could certainly have employed σαργάναις, and probably σαργάλοις : nor am I prepared to say that the σαργάνοις which I suggest in the papyrus may not be a corruption of one or other of the two. But it is certain that the word in the papyrus ends in -αργάνοις. Was there then, I will not say necessarily in the time of Sophocles, but in the time of the writer of the papyrus, a word σάργανος meaning *something made of wicker-work* ? Seeing that we have knowledge of a masculine σάργαλος and of a feminine σαργάνη, it would not *a priori* be very rash to postulate at least the possibility of the existence also of a feminine σαργάλη and of a masculine σάργανος. But we require positive evidence. Of a feminine σαργάλη there seems to be no extant trace whatever ; but of the existence of σάργανος there is proof positive, but only of its existence at so late a date that the relevance of the proof becomes itself an open question. σάργανος is used by Michael Psellus (*Ant. Constantinopol.* p. 96) of a *wicker-work boat*. The expression is πολλῶν πλοίων καὶ σαργάνων ἐλθόντων, where the evidence of the accent



is in a measure confirmed by the gender of the participle ἐλθόντων. Moreover the existence, at least in medieval times, of a masculine σάργανος is further established by the presentation in the text of Athenaeus (III. p. 119 B) of *Fr.* 7 of the *Dionysalexandros* of Cratinus in the form

ἐν σαργάνοισιν (so cod. C, *cett.* σαργανοῖσιν) ἄξω τὰρίχους Ποντικούς.

Schweighaeuser emended to σαργάναις, Porson to σαργάνοις, and W. Dindorf rightly to σαργανίσιν: but the text exhibits medieval usage. Furthermore σάργανος is actually given in Hesychius, though without any mention of authors who employ it; but its identity with σάργανος, *wicker-work*, has been obscured by the fact that in the extant text of Hesychius it is explained as meaning ὁ ἀγροῖκος. It has not, I think, up till now been pointed out that this ὁ ἀγροῖκος is an almost obvious miswriting of ὁ ἀγριοισός, *wild osier*. Such irregularly substantival compounds of ἄγριος, characteristic of late Greek, are dealt with by Lobeck in his edition of Phrynichus (p. 381 and onwards). Taking those only which refer to the vegetable kingdom, we find the substantives ἀγριοελαία, ἀγριοαπίδιον, ἀγριοβότλανος, ἀγριοκάνναβις, ἀγριοκάρδαμον, ἀγριοκοκκύμηλα, ἀγριοκρόμμυον, ἀγριοκύμινον, ἀγριολάχανα, ἀγριολειχήν, ἀγριομαλάχη, ἀγριόμηλον, ἀγριομυρίκη, ἀγριοπήγανον, ἀγριορίγανος, ἀγριοσέλινον, ἀγριοσταφίς, and ἀγριοσυκῆ, to which list must now be added ἀγριοισός. On this evidence I say that it is definitely proved that σάργανος existed in medieval times. I am encouraged by Hesychius, whose lexicon is not a lexicon of medieval Greek, to suppose that the word was old enough for σαργάνοις to have stood in the papyrus of the *Ichneutae*. Whether Sophocles himself wrote σαργάνοις or σαργάναις or σαργάλοις is another question, and we really possess no material that enables us to decide it. Yet it will be well to record briefly what is known of σαργάνη and of σάργαλος. σαργάναις, in the sense of ἀρτάναις, is the received, and apparently the only tolerable, reading in one passage of Aeschylus (*Suppl.* l. 788): σαργάνη, a *wicker-basket*, comes in Timocles twice: once, it is highly important for our purposes to observe, in a Satyric drama (*Icarii*, *Fr.* 2, l. 4, where the mss. give σαργανίας, which

in the interest of iambic metre Porson necessarily altered to σαργάνας), and once in a comedy (l. 7 of the only surviving fragment of the *Lethe*); in Aeneas Tacticus more than once (e.g. c. 29, p. 89, 5), in the *Second Epistle* of Paul the Apostle to the *Corinthians* (II. 33), in Lucian (*Lexiph.* 6), and in the anonymous treatise *De obsessa Urbe tuenda*. The derivative substantive σαργάνης occurs in Cratinus (see above in the course of the discussion of σαργάνοις). σάργαλος presents itself only in Pollux (VII. 116), whose evidence however is important. He states that the place in a chariot where the whip is kept *used to be called* (ἐκαλεῖτο) σάργαλος. He is clearly referring to the whip-socket or whip-holder, which even to-day not infrequently consists of a kind of elongated basket of wicker-work. An etymologically earlier form than σαργάνη is ταργάνη, which indicates that originally the word was τFαργάνη. But this substantive, ταργάνη, does not occur in actual literature, though the lexicographical evidence with regard to it is distinctly interesting. The *Etymologicum Magnum* says (s.v. τεταργανωμένη): ἡ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν σαργάνη παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς ταργάνη καλεῖται. That statement is very likely true, but it would not hold good of tragedy or, I suppose, of Satyric drama: the almost, though not absolutely, invariable form of comedy is τήμερον, whereas tragedy eschews τήμερον altogether, though indeed it only once admits σήμερον (*Rhesus* l. 683). Hesychius also gives ταργάναι. He further presents the perfect participle passive of a verb ταργανόω, writing τεταργανωμένοι, ἐμπεπλεγμένοι, and the *Etymologicum Magnum* gives τεταργανωμένη, συμπεπλεγμένη, συνειλημένη, attributing its use to Lycophron. As a matter of fact Lycophron employs a compound (l. 110):

ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρῳ συντεταργανωμένας.

So far as I can see, the verb ταργανόω can by no possibility be got out of ταργάνη, but necessarily implies either τάργανος or τάργανον. No doubt, as ταργάνη co-existed with σαργάνη, so it was τάργανος, not τάργανον, that co-existed with σάργανος. But to admit the existence of τάργανος is to admit the existence of a masculine form dating back to the days when idiomatic Attic employed

the initial τ. There thus arises a presumption, unproved but highly probable, that outside vernacular Attic the sigmatic masculine σάργανος may have been of equal antiquity. Thus it is by no means out of the question that Sophocles may have himself written πρὸς σαργάνους in the *Ichneutae*.

## E

We now come to a group of 51 words which occur, though a few of them only as results of restoration, in the *Ichneutae*, and which also present themselves elsewhere, but not in Satyric drama, and either do not occur at all in tragedy, or in several cases do not occur in tragedy except with some strongly differentiating feature. I have assembled these 51 words together in one large batch for the reason that, unlike the otherwise similarly circumstanced third group of 26 words etc., none of the 51 present features sufficiently striking or peculiar to call for more than ordinary notice or treatment. Yet the 51, taken together, disclose an affinity of vocabulary between this Satyric drama of Sophocles and other authors, early, intermediate, and late, which, until the discovery of the *Ichneutae*, would, I think, have been regarded by most scholars as not so much improbable as impossible. A good many of the words in this list are, indeed, common to this play and to comedy; but a good many others are unknown in extant comedy, and more than a quarter of the whole are entirely foreign to all the literature that by any stretch of language can be brought under the category of classical Attic. The 51 examples are as follows: *a*, αἰέλουρος (l. 294), *b*, ἀκόμιστα (l. 141), *c*, ἀναγοῦ (probably so to be accentuated in l. 173), *d*, ἀνεδέξατο (l. 155), *e*, ἀνευρα (l. 141), *f*, ἄξυλα (l. 307), *g*, ἄπαργμα (an apparently inevitable restoration in l. 287), *h*, ἀπελεύθερος (l. 191), *i*, ἀρίζηλα (l. 69, in what I consider to be an interpolation), *k*, αὐτόχρημα (an inevitable restoration in l. 37), *l*, βραχυσκελές (l. 295), *m*, ἐγεινίασε (l. 230), *n*, ἐγχάσκοντα (l. 342), *o*, ἐθάς (a probable restoration in l. 277), *p*, ἔμμεστον (l. 280), *q*, ἐξεφράζω (a probable restoration in l. 286), *r*, ἐξορμενίζει (l. 273), *s*, ἐπίσημον (l. 100), *t*, ἐποχον (l. 179), *v*, ἐρπηστάς (a doubtful restoration in



l. 174), *x*, εὐπαλῆ (l. 218), *y*, θέσει (l. 275), *z*, ἰχνευτῆ (l. 296), *aa*, κάπης (l. 8), *bb*, καρκίνω (l. 296), *cc*, κεκώφησαι (l. 196), *dd*, κλάδος (a tempting but very doubtful restoration in l. 309), *ee*, κόλλοπες (a probable restoration in l. 310), *ff*, μάλθης (l. 138), *gg*, μῆνυτρον (a probable enough amplification of μῆνυ in l. 79), *hh*, νέμουσι (l. 385), *ii*, ὀπλῶν (l. 100), *kk*, ὀρεινή (l. 301), *ll*, ὀρειτρόφων (l. 149), *mm*, ὀστρέων (a probable emendation of a corruption in l. 301), *nn*, πάμφυρτα (l. 230), *oo*, πελέθους (a certain restoration of the reading of the second hand of the papyrus, where the first hand exhibits a corruption, in l. 386) together with πελέθους (an almost consequential reading, partly by way of emendation, partly by way of restoration in l. 387), *pp*, περιφωνεῖ (a certain emendation in l. 252), *qq*, ποτῆτα (l. 266), *rr*, προμήκης (l. 292), *ss*, πρόχυν (an almost certain restoration in l. 392), *tt*, σύλησιν (l. 73), *vv*, τάγματος (l. 112), *xx*, τροχοίδης (the reading of the second hand of the papyrus, where the first hand gives χυτροίδης, in l. 293), *yy*, ὦ ὦ (an interjectional phrase which occurs twice in l. 123 and twice in l. 168) together with ὦ ὦ (a highly probable restoration in l. 124), *zz*, ὑποκλόπους (a doubtful restoration in l. 81), *aaa*, ὕποσμος (l. 89), *bbb*, χαλεφθῆς (l. 326), *ccc*, χυτροίδης (the reading of the first hand of the papyrus, where the second hand gives τροχοίδης, in l. 293), *ddd*, ψῶζα (a perhaps probable restoration in l. 143), and, *eee*, ὦνος (probably rightly read as a whole word, not as part of a longer word, in l. 50).

*a*, αἰέλουρος presents a form common to Ionic (Herodotus, II. 66) and Attic comedy (Aristophanes, *Ach.* l. 879; Anaxandrides, l. 12 of only *Fr.* of *Poleis*; Timocles, l. 4 of only *Fr.* of *Aegyptii*). It is attributed to Sophocles, presumably with this passage in view, by Photius (Reitzenstein's *Anfang Lex. Phot.*). αἴλουρος, on the other hand, first occurs in Aristotle, who uses it several times (e.g. *H.A.* v. 2, § 3), and in poetry first in Callimachus (*Hymn to Demeter*, l. 111), and is the only form outside Ionic and Comedy. *b*, ἀκόμιστα, which is the papyrus reading, but which I rather suspect to be a mistake for ἀκόνιτα (see my note on l. 141), presents, if it be correct, an adjective which elsewhere seems to occur only in Diogenes Laertius (5, 5) and in Nonnus (*Dionys.* XII. l. 296, XXXV. l. 186, XL. l. 174, XLV. l. 50, XLVIII. l. 932); but the derivative

substantive ἀκομιστή comes once in the *Odyssey* (xxi. 284), and, in the form ἀκομιστία, in Themistius (*De Amicitia*, p. 274 A). c, ἀναγοῦ (which, in the sense *advance*, seems, because of that sense, to be the right accentuation, in the choric passage where it occurs, of the unaccented ἀνάγου presented by the first hand of the papyrus, though the second hand, not recognising the Doric form, accents ἀνάγου, and which, with its long middle syllable, appears better suited to the run of the metre than does ἀνάγου) supplies, if rightly read, an example of a verb which, with this meaning, is found only once elsewhere, namely in Pindar (*Ol.* ix. l. 120). But the same verb also comes twice in Pindar (*Nem.* x. l. 19, and *Isthm.* v. l. 53) in the sense *to relate*, and with that meaning it occurs once in Herodotus (v. 4) in the form ἀνηγεόμενοι, with an alternative reading ἀπηγεόμενοι. d, ἀνεδέξατο furnishes an example of a use of the verb ἀναδέχομαι, meaning *I guarantee*, with a direct accusative of the thing guaranteed. I am unable to find ἀναδέχομαι at once in this meaning and with this construction, except in a solitary passage of Polybius (xi. 25, 9), ἔφη δεῖν ἀναδέξασθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν τῶν ὀψωνίων ἀπόδοσιν, and in the ancient forgery known as the *Epistle of Phalaris to Teucer* (*Ep.* 137), πέντε τάλαντα ἀνάδεξαι προικὸς τῷ κηδεστῇ. But without an accusative ἀναδέχομαι comes in Herodotus (v. 91): ἀναδεχομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας. ἀναδέχομαι, without an accusative, is similarly used in Thucydides (viii. 81), in Xenophon (*Cyr.* vi. 1, 17), in Demosthenes (925, 13), and in late prose (e.g. Appian, *Hisp.* 6, 54). ἀναδέχομαι in meanings other than *I promise*, *I guarantee*, is distributed over Greek at large, including Homer (*Od.* xviii. 517) and tragedy (Euripides, *I.T.* l. 818), with the striking exception of comedy, which knows the word in no sense whatever, although Menander, whose diction reflects in some measure the profound changes incident on the Macedonian conquests, employs the derivative ἀνάδοχος (*Vidua*, *Fr.* 3). e, ἀνευρα shows us an adjective, which comes first in Hippocrates (*Mochl.* 886), and afterwards in Theopompus (*Fr. Incert.* 9), and more than once in Aristotle (e.g. *H.A.* iv. 11), but apparently not elsewhere. It is clear that this word did not strike Pollux,

at any rate, as ordinary : he introduces the quotation from Theopompus with the remark Θεόπομπος δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς ἄνευρον εἴρηκεν. *f*, ἄξυλα is from ἄξυλος, *woodless* (Herodotus, Xenophon, and later Greek) : ἄξυλος, *woody*, is Homeric (*Il.* xi. 155). *g*, ἄπαργμα, the only possible restoration of ἀπα, the accent on which, due to the second hand of the papyrus, leaves us no choice when we come to consult the lexicon for words beginning with ἄπα- (for the smooth breathing is certain, since the preceding syllable in the papyrus is ροντ', the apostrophe being due to the second hand), presents the singular number of a substantive which elsewhere in literature occurs only in the plural, though no *dictum* of grammarians forbids the use of the singular, and though Stephanus seems to have found ἄπαργμα in some glossary or the like, seeing that he begins his entry with "Ἀπαργμα, τὸ, vel potius Ἀπάργματα plur.", which words look like a correction of some earlier authority. There is a cautious statement in Liddell and Scott that the word is used *mostly (if not always) in pl.* The plural is assigned by Liddell and Scott, in the sense of μασχαλίσματα, to the 381st *Fragment* of Aeschylus : but this is an error. The *Fragment* in question (*Fr.* 370 in Dindorf's edition of 1830) consists, so to speak, of an entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 118, 22) under the heading ἀπάργματα. The writer states ἀπάργματα to be a name for "what are called by the tragedians μασχαλίσματα." He continues with an explanation of the term and a mention of the practice of assassins in the matter, and concludes with the words : "And that they also tasted the blood and spat it out Aeschylus bears witness." There is no suggestion in this that Aeschylus employs the word ἀπάργματα : if, in the place where he speaks of the tasting and spitting out of the blood, he happens to use a substantive of that meaning (though it is not stated or implied that he does so), then, on the evidence of this very passage in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, that substantive ought to be, not ἀπάργματα, but μασχαλίσματα. In actual fact, ἀπάργματα occurs once only in strictly classical Greek literature, namely in Aristophanes (*Pax* l. 1056), and there in the sense of *first-fruits*. With the same meaning it comes also in Lycophron (l. 106), and in an inscription (*C.I. add.*



2465 f). It may be interesting to add that the plural also presents itself in St. Gregory Nazianzene (*de Baptismo*), and that the sense in which he uses it is disputed. His words are: τοῦτό σοι ἀπαργμάτων ὀρίων καιριώτερον. Stephanus (s.v. ὄριος) gives an interpretation *maturis primitiis tempestivius*: but (s.v. ἀπαργμα) he furnishes a conflicting explanation, *anniversariis primitiis, quibus amicis antiqui parentare solebant*. According to the latter of these two views the substantive ἀπάργματα must have degenerated from the meaning of *first-fruits*, which were sacred offerings, into that of secular *presents* given on certain days. I cannot myself agree that in this passage ὀρίων means either *mature* or *anniversary*, nor do I think that ἀπαργμάτων has suffered any change of sense. I should translate: "This comes to thee more timely than come the first-fruits in their due seasons." For the use in the *Ichneutae* of the singular ἀπαργμα instead of the plural ἀπάργματα, we may compare the occasional use of the singular ἀπαρχή instead of the more usual plural ἀπαρχαί. *h*, ἀπελεύθερος supplies an instance of a substantive which a grammarian quoted in Bekker's *Anecdota* (p. 421, 3) expressly declares to be Ἑλληνικόν, but which nevertheless obtained a certain currency in some kind of Attic. The words of the grammarian are: ἀπελεύθερος· Ἑλληνικόν τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ δράματα ἅττα οὕτως ἐπιγέγραπται. The only known play so named is the *Τραγωδοὶ ἢ Ἀπελεύθεροι* of Phrynichus the comic poet, who won a prize in 475 B.C., so that, if the second of the two titles dates from his own day, which I gravely doubt, we have before us a really early example of ἀπελεύθερος in Attic. Apart from this uncertain instance, the word first occurs, something like seventy years later, in Lysias (109, 13), and afterwards in Xenophon (*Rep. Ath.* 1, 10) and Plato (*Legg.* 930 D), next in Isaeus (47, 19, and 58, 17), subsequently in the comic poet Alexis (*Ulysses Texens*, *Fr.* 2, l. 2), later in Aeschines (59, 25), and finally, before we pass out across the Attic frontier, in Aristotle (*Pol.* III. 5, 2). The word is used in post-Attic prose (e.g. St. Ignatius of Antioch, *Epist.* p. 13, 8). There is also a feminine substantive ἀπελευθέρα. This is good Ionic in the form ἀπελευθήρη, as it is used by Hippocrates (p. 1159 c); but, as first-rate Attic, it is in a double sense dubious,

seeing that, if the grammarian quoted above tells us that ἀπελεύθερος is Hellenic, Basilicus states (vol. 1, p. 54) that τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τοῦ ἀπελευθέρου καὶ ἡ ἀπελευθέρα δηλοῦται. Yet ἀπελευθέρα occurs in Isaeus (58, 13), and in Menander (*Rhapizomene*, Fr. 10). Athenaeus (3, 115 B) points out this use by Menander, thereby at least indicating that there was something not quite usual, to his mind, about it. To turn to the derivatives, the verb ἀπελευθερόω is found in Plato (*Legg.* 915 A and B), in Aristotle (*Rhet.* III. 8, 1), and very frequently in late prose; ἀπελευθέρωσις presents itself in pseudo-Demosthenes (215, 25), and several times in late Greek; ἀπελευθερωτής stands in Stephanus (presumably taken from some glossary); ἀπελευθερότης, *libertinitas*, is a favourite word with Theophilus the jurist (*e.g. Inst.* I. 5, 83); ἀπελευθερία, *manumissio*, comes in Aeschines (59, 25), and in late prose; ἀπελευθέριος had some sort of existence in late times; ἀπελευθεριάζω comes repeatedly in Philo (*e.g. I.* 21, 11); ἀπελευθεριώτης is a false variant for ἀπελευθέρων in Strabo (5, 235); and ἀπελευθερικός comes several times in late prose, *e.g.* Plutarch (*Sulla* c. 1). I desire to call especial attention to the fact that, as regards comedy, Aristophanes, together with, so far as can be judged from their fragments, the great majority of his fellow-dramatists, entirely abstain from the use of ἀπελεύθερος and its derivatives, and to the similar fact that if we take rhetoric, Demosthenes, together with a majority of his brother-orators, abstain in like manner. Yet surely the two places where one would expect to find frequent mention of manumission and of freedmen are the law courts and the comic stage. The evidence of Plato may to a considerable extent be discounted, as both ἀπελεύθερος and ἀπελευθερόω are used by him in his *Laws* only, the language of which is notoriously unusual; and so also may that of Xenophon, of Aristotle, and of Menander, who all, though in varying ways, depart from pure Attic standards. Lysias, it may be observed, spent part of his life at Thurii, and Alexis was actually born there: a long list of unattic words and expressions found in Alexis is given by Meineke (*Historia Critica*, pp. 379 and 380), who however attributes them, not to the individual, but to his period. Apart therefore

from the alternative title of Phrynichus' Τραγωδοί, there remains only the use by Isaeus of ἀπελευθέρος and of ἀπελευθέρα, by the employment of which latter form he somewhat weakens the value of his own testimony, and that by Aeschines of ἀπελευθέρος and of ἀπελευθερία. I consider that in these circumstances an attribution to Phrynichus himself of the coinage of the sub-title Ἀπελεύθεροι would be most improbable. *i*, ἀρίζηλα, which occurs in a choric passage believed by me to be an interpolation, but of which this particular portion is possibly taken either from some other Satyric drama or from a chorus in the lost part of the *Ichneutae*, presents an adjective, derived from a modification of the root of δῆλος, which occurs elsewhere in Homer (*Il.* II. 319, XIII. 244, XVIII. 219, 221, and 519, XXII. 27, *Od.* XII. 453), in Hesiod (*Op.* 6), in Pindar (*Ol.* II. l. 101), in Theocritus (*Id.* XVII. l. 57 and XXV. l. 141), in Callimachus (*Epigr.* 54, l. 3), in Apollonius Rhodius (II. l. 250 and III. l. 958), and in Apollinarius repeatedly (*e.g.* *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, 80, 11). *k*, αὐτόχρομα is an example of an adverb which is extremely frequent in late prose (*e.g.* Lucian, *Pisc.* c. 31; Synesius, *Ep.* 44), but in classical Greek seems to occur once only, namely in Aristophanes (*Eq.* l. 78). *l*, βραχυσκελές introduces us to an adjective which appears to be known elsewhere only in Aristotle (*Incess. Anim.* 714, 13, and *Part. Anim.* 4, 12), in Galen (vol. iv. p. 343), and in the *Geoponica* (19, 6). *m*, ἐγεινίασε furnishes an instance of a verb which occurs first in an *Epistle*, if it be genuine, of Hippocrates (1289. 22), and afterwards in Attic in Aristophanes (*Eccl.* l. 327), in Demosthenes (1272, 1278), and in Aristotle (*Pol.* IV. 11, 2, and *Rhet.* I. 9, 30). In later Greek it is fairly frequent, occurring in Herodian the historian, in Galen, etc. *n*, ἐγγάσκοντα shows us a verb the use of which elsewhere is, in strictly classical Greek, confined entirely to the Aristophanic plays (*Ach.* II. 221, 1197; *Eq.* l. 1313; *Nub.* l. 1436; and *Vesp.* II. 721, 1007 and 1349). I have used the expression *the Aristophanic plays* because that portion of the *Equites* in which l. 1313 occurs is stated to have been composed, not by Aristophanes, but by Eupolis, who himself in his *Baptae* is reputed to have declared himself co-author with



Aristophanes of the *Equites*. The evidence is found in *scholia* on the *Equites* (l. 1291) and on the *Nubes* (l. 550). This evidence is accepted by Meineke, who deals with it on p. 578 of the first part of the second volume of his *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*. The verb is also used by Philodemus (*de Vitiis*, 1, 24) *circa* 50 B.C., by Lucian (*Icarom.* 13, *Merc. Cond.* 14, *Mort. Peregr.* 13) *circa* A.D. 160, Alciphron (1, 22) *circa* A.D. 200, and John Cinnamus (2, 9, p. 33) *circa* A.D. 1160, as also by other late authors. ο, ἐθάς, if correctly restored, is an instance of an adjective which occurs several times in Hippocrates (307, 46 ; 597, 2 ; 645, 32), but in Attic is used once only, namely by Thucydides (II. 44). Later it appears in Galen, frequently in Plutarch, and occasionally in subsequent writers. ρ, ἔμμεστον gives us an adjective which occurs nowhere else, save once in the forgeries known as the *Epistles* of Plato (*Ep.* 7 ; p. 338 D). No derivative of the word exists. Some scholars indeed consider that a verb ἔμμεστώμαι presents itself in Sophocles twice in *tmesis*. The passages are these (*Ant.* ll. 417—421),

καὶ τότ' ἐξαίφνης χθονός  
τυφῶς αἰείρας σκηπτόν, οὐράνιον ἄχος,  
πίμπλησι πεδίον, πᾶσαν αἰκίζων φόβην  
ὕλης πεδιάδος, ἐν δ' ἔμμεστώθῃ μέγας  
αἰθήρ,

and (*El.* ll. 711—714),

οἱ δ' ἅμα  
ἵπποις ὁμοκλήσαντες ἡνίας χεροῖν  
ἔσεισαν· ἐν δὲ πᾶς ἔμμεστώθῃ δρόμος  
κτύπου κροτητῶν ἁρμάτων.

*Tmesis* is by no means very common in tragedy, and I hold strongly that in both these passages the ἐν is the characteristic adverbial ἐν of Sophocles, meaning *withal*, which we see in l. 675 of the *Ajax*, in ll. 27 and 181 of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, in l. 55 of the *Oedipus Coloneus*, and in l. 206 of the *Trachiniae*. Indeed, in view of the frequency with which this peculiarly Sophoclean idiom presents itself, I do not see that there is room for substantial doubt. q, ἐξεφράζω, if it be rightly read, supplies an instance of a compound verb

which elsewhere comes only in Diodorus Siculus (18, 35) once, and in the medical writer Alexander Trallianus (*e.g.* I. p. 90), but in the latter at least a dozen times, which constant use perhaps indicates that the word was a commonplace in early medical works now lost. *r.* ἐξορμενίζει affords an instance of a verb which, subject to one exception, is not used by any known author, but, as regards grammarians, lexicographers, etc., is mentioned (by Athenaeus, II. p. 62 F, and by Eustathius, II. p. 899, 17) in connexion with its occurrence in this passage, and by Phrynichus (24, 13, Bekker), who approves ἐξορμενίζειν as against the term ἐκβάλλειν used by οἱ πολλοί, whom a moment later he speaks of as οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμαθεῖς, while Photius (*s.v.* ὄρμενα) attributes to Nicostratus words that in the mss. run in the unmetrical form

ῥήτορι  
ἐξορμενικότες δυσχερεῖς παλιναίρετοι.

Porson rightly emends them to

ῥήτορες  
ἐξορμενικότες δυσχερεῖς παλιναίρετοι,

and in that form they appear as the 8th of the *Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta* of Nicostratus and constitute the one exception of which I recently spoke. Hesychius also has an entry : ἐξορμενίζεις· ἐκκεκαύληκας, ἐκκέχυσαι : but whether he is referring, with a blunder as to the person, to the ἐξορμενίζει of the *Ichneutae*, or has in mind some other passage, in which the second person really presented itself, cannot be determined. *s.* ἐπίσημον, which is the reading of the first hand of the papyrus where the second hand presents an evidently inferior reading, ἐπισίμων, in the miswritten form ἐπισίμω, introduces us to a substantive which occurs in Herodotus (I. 195, VIII. 88, IX. 74), and several times in Plutarch (*e.g.* *Thes.* 6). Simonides (*Fr.* 160) and tragedy (Aeschylus, *Sept.* I. 659 ; Euripides, *Phoen.* II. 1107, 1125) use instead a substantive of the third declension, ἐπίσημα, ἐπισήματος. *t.* ἔποχον furnishes us with an instance of the use of this adjective in the sense *moratory, suspensory*, derived from ἐπέχω.

*I check.* The only other instance of this use of ἔποχος is found in an entry in a glossary, cited in Dindorf's Stephanus: ἔποχοι, *remores*. That entry is quite sufficient by itself to prove the existence of the word in the required meaning; but it gives no information as to the date at which it was so used. Elsewhere the adjective nearly always means either *mounted*, i.e. on horseback or in a chariot (e.g. Aeschylus, *Pers.* l. 45), or else *having a good seat*, i.e. on horseback (e.g. Aristophanes, *Lys.* l. 677, and Xenophon, *Cyr.* i. 4, 4): but Plutarch (*Mar.* 15) once uses it, with the dative ναυσί, of a river in the sense *capable of being ascended*. v. ἐρπηστάς, a highly uncertain restoration in a choric passage, presents, if correct, the Doric nominative of a substantive ἐρπηστής, which occurs several times in Nicander (e.g. *Ther.* l. 9) and in the *Palatine Anthology* (ix. 86), while as an adjective it also comes in the *Palatine Anthology* (xi. 33). x. εὐπαλῆ shows us an adjective extant elsewhere once only in literature, in Apollonius Rhodius (ii. l. 618), who also uses the adverb εὐπαλέως (iv. l. 193): but we have also in the text of Pollux (v. 83) the obscure combination of words: πηδητικόν, ἄλτικόν, εὐπαλές σῶμα παρδάλεως. This seems to imply that some author employed εὐπαλές as an epithet of the body of a leopard: but, seeing that Pollux is not a stringer together of glosses, one cannot very well divide into two entries, so as to read (1) πηδητικόν, ἄλτικόν, and (2) εὐπαλές, σῶμα παρδάλεως. This consideration leaves the real bearing of the text of Pollux in considerable doubt. He may have written: πηδητικόν· ἄλτικόν, Εὐπολῖς· σῶμα παρδάλεως. Hesychius gives: εὐπαλές· ῥάδιον. y. In θέσει we have a substantive which occurs quite commonly, in various senses, in nearly every kind both of early and of late Greek (e.g. Alcaeus, *Fr.* 128; Pindar, *Ol.* iii. l. 14; Hippocrates, *Aë.* 283; Thucydides, i. 37; Aristophanes, *Nub.* l. 1191; Plato, *Rep.* 333 B; Demosthenes, 896, 6; Aristotle, *Pol.* iv. c. 1; Plutarch, *Mor.* 328 A; Lucian, *Harmonid.* 1). Its absence from Homer, seeing that it is an abstract substantive, is not surprising: but the fact that in none of its various senses is it used in tragedy seems to indicate that it was deliberately avoided, especially as τίθημι is



the specifically tragic equivalent of ποιῶ. 2. We have in ἰχνευτῆ a substantival term of natural history which elsewhere occurs only in Herodotus (II. 67), and in Nicander (*Ther.* I. 195). It denotes the Egyptian quadruped sometimes called in English *Pharaoh's rat*. A similar word of the same meaning, ἰχνεύμων, comes in Aristotle (*H.A.* IX. 6, 5), in Nicander (*Ther.* I. 190), and in Plutarch (2, 966 D). Either ἰχνευτῆς or ἰχνεύμων is employed in the same sense by Eubulus, the comic poet (*circa* 375 B.C.), in his *Sphingocarion* (*Fr.* 1). The fragment in question is preserved by Athenaeus (X. 449 E). It consists of three riddles in hexameters, together with the proper answers to them, and with reasons for the respective answers. The answer to the first riddle is in ordinary iambic metre, and so is the reason for that answer. Similarly the reason for the answer to the second riddle and the reason for the answer to the third riddle are in ordinary iambic metre. But in the case of the second and of the third riddle Athenaeus does not quote the answers as they stood, doubtless in ordinary iambic metre, in Eubulus, but substitutes prose equivalents of his own, presumably for the sake of brevity. The answer to the second riddle he gives as ἰχνεύμων Αἰγύπτιος. This prose expression, standing as it does between a hexameter and an iambic trimeter, one ms. of Athenaeus (*codex* C) turns into a portion of a hexameter, reading ἔστιν δ' ἰχνεύμων Αἰγύπτιος. But that this is an inept botching is seen if we look at the third answer, expressed in the prose of Athenaeus, but with the sense continuing into the line by Eubulus which immediately follows it. The answer together with that line runs:

πάππος ἀπ' ἀκάνθης· οὗτος γὰρ  
νέος μὲν ὦν ἔστηκεν ἐν τῷ σπέρματι κτλ.

Athenaeus continues with a fourth riddle from Eubulus, also in hexameters; but in this case he not merely does not give the metrical answer, but also omits entirely the reason for the answer, breaking off immediately after the hexameters of the riddle proper with the words: ταῦτα δ' ὅτι κληρωτικὸν σημαίνει ὑμεῖς διακρίνατε, ἵνα μὴ πάντα παρὰ τοῦ Εὐβούλου λαμβάνωμεν. One may

suspect that here the word κληρωτικόν, the answer to the riddle, is an interpolation, and that ὅτι should be ὅ τι. In these highly unusual circumstances it is impossible to say with certainty whether the word employed by Eubulus is ἰχνεύμων or ἰχνευτής. One consideration, if it stood by itself, would induce me to conceive that the probabilities are in favour of Eubulus having written ἰχνεύμων. I attach a certain weight to the silence of Athenaeus as to his having employed any other form, especially as Athenaeus' own use of ἰχνεύμων in the passage shows that it was the form with which he was himself familiar. But, *per contra*, there is no evidence that ἰχνεύμων was in use until the time of Aristotle, and there is a remark of Phrynichus (Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 43, 25), ἰχνευταί, οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον καλούμενοι: now the authority of Phrynichus is such and his particularity is so precise that the absence of any reprobation by him of this form ἰχνευταί leads me to suppose that it was good Attic as applied to the Egyptian animals in question. This argument makes in favour of Eubulus having written ἰχνευτής. ἰχνεύμων, besides meaning *Pharaoh's rat*, means also a *wasp* of a kind that hunts spiders. In this sense it is used by Aristotle (*H.A.* v. 20, 1, and ix. 1, 13), by St. Gregory Nazianzene (p. 34) in iambs, and, in the Latin plural *ichneumones*, by Pliny the elder (x. 74). I do not know that I need apologise for the complexity of my treatment of this word: though the word itself is not important, it must, if discussed at all, be discussed adequately. *aa.* κάπης brings before us a substantive which elsewhere occurs only in Homer (*Il.* viii. 434, and *Od.* iv. 40), in Lycophron (l. 95), and (in the *Etymologicum Parisinum*, s.v. Πλήγαδες) in a hexameter by an uncertain author, which Ruhnken (*Ep. Crit.* p. 192) assigns to Apollonius Rhodius (where the ms. presents κάποισι by error for κάπησι, the two spellings having identical sounds in post-classical times). An adverb κάπηθεν is mentioned by Suidas. Moreover Meles (quoted in Cramer's *Anecdota*, iii. p. 83) attributes an adjective καπαῖος, in the expression καπαῖον Δία, to the *Equites* of Aristophanes. As the words are not to be found in the *Equites* of Aristophanes, Meineke (*Fr. Com. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 38) assigns them to the

*Equites* of Antiphanes (whose name is clearly liable to be confused with that of Aristophanes), the only other known play of that title, where they now stand as *Fr.* 3. *bb.* *καρκίνω* brings to our notice a substantive, used in its literal sense, *crab*, which, in that sense, occurs in the *Batrachomyomachia* (l. 300), in Hellanicus (*Fr.* 40), in Aristophanes (*Eq.* l. 608, and *Pax*, l. 1083), in Crates (*Samii*, *Fr.* 1, l. 3), in Plato the comic poet (*Sophistae*, *Fr.* 1, l. 2), where there is a play on the proper name *Καρκίνος*, in Plato the philosopher (*Euthyd.* 297 c), and several times in Aristotle (e.g. *H.A.* iv. 2, 2). Of the constellation *Cancer*, it is employed by Aratus (l. 147), and by Plutarch (2, 908 c). Of a *cancer* or *malignant ulcer*, it is used by Hippocrates (*Prorrhet.* 2, p. 95 f, and *Aph.* 1257), and by Demosthenes (798, 23). In other derived meanings, it is used for some sort of *shoe*, by Pherecrates (*Fr. Incert.* 75), for a species of *bandage* by Galen (12, 476), and for a *forceps* or *pair of tongs* in the *Cyclops* of Euripides (l. 609), so that in this particular sense the word is seen to be Satyric, in the *Palatine Anthology* (vi. 92 and 117), in Diodorus Siculus (20, 71), and in Pollux (x. 148). Pollux also (ii. 85) says that it is a name for the *bones of the temples*. A heteroclite plural, *καρκίνα*, presents itself in the *Palatine Anthology* (vi. 295) apparently in the sense of the geometrical implement, a *pair of compasses*. Sextus Empiricus, in his medical writings (10, 54), uses *καρκίνος*, if the reading be correct, in the sense of *κίρκινος*, a *circle*. The derivatives are *καρκινιάς* (used by Oppian, *Cyn.* ii. l. 286, and *Hal.* i. l. 320), *καρκινευτής* (used by Artemidorus, 2, 14), *καρκίνηθρον* (used by Dioscorides, iv. 4), *καρκίνιον* (used by Aristotle, e.g. *H.A.* iv. 4, 27, and by the piscatorial writer Dorion, quoted by Athenaeus, vii. 300 f), *καρκινοβήτης* (used by Aristonymus, *Helios Rhigon*, *Fr.* 1, where, for variants *καρκινοβαίτης* and *καρκινοβάτης*, Meineke rightly proposes *καρκινοβήτης*), *καρκινοειδής* (used by Aristotle, *Part. Anim.* iv. 8, 2, and 6, and by Aelian, *N.A.* 6, 20), *καρκινόχειρ* (used by Lucian, *V.H.* i. 35), *καρκινώω* (used by Hippocrates, 570, 30, by Antiphanes, *Aphrodites Gonae*, *Fr.* 1, l. 15, and frequently by Theophrastus, e.g. *Hist. Pl.* i. 6, 3), *καρκινώδης* (used by Aristotle, *Part. Anim.* iv. 8, 2, by Plutarch, *Mor.* 980 b,



by Dioscorides, 2, Galen, and not infrequently in other late prose), *καρκίνωμα* (used several times by Hippocrates, e.g. 1162 D, and Dioscorides, e.g. I. 81, and by Plutarch, *Mor.* 65 D), and *συγκαρκινώω* (used by Pherecrates, *Automoli*, *Fr.* 8, l. 2). *cc.* *κεκώφησαι* brings before us a verb which, apart from this passage and from a doubtful reading mentioned below, is first used in extant Greek by a pupil of Aristotle, Clearchus of Soli (quoted by Athenaeus, XII. 516 B), and is therefore perhaps to be regarded as in the strict sense a solecism. It is afterwards to be found only in Philo Judaeus (vol. 1, p. 528, 44, and p. 599, 20; vol. 2, p. 49, 20), who however in other places and rather frequently uses instead forms of *κωφόω* (which verb has the authority of Hippocrates, *Aph.* 1251), and in Oppian (*Cyn.* III. 286). In this passage of the *Ichneutae* and, by coincidence, in all the other five passages above mentioned, forms are employed which can come equally well from *κωφάω* or from *κωφέω*. This ambiguity pursues us when we turn to the lexicographers. Hesychius gives both *κωφᾶ* and *κωφεῖ*, once prefixing the negative οὐ, and interpreting as *πηροῖ, κακουργεῖ, βλάπτει*, and *κωλύει*. On the strength of the negative in Hesychius, it is probable that an entry in Photius (359, 25), οὐκ ὤφιξεν, οὐ βλάπτει, Σοφοκλῆς ἐν ἐπὶ τεράρῳ σατύροις, should be read as: οὐ κωφεῖ, ξέν· οὐ βλάπτει, Σοφοκλῆς ἐν ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ σατύροις. But it is certainly quite contrary to the ordinary practice of lexicographers to continue a quotation, as *ex hypothesi* with ξένε in this case, beyond the word or words which they are interpreting, so that there is something to be said for an alternative emendation, οὐ κωφίζει, proposed by Brunck. Were it not for this doubt, I should include *κεκώφησαι*, not in this list, but in the list of words common to the *Ichneutae* and to some other Satyric drama, but not used in tragedy. As it is, the longer I consider the two possibilities of emendation, the more I hesitate between them. *dd.* *κλάδος*, which is a tempting, but highly uncertain, restoration of *λάδος*, the accent on which is due to the second hand of the papyrus, is, if rightly read, an instance of the use of a neuter substantive, *κλάδος, κλάδους*, which occurs twice only, namely in Aristophanes (*Aves*, l. 239) in the dative

plural κλάδεσι, which a scholiast on the passage tells us comes from a nominative κλάδος, ὡς τὸ τέκος, and in Nicander (quoted by Athenaeus, xv. 683), where κλαδέεσσι presents itself. *ee.* κόλλοπες, a probable restoration, introduces us, if rightly read, to a substantive, foreign indeed both to tragedy and to most kinds of Attic prose, but, in the sense *verticilla citharae*, employed by Homer (*Od.* xxi. 406), by Aristophanes (*Vesp.* l. 574), by Plato (*Rep.* vii. 531 B), and by Lucian (*Dial. Mor.* 1, 4). It thus seems to be on the Epic fringe. The word has two other meanings, the edible *hard skin* or *cracklin* on the top of the neck of certain animals, in which signification it is twice used by Aristophanes (*Tagenistae*, *Fr.* 9, l. 3, and *Fr. Incert.* 72, l. 1), and *cinaedus*, in which sense it occurs in Eubulus (*Antiope*, *Fr.* 3, l. 3), whose words are wrongly ascribed by Eustathius (*Od.* p. 1915, 17) to Eupolis, but contain a reference to Callistratus, and should, as is pointed out by Meineke, be attributed, on the strength of a statement of the Antiatticista (p. 102, 31), to the *Antiope* of Eubulus, and in Diphilus (*Zographos*, *Fr.* 2, l. 22). *ff.* μάλθης presents us with a substantive meaning *wax*, of which the dative occurs in Hipponax (*Fr.* 41), a nominative or accusative μάλθῃ or μάλθῃν (Pollux, x. 58, does not clearly\* specify which) in Cratinus (*Pytine*, *Fr.* 24), but an accusative μάλθᾶν in Aristophanes (*Gerytades*, *Fr.* 3), the dative in Demosthenes (1132, 13) and the genitive in a scholiast on Theocritus (*Id.* vii. l. 105), who defines the substance as κηρὸς ἀμόργῃ συνηψημένος. μάλθα is used for a kind of *porpoise* (Aelian, *N.A.* ix. 49, and Oppian, *Hal.* i. l. 371). *gg.* μήνυτρον, if it be a correct restoration, gives us a substantive, which in the singular number occurs elsewhere only in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (ll. 264 and 364), where however its occurrence renders the restoration of the singular in the *Ichneutae* perhaps preferable to that of the plural. The plural is found in Thucydides (vi. 27), in Phrynichus the comic poet (*Fr. Incert.* 2, l. 5), in Andocides (6, 23), in Lysias (107, 3), and in Plutarch (*Mor.* 421 A). *hh.* νέμουσι, which, almost completely certainly, is employed, in the passage where it occurs in the *Ichneutae*, intransitively,

\* His words are : μάλθῃν ἔφη.

with βόες as its subject, instead of the normal νέμονται, presents a use of the verb in question which can only be paralleled by a passage in Herodotus, who writes (iv. 188) : οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες. Herodotus is indeed speaking of Nomads *ranging*, Sophocles of cattle *pasturing* : but the use, in the two applications, of the active voice is identical in principle. \* Here again I suggest the possibility of a deliberate imitation of Herodotus by Sophocles. *ii.* ὄπλων presents a substantive, meaning *hoof*, which occurs in a variety of authors, although not in tragedy, but with a narrower and with a wider meaning. In the *Ichneutae* the word is used of the *cloven hoof* of oxen. In Homer, that is to say in the *Iliad*, for it does not occur in the *Odyssey*, it is confined to an *uncloven hoof* (*Il.* xi. 536 ; xx. 501), and this is also true of Xenophon (*Eq.* i. 3, 4, and other places in the same treatise), of Plato (*Rep.* 586 B), of Aratus (*Ph.* l. 486), and of Lycophron (l. 167). By Aristophanes it is used indifferently of an *uncloven hoof* and of a *cloven hoof*, of the former in the *Equites* (l. 605), and of the latter in the *Acharnians* (l. 740). But another series of writers employ the word to signify the *cloven hoof* only, namely Hesiod (*Op.* l. 487), the author of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (l. 77), whose example is certainly responsible for the occurrence of the word in the *Ichneutae*, Simonides of Amorgos (*Fr.* 26), Pindar (*Pyth.* iv. l. 226), Theocritus (*Id.* iv. 36), Aristotle (*H.A.* vi. 21, 5, and *Fr.* 241, 14), and St. Gregory Nazianzene. It is of course impossible to make sure that none of the authors of the two classes above mentioned might not, had they found occasion, like Aristophanes, have employed the word in both senses : but nevertheless the existence of two separate streams of tradition is undeniable. ὄπλή is also used by Arrian (*Exp.* vii. 27, 2) to denote the *box of horn* in which was the poison given to Alexander the Great, and is employed in the sense of *footprint* by Theophylact the ecclesiastical writer (*Hom.* 8, p. 153), while Hesychius tells us that it was also a term for the *human foot*. *kk.* ὀρεινὴ is an instance of an adjective which occurs first in Herodotus (i. 110, and ii. 34), and is afterwards used by Thucydides (ii. 96),

\* I take νομάς as *vagrant*, not as *pastoral*.



several times by Xenophon (*e.g. Cyrop.* i. 3, 3), by Plato (*Crat.* 394 E), frequently by Aristotle (*e.g. H.A.* 5, 28), and not uncommonly in later prose. It thus appears neither to have had any root in the Attic vernacular, nor yet to have derived sufficient support from Ionic or other authority to obtain for it more than an extremely limited currency in special classes of Attic prose. Such a word however may well have won an established place in the not particularly dignified sort of *lingua franca* on which the Attic Satyric drama to a considerable extent drew. *ll.* ὀρειτρόφων introduces a compound adjective, ὀρείτροφος, found elsewhere, with this spelling, only in a *scholium* by Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron (l. 675), but, with the spelling ὀρίτροφος, in Babrius (106, l. 3), in Oppian (*Hal.* i. l. 12), in Nonnus (*Dionys.* v. l. 224), and in a *scholium* on Aeschylus (*Septem.* l. 532). *mm.* ὀστρέων, if it be a correct emendation of a rather serious corruption, supplies an instance of a substantive which, in this precise form, cannot be certainly proved to have been used earlier than Nicander, who employs it (in a fragment of his *Georgics* quoted by Athenaeus, III. 92 D), as does also the parodist Matro (in a fragment quoted by Athenaeus, IV. 135 A). The early form is ὄστρειον, as is stated expressly by Athenaeus (III. 92 F), and proved by the evidence of metre in one passage of tragedy (Aeschylus, *Glaucus Pontios*, *Fr.* 25), in one passage of Doric comedy (Epicharmus, *Fr.* 23, Ahrens), and in no less than six passages of Attic comedy (*e.g.* Cratinus, *Archilochi*, *Fr.* 5), whereas in one passage (Diphilus, *Zographos*, *Fr.* 1, l. 2) either ὀστρείων or ὀστρέων will scan, and the mss. present, as they usually do, whatever the metre, the form without an iota. Athenaeus indeed states (III. 87 A) that only the ancients used ὄστρειον, more recent writers employing ὄστρεον, of which he cites examples from Plato (*Phaedr.* 250 c; *Tim.* 92 c; *Rep.* 611 D). But, as a matter of fact, the mss. readings in Plato vary largely between the two forms, so that, in view of the general prevalence in mss., even in defiance of metre, of the form without an iota, it seems far more probable than not that Plato himself wrote ὄστρειον. Much the same may be said of Aristotle. ὄστρεον is presented in his text in various places (*e.g.*

*H.A.* i. 6); but we once read ὄστρειον (*Respir.* c. 2). *nn.* πάμφυρτα presents us with an example of an adjective which elsewhere occurs only in Philo Judaeus (i. 148, 40, and ii. 53, 47), in Oppian (*Hal.* i. l. 779), and in Longinus (*Subl.* 9, 7). *oo.* πελέθους and πελέθους are examples of a substantive, meaning *stercus*, which occurs elsewhere only in Aristophanes (*Ach.* 1169; and twice in l. 595 of the *Eccl.*). In the line from the *Ecclesiastusae* the mss. give forms, not of πελέθος, but of σπέλεθος, whereas in the line from the *Acharnians* the metre preserves the true reading even in the mss., while it affords no guidance in the *Ecclesiastusae*. Moeris (310) writes : πέλεθος Ἀττικοί, σπέλεθος Ἑλληνες. The dative plural of σπέλεθος is quoted from an unidentified epic by Athenaeus (xv. 698 D), where some mss. give the correct πολλοῖσι σπελέθοισι, others the corrupt πολλοῖσι σπέλθοισι. It would appear that the Hellenism involved, according to Moeris, in σπέλεθος is a different sort of Hellenism from that affected by Satyric drama; otherwise in the *Ichneutae* we should have σπελέθους and σπελέθους, of which the latter is disproved as a possibility by the metre. *pp.* περιφωνεῖ furnishes an instance of a verb which elsewhere happens to occur only in Plutarch (*Mar.* 20). *qq.* ποτῆτα shows us a substantive of frequent use in Homer (*e.g.* *Il.* xi. 780; *Od.* x. 379), but afterwards apparently found in classical times only (in the Doric genitive ποτᾶτος) in Philoxenus, quoted by Athenaeus (iv. 147 E), and in post-classical times in Anastasius (*Anth. Pal.* xv. 28, l. 7), who is describing the Crucifixion in language imitative of Homer. *rr.* προμήκης affords us an example of an adjective which, in a sense roughly equivalent to that of *procerus*, occurs first in Hippocrates (*V.C.* 903), but afterwards, in strictly classical Greek, only in Plato, who uses it several times (*e.g.* *Critias*, 118 A), and in Aristotle, who also uses it several times (*e.g.* *H.A.* ix. 41, 1), while it comes not infrequently in later prose (*e.g.* Plutarch, *Pericles*, 3). But Plato also employs the adjective in the specialised geometrical sense, *oblong* (*Tim.* 54 A), and, further, applying the terms of geometry to arithmetic, uses προμήκης (*Theaet.* 148 A) of a number which, being a multiple of two unequal numbers, differs from

a numerical square as an oblong geometrical figure differs from a geometrical square. In this numerical sense of the word Plato is followed by Diogenes Laertius (III. 24). It is to be regretted that a tendency exists to attribute to προμήκης a specific geometrical meaning in various late passages (e.g. Theophrastus, *H. Pl.* VII. 3, 2), in which, in fact, it is used quite generally and without any technical reference. ss. πρόχνη, if, as is almost certainly the case, correctly restored, supplies an instance in Satyric drama of an adverb which elsewhere occurs only in Homer (*Il.* IX. 570 and XXI. 460; *Od.* XIV. 69), and in Apollonius Rhodius (I. l. 1118 and II. l. 249). In Homer the word has two uses. In the former of the two passages from the *Iliad*, it comes in the expression πρόχνη καθεζομένη, which means *kneeling*, and in which πρόχνη bears the literal sense indicated by its derivation (πρό and γόνυ). In the latter passage from the *Iliad*, where the phrase is ἀπόλωνται πρόχνη κακῶς, and in the passage from the *Odyssey*, where the phrase is ὀλέσθαι πρόχνη, editors attempt to assign to the word the same meaning; but it seems to me fairly clear that a certain degree of catachrestic alteration is exhibited. It is precisely this use of πρόχνη that, if the restoration be correct, is seen in the *Ichneutae*, the expression being: ὅδ' ὀλεῖ σε πρόχνη γ'. In Apollonius Rhodius the meaning is *altogether*, the phrase in the former passage being πρόχνη γεράνδρουν, and in the latter εἰ δὴ πρόχνη γέρας τόδε πάρθετο δαίμων. tt. The next word, σύλησιν, exhibits a substantive which presents itself elsewhere only in Plato (*Legg.* 853 D), and in the astrological poem, *Catarchae* (l. 583), which passes under the name of Maximus, either Maximus Ephesius or Maximus Epirota, both of them preceptors of Julian the Apostate, but from which three passages, comprising in all 22 lines, are in the writings of the two Tzetzae assigned to Orpheus (one of them, which comes in the *Catarchae* under the heading περὶ γεωργίας, to the *Georgics* of Orpheus), and which, in its entirety, Ruhnken, Dübner, and Koechly concur in attributing to a period not later than the Alexandrian. The passage in the *Catarchae* is of some little importance with regard to the *Ichneutae* seeing that, in a mention of a search for stolen goods,



it brings together the words σύλησις and ἰχνεύω. It runs (ll. 580–583) :

Καρκίνω αὖτ' ἐφέπουσα φαεσφόρος, εἰ μὲν ὅλοιτο  
ἄργυρος αἰγλήεις, ἀνάγει πάλιν ἐς τεδὸν οἶκον,  
χρυσόν τ' εὐλαμπῇ· κτῆσιν δ' ἀλιώσεται ἄλλην,  
ἥν τις ἂν ἐκ μεγάρων συλήσιος ἰχνεύσειεν.

Koechly follows the mss., which are very corrupt, in presenting the last line as :

ἥτις ἂν ἐκ μεγάρων συλήσιος ἰχνεύσειεν.

My correction is necessary. Koechly is forced to translate : *quaecunque ex-aedibus furto-ablata exierit*. But συλήσιος cannot be an adjective, though συλήσιμος would not be impossible, and ἰχνεύω does not mean *exeo*. In various places in the *Catarchae*, where the moon is spoken of as being present in some particular constellation, she is said ἰχνεύειν. Koechly invariably translates by some Latin word meaning to *go*, to *proceed*. In this he is quite wrong. In all the passages in question the moon is represented as *tracking out the footsteps* of the constellations, as is sufficiently proved by ll. 402–403 :

εἰ δὲ Ζηνὸς ἀνακτος ἢ ἀγνῆς Ἀφρογενείης  
ἵχνια βαίνησιν Θειαντιάς ἀγλαόφοιτος.

It will perhaps be well to add, in order wholly to dispel the baseless notion that ἰχνεύω has some abnormal sense in the *Catarchae*, that in l. 7 ἰχνευμένα, the neuter plural nominative of the perfect participle passive (in the expression μὴ σε λάθῃ—ἰχνευμένα), simply means *when searched for*, although Koechly actually prints the translation *gradientes*. It is to be observed that σύλησιν in the *Ichneutae* occurs in a highly juristic expression in the mouth of Silenus at the moment when he is about to begin his ἰχνευσις and is praying for success in his undertaking. His words are :

λείαν ἄγραν σύλησιν ἐκκυνήγεσαι.

I somewhat suspect that Silenus is borrowing from some formula connected with the search *cum lance et licio* ; and the combination in the *Catarchae* of the highly unusual

συλήσιος with ἰχνεύσειεν leads me to wonder whether the writer is not borrowing from the same formula. *vv.* τάγματος presents a substantive which, in the precise sense of *arrangement* or *disposition* borne by it in the *Ichneutae*, is not found elsewhere, but which is employed by Aristotle (*Pol.* iv. 9, 4) in a slightly specialised variation of that sense, viz. *political constitution*. In no sense has the word any substantial Attic authority. The only support better, from a linguistic point of view, than that of Aristotle which it can claim is that of Xenophon, who (*Mem.* iii. 1, 11) employs it of a *division of soldiers*, which use is perpetuated in late prose. In the sense of *assessment* or *payment* it comes in Aristotle (*Oec.* ii. 21, 2), and occasionally in late prose, e.g. Theodoret (vol. 1, 215). With the meaning *ordinance* it is found in what are known as the *Platonic Definitions* (414 E). With the signification of *rank* or *dignity* it occurs in various late inscriptions. The word, on this evidence, is obviously utterly alien to vernacular Attic, and equally so to the literary style of every Attic author, with the exceptions of Xenophon, Aristotle, and, as we now see, the writers of Satyric drama. Of the compounds, σύνταγμα is a little better circumstanced than the simple τάγμα, being employed by Aeschines, as well as by Xenophon and Aristotle and in late Greek: ἐπίταγμα and πρόσταγμα are thoroughly good Attic, but not tragic: ἀντίταγμα, ἀπόταγμα, διάταγμα, and πρόταγμα are confined to late Greek. It would be of interest to discover from what dialect the simple τάγμα passed into the κοινή, from which Satyric drama and Xenophon doubtless took it at an early date just as Aristotle and those who came after him took it subsequently. It can hardly have been the Ionic dialect, or we should find the word at least a few times in the considerable mass of Ionic literature which is preserved to us. The most likely source remaining is some variety or other of Doric, and it would not be surprising were τάγμα to turn out to have been in origin a term current in Megara and in Phlius. *xx.* τροχοίδης, which is the reading of the second hand of the papyrus for the first hand's χυτροίδης (see below), shows us an adjective which, with the spelling τροχώδης, presents itself in Apollonius'

*Lexicon Homericum* (s.v. ὀλοοίτροχος), and in a *scholium* on Nicander (*Ther.* l. 166). The longer form τροχοειδής is found in Theognis (l. 7), in Herodotus (II. 170), in a *Pythian Oracle* (quoted by Herodotus, VII. 140), in Nonnus (XLVIII. l. 460), in a *scholium* on the *Iliad* (XIII. 137), and in Eustathius (*Dionys.* 1134), while the adverb τροχοείδως comes in Dioscorides (III. 117), and in Theodoret (*Therap.* p. 59). The spellings χυτροίδης and τροχοίδης, in which both the first and the second hand of the papyrus agree as to the terminations, though contrary to what we now regard as custom, seem to me to be right. Seeing that the ει of εἶδος is unquestionably the pure diphthong, τροχοειδής can no more pass, by any rule, into τροχώδης or τροχῶδης, or indeed anything other than τροχοίδης (I am not taking into account here the change of accent, which is another matter), than δηλόει can pass into δηλῶ or δηλῶ, or anything else than δηλοῖ. Even if the ει of εἶδος were the impure diphthong, the result of contraction in that case would not be τροχώδης, but τροχούδης. I confess myself utterly incredulous as to the classical nature of all such forms in -ώδης. *yy.* We now come to ὦ ὦ, which pair of interjections occurs twice in immediate succession in one line of the *Ichneutae*, and is, as a result of highly probable restoration, repeated once in the next line, but in inverted order of accentuation ὦ ὦ, because of the thesis of the iambic foot coinciding this time with the other syllable of the two-fold exclamation, and furthermore occurs twice again in immediate succession in another line in a later portion of the play : this pair of interjections, outside the *Ichneutae*, presents itself only in one line of Aristophanes (*Plut.* l. 895), where it occurs six times over, constituting a complete iambic trimeter. *zz.* ὑποκλόπους, which is quite a doubtful restoration, presents, if correct, an adjective which elsewhere occurs only in Bacchylides (XIV. l. 30). *aaa.* ὕποσμος is an instance of an adjective which elsewhere is found once only, namely in Aristotle (*de Anima*, II. 9). But in Aristotle the word means *perceptible by the sense of smell*, whereas in the *Ichneutae* it signifies *making use of the sense of smell*. This latter meaning is recognised by Hesychius (s.v.), while Photius (also s.v.) records the



existence of a metaphorical use, that of *proceeding on suspicion*. It is clear that the word had a wider currency than extant literature reveals. It may reasonably, as in other cases, so in this case, be conjectured that Satyric drama formed at least a part of the field in which the usage existed and developed. *bbb.* χαλεφθῆς supplies an example of a verb χαλέπτω, which in the transitive active, with the meaning *I oppress* or *I depress*, occurs in Homer (*Od.* iv. 423), in Hesiod (*Op.* l. 5), in Callimachus (*Hymn to Demeter*, l. 71), in Apollonius Rhodius (iv. ll. 1504, 1673), in pseudo-Phocylides (l. 39), from whom the line in question is incorporated in a so-called *Sibylline Oracle* (*Orac. Sib.* 2, 115), in Plutarch (2, 384 B), in St. Gregory Nazianzene in hexameters (vol. ii. 83, 132), and in Apollinarius Metaphrastes (*Psalms*, p. 91, 13 and p. 323, 20); while the active, likewise transitive, is employed, in the sense *I enrage*, by Agathias of Myrina (*Anth. Pal.* v. 263, l. 5); and the intransitive active, in the sense *I am enraged*, by Bion (*Id.* xvii. l. 2): the middle, meaning always *I am enraged*, presents itself first in Nicander (*Ther.* l. 309), next in Appian, who, though a writer of prose, uses it several times (*B. C.* ii. 29 and 57; *B. C.* iii. 7 and 43; and in a passage, χαλεψάμενος τοῖς λόγοις οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ πρόπον ἐσχηκόσι, quoted by Stephanus as from Appian, but not provided with a reference in Dindorf's Stephanus), on the first of which occasions he employs the present participle, which however is shown to be middle, not passive, by the fact that in every other case he uses the middle aorist, in Dionysius Periegetes (l. 484), and in Quintus Smyrnaeus (iii. l. 780), whose present imperative χαλέπτεο is more probably middle than passive, in view of the balance of usage: but forms of the aorist passive ἐχαλέφθην, always in the sense *I was enraged*, of which one is here seen in the *Ichneutae*, crop up twice, or possibly thrice, elsewhere, viz. in Theognis (l. 155), where the mss. read χολωθείς, but Stobaeus gives χαλεφθείς, in Callimachus (*Hymn to Demeter*, l. 49), where χαλεφθῆ is certain, and, it should be remarked, in view of the Doric affinities of the Satyric style, the language is not Epic but Doric, and in a fragment which claims especial notice. The fragment in

question is contained in a statement of a grammarian, dealing with solecisms, printed in the Cambridge *Museum* (vol. ii. p. 113): χαλεφθῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλέπτω Σύγνωνθί μοι καὶ μὴ χαλεφθῆς ὦ πάτερ. As a consequence, Meineke very naturally, owing to the nature of the metre, though the grammarian does not say that the line is comic, takes it as such, and gives

σύγνωνθί μοι καὶ μὴ χαλεφθῆς ὦ πάτερ

as the 47th of the *Fragmenta Comicorum Anonymorum*. But, inasmuch as the passage of the *Ichneutae* in which χαλεφθῆς occurs (ll. 326, 327) runs in the papyrus, if we divide the words and put in accents etc., in the partially corrupt form,

σὺ δ' ἀντὶ τῶνδε μὴ χαλεφ-  
θῆς ἐμοὶ δὲ δυσφορηθῆς,

ἐμοὶ δὲ having replaced what must have been μηδὲ, I am quite half inclined to think that ὦ πάτερ ought to be read as Σωπάτηρ or Σώπατρος, indicating a quotation from the parodist Sopater, and that the rest should be divided between two lines, thus,

σύγνωνθί μοι καὶ μὴ χαλεφ-  
θῆς,

and taken as a quotation at second-hand from the true text of this passage of the *Ichneutae*. On that hypothesis one can see how μοι crept from its place in one line into the corresponding place in the line below, so as to produce ἐμοὶ δὲ instead of μηδὲ. Hence I suspect that the *Ichneutae* may have originally presented :

σύγνωνθί μοι καὶ μὴ χαλεφ-  
θῆς μηδὲ δυσφορηθῆς.

Be the right reading in the context what it may, the χαλεφθῆς of the *Ichneutae* has, apart from the doubtful fragment which may be nothing more than a presentation of this very passage, no support save that of the variant χαλεφθείς in the Ionic of Theognis and that of χαλεφθῆ in a Doric, not Epic, *Hymn* by Callimachus. This fact has a bearing on the language of Satyric drama. *ccc.* χυτροίδης (see, as regards the whole treatment of the

word, τροχοίδης above), the reading of the first hand, where the second hand gives τροχοίδης, is an adjective which, in the form χυτροειδής, occurs in a *scholium* on Theocritus (*Id.* v. l. 58), and in a *scholium* on Clement of Alexandria (188, 10). *ddd.* ψῶζα, restored where a quadri-literal trochee, singular, is needed, comes in Eupolis (*Maricas*, *Fr.* 21). *eee.* ὄνος, if it be rightly read as a complete word, and not as the end of some longer word, is a substantive which in the sense required, that of ὀνή, *bargain* or *purchase*, occurs once elsewhere, viz. in the *Odyssey* (xv. 445). ὀνή, with this signification, comes, as well as in other places, in the *Cyclops* of Euripides (l. 150). ὄνος, in its ordinary sense, *price*, is frequent in Homer (*Il.* xxi. 41; xxiii. 746; *Od.* xiv. 297, 388, 462; xv. 387, 451), and occurs afterwards in the mss. of the Homeric *Caminos* (l. 4), where however, for τιμῆς ὄνον ἀρέσθαι, Suidas reads τιμῇ ὄνειαρ ἐλέσθαι, in Theocritus (*Id.* i. l. 58), in Babrius (6, l. 6), and twice in the anonymous Catechist on the *Psalms* (914, 2, and 915, 18). In a third meaning, *articles of traffic*, the word occurs twice, viz. in Apollonius Rhodius (ii. l. 1006), and in Babrius (57, l. 4). It is, in this sense, an obvious emendation in l. 3 of a *Fragment* attributed by me to a Satyric drama of Pratinas (see Ch. viii. D).

## F

ταυτί (l. 112), the second hand's reading, presents (like the first hand's inferior τουτί) a deictic pronoun in -ί. Of such pronouns no other instance survives in Satyric drama. Unknown to tragedy, they abound in comedy, are not rare in Plato, Xenophon, and the orators, and occur in Aristotle: late Atticists follow suit. The use of Attic comedy may be only an excuse in this case. Is Sophocles, under the cloak of that use, adapting, perhaps from Pratinas, a Doric deictic οὔτοσή? ταδῆ is the better reading for ταδί, in the Megarian's mouth, in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (l. 744: see *scholium ad loc.*). In Epicharmus (*Fr.* 9, l. 16) τοδῆ is well restored by Ahrens (*Dial.* II. p. 272). Compare my guess as to the influence of the Doric τόλμᾱν on τόλμην in the *Ichneutae* (l. 11: see above, III. C, y).



## IV

If we leave out every word as to the occurrence of which in the *Ichneutae* there exists the slightest doubt, we shall stand on safe ground. Opinions may differ whether some of the at least moderately certain words ought or ought not to be considered absolutely certain; but beyond dispute about forty words present themselves in this play, which either are not used elsewhere, or else, if used elsewhere, are used only with a marked difference, and about fifty other words which, though used elsewhere, are not employed in tragedy, or, in one or two cases, are indeed employed in tragedy, but only with a marked difference. I have, to preclude controversy, avoided a greater degree of precision. Of the latter total of about fifty words, approximately one twelfth part occur also in some other Satyric drama: this fraction is small, but it is due to the fact that, apart from the *Cyclops* of Euripides, the remains of Satyric literature are most exiguous. Approximately one sixth part of the total, while not occurring elsewhere in Satyric drama, possess the combined authority of comedy and of Attic prose, one seventh part that of comedy alone, and one sixteenth part that of Attic prose alone, while another sixteenth part rely for support on Xenophon or Aristotle, without any better backing: yet another sixteenth part have to content themselves with the authority of Epic, and about twice as many, an eighth part, have at their back the usage only of authors, classical indeed, but Ionic or Doric: one fifth part of the whole are, apart from this play, known to us in late Greek exclusively.

These figures, not precise, but sufficiently accurate, mark out the language of Sophoclean Satyric drama as something distinct from a mere commixture of the vocabulary of tragedy with a quantum of that of comedy. Comedy does, indeed, supply an element; but of the ninety words or so that are foreign to tragedy, about forty are either literally or virtually ἄπαξ εἰρημμένα, and, of the approximate fifty that remain over, only about a third, that is to say, only about a fifth of the whole ninety, including those that come elsewhere in Satyric

drama, appear in comedy. On the other hand, of the said fifty words or thereabouts, a fraction approaching one half repose for their authority, not on comedy, but either on Epic usage, or on that of classical writers of dialects other than Attic, or on that of Xenophon or of Aristotle, or on that of distinctly late Greek : in other language, of the total number of about ninety words, roughly one quarter are only thus supported. To prevent misconception, I will re-state these two leading facts. Of the total number of about ninety words foreign to tragedy that are found without doubt in the *Ichneutae*, one fifth part are also found in comedy : of the same total number of about ninety words, one quarter are not found in comedy, but only occur either in Epic, or in classical writers of non-Attic dialects, or in the works of Xenophon or of Aristotle, or in distinctly late Greek, or in more than one of these four fields. Those are two facts of prime importance. The overwhelming majority of the words that remain over are ἄπαξ εἰρημένα, but some have the support of real Attic prose, and there is also a residuum, negligible for statistical purposes, which, without lengthy explanation, I should find it hard to classify. The chief cause that has operated to produce the enormous total of ἄπαξ εἰρημένα is the same cause that has reduced almost to vanishing-point the list of words common to the *Ichneutae* and other Satyric dramas, viz. the well-nigh complete destruction of Satyric literature. A handful of ἄπαξ εἰρημένα need cause no surprise anywhere : but the number of them which presents itself in the *Ichneutae*, whether considered absolutely, or viewed relatively as constituting about four ninths of the approximate total of ninety words of which I have been speaking, is so large that I can only account for it on the supposition that not a few, but the great majority, of the ἄπαξ εἰρημένα are ἄπαξ εἰρημένα for no other reason than that the Satyric literature, in which they were in use, has almost altogether perished. And to that literature I would also assign most, or perhaps all, of the words that have tragic authority.

We have just been considering those words exclusively which to an absolute certainty present themselves in

the *Ichneutae*, and, on the basis of these words alone, we have arrived at some important results. But it must be remembered, in speaking of words foreign to tragedy, that among such words may occur words equally foreign to Attic of any description and foreign at the same time to the Epic tradition with which copyists were generally familiar. Wherever such words occur, except in literature avowedly composed in dialect, they run a serious risk of corruption. I make the exception as to literature avowedly composed in dialect, because it is clear that such literature—take for example Pindar—was usually committed to copyists of special qualifications. Pindar is in consequence preserved without grave textual depravation. But there is scarcely a tragedy in existence in which the comparatively mild Doric of the choric portions has not in places so perplexed the more ordinary copyists, who dealt with tragedies, that fantastic errors have crept in. Again, it is common knowledge among scholars that the fragments of Aeolic quoted in Greek prose have come down to us in so distorted a form that, without the amplest emendation, they yield neither sense nor metre, while, on the other hand, in the papyri of the Aeolic poets the text, so far as it is extant, is preserved with commendable fidelity by copyists who were obviously experts. Now, seeing that the *Ichneutae* is avowedly an Attic production, it clearly was not entrusted to copyists who specialised in dialects. If therefore the *Ichneutae* presented words or forms foreign alike to the Attic tradition and to the almost equally familiar tradition of Epic, we have every reason to anticipate corruption in the case of a fair proportion of such words and forms. In the earlier portions of this chapter I have mentioned a number of words of this class as occurring either certainly or probably in the *Ichneutae*. Those that occur certainly are included in the approximate total of ninety words spoken of above. Those of which the occurrence is only probable, and which are not so included, are either restorations of a partially destroyed text, or else emendations; and, where the latter is the case, they are in every instance emendations arising out of highly peculiar circumstances in the text



and based upon something entirely different from mere guess-work. I have scarcely discussed in this chapter the reasons for them, which will be found set out in my notes on the text of the play, or, in some cases, stated in those notes to be contained in an introductory chapter. Some, at any rate, of the emendations of this class are so nearly absolutely certain that it is almost by an excess of caution that I have abstained from adding them to the total of about ninety words; and, in the circumstances, the mere fact of corruption is, as we have seen, so far from being an argument against emendation of the kind in question, a probable indication that it is precisely this kind of emendation that is necessary. Of the restorations, as distinguished from the emendations, I cannot speak with quite equal confidence. But the emendations and restorations of this class, taken all together, are numerically of little importance: linguistically however the emendations raise issues of outstanding interest, inasmuch as, on grounds which have every appearance of solidity, they attribute to Sophocles in the *Ichneutae* a vocabulary of words, similar to the indisputable but solitary relative τῶς of this play, which differ so extraordinarily from the accustomed language of classical writers, whether Attic, Ionic, or Doric, that it is quite safe to say that, if Sophocles used them, or any of them, at all, he can only have done so on the strength of having found them established in his own time in the current diction of Satyric drama. Two of the words in question are known to us as in use in Megarian Doric, one other is apparently of Dodonaean origin, and a fourth exhibits in composition a substantival root shorn of its final consonant (αἰνόμος), after the analogy of one single archaic compound of the same root (αἰπόλος), but also with the support of another similarly formed compound of the substantive (αἵπους, l. 220) in the text, unless we tamper with it, of the *Ichneutae* itself, so that the usage appears to be, not isolated, but characteristic.

To the rest of the uncertain emendations, which are extremely few in number, and of the uncertain restorations, of which there are many, I see no reason to call any very

particular attention. Were they one and all to be accepted as correct, they would do nothing more than slightly strengthen the evidence for conclusions already drawn. I make no mention whatever of the restorations other than those which have a certain amount of substantial basis in the text, and, as regards these, I have been careful in my detailed treatment to distinguish between those that are nearly certain, and those that are merely likely or possible. I have paid no attention of any kind to the language with which, in the absence of ms. guidance, *lacunae* have on mere conjecture been filled up either by others or by myself.

The result of this investigation is, in my opinion, to establish conclusively that the Satyric style, as employed by Sophocles, while differing at many points but little, as regards vocabulary, from that of tragedy, yet admitted, or rather required, as a characteristic feature, the employment of a number of words utterly alien to tragedy, and, as regards many of them, no less alien to comedy, a very considerable proportion being typically characteristic of the *common dialect* of later times. I can come to no other conclusion than that this characteristic vocabulary was based on the same *common dialect* at an earlier stage of its history. But I am unable to conceive that either Sophocles or any of his strictly Attic predecessors in Satyric drama would have dreamed of drawing direct on the *common dialect*. The only reasonable alternative is, I think, to assume that Pratinas or people like Pratinas, before Satyric drama became definitely Athenian, having no recognised medium of a literary character in which to express themselves in this *genre*, consecrated, so to speak, the *common dialect* to Satyric uses, and that from such earlier writers Sophocles took over, no doubt with great prunings and manifold castigation, a diction already formed. I say this on the evidence of what is certain in the *Ichneutae*. If I may take also into account those above-mentioned factors which are not certain, but of which I am certain, then I will only add that some part of the particular variety of the *common dialect*, inherited by Sophocles from his non-Attic predecessors in title, was in some ways not

only dissimilar from Attic, but dissimilar also from literary Greek at large.

Ἐλλάς μὲν ἔστι μία, πόλεις δὲ πλείονες.  
 σὺ μὲν ἀττικίζεις, ἡνίκ' ἂν φωνὴν λέγῃς,  
 Ἀστούγενες,\* οἱ δ' Ἑλλήνες ἐλληνίζομεν.

(A Thessalian in Posidippus, *Fr. Incert.* 2. ll. 1-3.)

## INDICES OF WORDS IN CHAPTER V.

ἀγρωστήρων II B4 a l. 32  
 αἰγελατικά II B1 a l. 358  
 αἰγίνηνμε II B1 b l. 116  
 αἰέλουρος III E a l. 294  
 αἰνόςμος II B1 c l. 352  
 αἰόλισμα II A1 a l. 317  
 αἰπόδων II B1 d l. 220  
 ἀκάλως III C a l. 62  
 ἀκόμιστα III E b l. 141  
 ἀλκασμάτων II B4 b l. 245  
 ἀμολγάδας II A b l. 5  
 ἀναγοῦ III E c l. 173  
 ἀνανοστήσαντες II A1 c l. 158  
 ἀνεδέξατο III E d l. 155  
 ἀνευρα III E e l. 141  
 ἄνις II B2 a l. 15  
 ἄξυλα III E f l. 307  
 ἄπαργμα III E g l. 287  
 ἀπελευθερός III E h l. 191  
 ἀποθυμαίνεις II B5 a l. 120  
 ἄποιον II A1 d l. 95  
 ἀπόψακτον II B5 b l. 361  
 ἀρίζηλα III E i l. 69  
 ἄρσαβῶνα III C b l. 419  
 ἀρτίγομφο II A1 c l. 307  
 αὐτόχρομα III E k l. 37

βαῖτας III C c l. 67  
 βοοῖκλεψ II B1 e, *Fr.* 318  
 βοῦφωρα II B5 c l. 36  
 βράβευμα II A1 f l. 448  
 βραχυσκελές III E l l. 295

γέλω III C d l. 359  
 γηκρυφή II A1 g l. 259  
 γράπις II B4 c l. 175

διακαλούμενος II A1 h l. 165  
 διακκανάσσειται III A a l. 253  
 διατόρως II A1 i l. 307  
 δρακίς II B4 d l. 175  
 δυσφορηθῆς III C e l. 327

ἐγγόνους II B5 d l. 220  
 ἐγεινίασε III E m l. 230  
 ἐγχάσχοντα III E n l. 342  
 ἐθάς III E o l. 277  
 εἴπες III C f l. 216  
 εἴσθα III C g l. 50  
 ἐκκυνηγέσαι II B3 a l. 73  
 ἐλεῖς II B3 b l. 197  
 ἔμμεστον III E p l. 280  
 ἔνος III C h l. 355  
 ἐξάνομεν II A1 k l. 96  
 ἐξεμηχανήσατο II A1 l l. 278  
 ἐξενίσμεθα III C i l. 135  
 ἐξευθετίζω II B4 e l. 268  
 ἐξεφράξω III E q l. 286  
 ἐξηγίσμεθα II A1 m l. 135  
 ἐξορμενίζει III E r l. 273  
 ἐξυπελθόντα II B4 f l. 203  
 ἐπίσημον III E s l. 100  
 ἔποχον III E t l. 179  
 ἐρπηστάς III E v l. 174  
 εὐιάζετο III A b l. 219  
 εὐπαλῆ III E x l. 218  
 ἐφθά III A c l. 197  
 ἐχέτλη III C k l. 103

θέσει III E y l. 275  
 θηρίων III B a l. 145  
 θρέπτα II A1 n l. 320

\* *Libri αὐτοῦ τινες*: Ἀστούγενες ego; nam comoediae novae rationi facit tale nomen.



ἰχνευτῇ III E z l. 296  
 κάπης III E aa l. 8  
 καρκίνω III E bb l. 296  
 κατεβρίκινώμενος II B6 l. 293  
 κεκώφησαι III E cc l. 196  
 κέρχνος II B4 g l. 126  
 κλάδος III E dd l. 309  
 κόλακι III C l l. 152  
 κόλλορες III E ee l. 310  
 κροκίδιζε III C m l. 184  
 κύβα II B4 h l. 120  
 κυκησμός II B5 e l. 115  
 κυνηγέσω II B3 c l. 43  
 κυνορτικόν II B4 i l. 165  
 λαλίστατοι III A d l. 127  
 λικνῆτιν III C n l. 267  
 μάλθης III E ff l. 138  
 μαριλοκαυτῶν III D a l. 33  
 μήνυτρον III E gg l. 79  
 νεβρίνη II A1 o l. 217  
 νέμουσι III E hh l. 385  
 νυμφογενήτου II A1 p l. 34  
 ὀνθία III B b l. 139  
 ὀπλῶν III E ii l. 100  
 ὀποποῖ II B4 k l. 189  
 ὀρεινή III E kk l. 301  
 ὀρειτρόφων III E ll l. 149  
 ὀρθοψάλακτον II A2 a l. 247  
 ὀστρέων III E mm l. 301  
 οὔρει III C o l. 116  
 παιδάρια III B c l. 370  
 παλινστραφῇ II A1 q l. 110  
 πάμφυρτα III E nn l. 230  
 παραψυκτήριον II A1 r l. 315  
 παροίνους III A g l. 147  
 πέδορτον II B2 b l. 210  
 πελέθοις III E oo l. 386  
 περιφωνεῖ III E pp l. 252  
 πόρδαλις III C p l. 294  
 ποσσί III C q l. 65  
 ποτῆτα III E qq l. 266  
 προηλάτει II A1 s l. 93

προμήκης III E rr l. 292  
 πρόχυν III E ss l. 392  
 προψαλάξης II A2 b l. 239  
 ῥινοκόλλατον II A1 t l. 364  
 ῥοίβδημα II A1 v l. 105  
 σαργάνοις III D b l. 267  
 σεῖ III C r l. 143  
 στίφρωμα II B5 f l. 96  
 σύλησιν III E tt l. 73  
 συμποδηγέται II B5 g l. 161  
 συνάμα III C s l. 68  
 σύνδυο III C t l. 46  
 σύρβη III C v l. 304  
 τάγματος III E vv l. 112  
 ταυτί III F l. 112  
 τέγην III C1 x l. 259  
 τόλμην III C y l. 11  
 τόμουρα II B2 c l. 320  
 τράγος III A e l. 356  
 τρόχης II B4 l l. 224  
 τροχοίδης III E xx l. 293  
 τῶς II B7 ll. 38 & 294  
 ὃ ὅ III E xx ll. 123 & 168  
 ὕνιν III C z l. 369  
 ὑπέκλαγες II B3 d l. 169  
 ὑπέκριγες II B3 e l. 169  
 ὑποκλόπους III E zz l. 81  
 ὑπόνομα III C aa l. 62  
 ὑποῤῥυπαίνεται II B5 h l. 151  
 ὕποσμος III E aaa l. 89  
 ὑποψάλακτος II A2 c l. 319  
 φαλακρόν III A f l. 357  
 φῦσα III C bb l. 142  
 χαλεφθῆς III E bbb l. 326  
 χρῆσθαι III C cc l. 91  
 χρυσόφαντον II A1 x l. 154  
 χυτροίδης III E ccc l. 293  
 ψ' ψ' II B4 m l. 168  
 ψῶζα III E ccc l. 143  
 ὦνος III E eee l. 50

*The references below are to lines.*

II A1. *Miscellaneous* ἄπαξ εἰρημένα, possible in Tragedy.

a αἰόλισμα 317

d ἄποιον 95

b ἀμολγάδας 5

e ἀρτίγομφε 307

c ἀνανοστήσαντες 158

f βράβευμα 448

*g* γηκρυφῇ 259  
*h* διακαλούμενος 165  
*i* διατόρως 307  
*k* ἐξάνομεν 96  
*l* ἐξεμηχανήσατο 278  
*m* ἐξηγίσμεθα 135  
*n* θρέπτα 320  
*o* νεβρίνη 217  
*p* νυμφογεννήτου 34  
*q* παλινστραφῇ 110  
*r* παραψυκτήριον 315  
*s* προηλάτει 93  
*t* ῥινοκόλλατον 364  
*v* ροίβδημα 105  
*x* χρυσόφαντον 154

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*s* ἐπίσημον 100  
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*x* εὐπαλῆ 218  
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*rr* προμήκης 292  
*ss* πρόχνη 392  
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*vv* τάγματος 112  
*xx* τροχοίδης 293  
*yy* ὕ ὕ 123 & 168 and  
     ῥ ῥ 124  
*zz* ὑποκλόπους 81  
*aaa* ὑποσμος 89  
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## CHAPTER VI

## STICHOMETRY

Redit uncia. Quid fit ? HORACE.

## A

IN the papyrus of the *Ichneutae* four marginal numbers,  $\bar{\alpha}$ ,  $\bar{\beta}$ ,  $\bar{\gamma}$ , and  $\bar{\delta}$ , present themselves, all apparently in the handwriting of the first hand, not of the second hand. As these figures, or some of them, are of importance in the task of restoring, so far as may be, the text of the play, and as they are by no means in every case free from difficulty, I propose to discuss them somewhat minutely.

$\bar{\alpha}$  is written opposite the fourteenth line of column 4 ( $\bar{\iota}$ . 92 on my numeration). We must consider the earlier columns. In the middle and at the bottom of column 1 there are gaps. Outside these gaps, portions of 23 lines are preserved. It is fairly clear that the whole column originally consisted either of 26 or of 27 lines: but as between those two figures there exists no direct means of deciding. Column 2 presents portions of 26 lines. Below the 26th line the fabric of the papyrus is abruptly broken off. As far as considerations of space are concerned, it is possible that there may once have been a 27th line: but, as a stichomythia is in progress, considerations other than those of space prove almost to demonstration that no such 27th line ever existed. The third column presents portions of 27 lines, and the papyrus is sufficiently intact to show that this is the full complement of this particular column. It should be observed that in this column (ll. 57-70) is included the first chorus. For metrical reasons I print this chorus in fourteen lines. The papyrus however writes it in fifteen lines. Consequently my own total of lines for this column is not 27 but 26. This

fact however in no way affects the papyrus reckoning of 27. The fourteenth line of the fourth column (l. 92) is the line opposite which  $\bar{\alpha}$  is written.

From all this it will appear that the line opposite which  $\bar{\alpha}$  is written is the 93rd line in the papyrus, if we assign 26 lines to column 1, but is the 94th line in the papyrus if we assign 27 lines to column 1. In either case it is obvious that some other matter must have been counted in, in order to produce the total of one hundred lines. The only such matter which I can suggest as reasonably capable of having been so counted in is the prefatory statement, now lost, but which must once have run as follows :

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΙΧΝΕΥΤΑΙ\*  
ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ  
ΣΙΑΗΝΟΣ  
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΣΑΤΥΡΩΝ  
ΚΥΛΛΗΝΗ  
ΕΡΜΗΣ.

As this prefatory matter must manifestly have been presented in seven lines, neither more nor less, I feel considerable confidence in assigning 26 lines, not 27 lines, to column 1.

Column 4, after the line marked  $\bar{\alpha}$  (l. 92), contains on modern numeration, and on the highly probable assumption that no line is missing at the bottom of the column, twelve lines. But of these twelve lines, l. 97 is a trimeter distributed between two speakers and presented in the papyrus as two lines. Also ll. 99 and 101 are each of them an iambic monometer. Therefore it will be possible as a maximum to count the column as containing, after l. 92, thirteen lines, or, as a minimum, taking the two monometers together, eleven lines. The figures of the papyrus marginal linear numeration are compatible with minimum computations only. Therefore I take the figure as eleven lines.

\*Or (see D below) Σοφοκλέους Εὐρεσις Λύρας ἢ Ἰχνευταὶ Σάτυροι.

Column 5 contains 27 lines, neither more nor less, though only 26 of them are lines of poetry and countable as lines in the modern numeration. The non-poetical line is the  $\text{'Po}\tilde{\iota}\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$  between ll. 105 and 106. Also ll. 109, 123, 128, and 130 are iambic monometers. Taking each iambic monometer as half a line and the  $\text{'Po}\tilde{\iota}\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$  also as half a line, this yields a minimum computation of  $24\frac{1}{2}$  lines.

Column 6 contains precisely 26 lines. One of these (l. 132) is an iambic monometer, so that the minimum computation is  $25\frac{1}{2}$  lines.

Column 7 contains exactly 26 lines, none of which present any complications, so that the only possible numeration is 26 lines.

In column 8, l. 193 has  $\bar{\beta}$  written before it. This  $\bar{\beta}$  has subsequently been deleted before l. 193 and rewritten before l. 195: but reference to later marginal numbers shows that it is the deleted, not the rewritten,  $\bar{\beta}$ , that has been used as a basis. The deleted  $\bar{\beta}$  stands opposite the eleventh line of the column, the rewritten  $\bar{\beta}$  opposite the thirteenth line of the column. Hence one obtains rival figures of eleven and of thirteen lines for the relevant part of this column.

We have seen that after the line marked  $\bar{\alpha}$  column 4 presents on a minimum computation eleven lines, column 5  $24\frac{1}{2}$  lines, column 6  $25\frac{1}{2}$  lines, column 7 26 lines, and column 8, up to and including the line marked with the rewritten  $\bar{\beta}$ , thirteen lines. The total is exactly one hundred lines, and therefore the rewritten  $\bar{\beta}$  stands exactly where it ought to stand in accordance with a scientific addition of the minimum enumerations of the lines in the various columns concerned, adding, that is to say, the half-line over in column 5 to the half-line over in column 6, so that those two half-lines together count as one whole line.

But another system of calculation was used to arrive at the placing of the deleted  $\bar{\beta}$  before line 193. Columns were taken as complete units, without possibility of carrying from one to another. Consequently column 5 was computed as containing 25 lines, and column 6 as



containing 26 lines. This variation by itself would have resulted in the placing of the deleted  $\bar{\beta}$  not before l. 193 but before l. 194: but it was coupled with a refusal to treat the iambic line (l. 97) distributed between two speakers as anything short of two complete lines. Hence the deleted  $\bar{\beta}$  necessarily made its appearance before l. 193.

This refusal to treat a divided iambic line as one single line is illustrated by the fact that l. 197 being divided in the papyrus into four separate speeches (though it ought properly to be divided into three only) is counted as four lines. This fact causes the  $\bar{\gamma}$  which marks the lapse of one hundred lines after the  $\bar{\beta}$  opposite l. 193 to occur, not opposite l. 293, but opposite l. 290, the third line of column 12. It is only thus that the  $\bar{\gamma}$  opposite l. 290 can have been so placed.

But at this point an important observation must be made. By no possibility whatsoever, if we take the undeleted  $\bar{\beta}$  opposite l. 195 as our starting point, can we justify the placing of the  $\bar{\gamma}$  opposite l. 290. But it is equally impossible, if we start—the only alternative—from the deleted  $\bar{\beta}$  opposite l. 193, to justify the  $\bar{\gamma}$  opposite l. 290, unless we include in our calculation l. 242. Now l. 242 is entirely omitted by the first hand and inserted only by the second hand. Nevertheless l. 242 has been counted in. As it appears to be agreed that the marginal numbers are in the handwriting of the first hand, not of the second hand, it follows that the first hand did not count his own lines and affix marginal numbers in accordance with his counting, but that he transferred the marginal numbers bodily from the book he was copying. In other words the marginal numbers are a part of the traditional text. This is a solid point.

After the marginal  $\bar{\gamma}$ , we have only one note of number, viz. a marginal  $\bar{\delta}$  opposite the bottom line but two of column 15. Between  $\bar{\gamma}$  and  $\bar{\delta}$ , although in more than one place the fabric of the papyrus has been destroyed, we can say with safety that no line was ever divided between two or more speakers, so that

the counting is straightforward and  $\bar{\delta}$  must stand really, and not on any artificial system of numeration, exactly one hundred lines after  $\bar{\gamma}$ . Consequently, as  $\bar{\gamma}$  stands opposite l. 290, so the last line but two of column 15, *i.e.* the line opposite which the  $\bar{\delta}$  is placed, must be l. 390. A good deal of column 15 above l. 390 has perished; but by good fortune, owing to the combined fact that part of what is missing is a portion of the antistrophe to an extant strophe and the rest of the lost lines are in a stichomythia, I am able in my English notes on the column to demonstrate that it originally contained 26 lines, neither more nor less. Consequently the last line but two is the 24th line of the column.

Therefore from l. 290 to the top of column 15, both exclusive, is an interval of 100—24 lines, *i.e.* 76 lines. Column 14 is intact in the sense that no lines are missing. It contains 26 lines. Consequently, as l. 290 is the third line of column 12, columns 12 and 13 together must originally have presented 3+76—26 lines, *i.e.* 53 lines. In its present condition column 12 exhibits 25 lines, the bottom being missing. Similarly column 13 in its present condition exhibits 24 lines, in this case also the bottom being missing. Thus columns 12 and 13 together now present 49 lines, whereas they once presented 53 lines. In my Latin notes on column 12 I explain why I prefer to add two lines at the bottom of each column rather than three lines at the bottom of one column and one at the bottom of the other.

The marginal  $\bar{\delta}$  is of a special value, as it supplies us with our only, though amply sufficient, guide to the number of lines missing from the columns just mentioned, and consequently enables us to number this part of the play correctly.

We are now more or less in a position to consider the question of the number of lines that make up a column in the papyrus. This number is not constant. I will confine my enquiry to the first fifteen columns, as the subsequent columns printed by me are in large measure the result of combinations of fragments and the like and involve matters of very distinct controversy.

Here is a table of the columns :—

Column 1 contains most probably 26 lines, but possibly 27.

Column 2 contains almost certainly 26 lines, most improbably 27.

Column 3 contains certainly 27 lines.

Column 4 contains almost certainly 27 lines only, though the inferior margin is partly destroyed.

Column 5 contains certainly 27 lines.

Column 6 contains certainly 26 lines.

Column 7 contains certainly 26 lines.

Column 8 contains certainly 28 lines.

Column 9 contains certainly 27 lines.

Column 10 contains certainly 26 lines.

Column 11 contains certainly 26 lines.

Column 12 contains most probably 27 lines.

Column 13 contains most probably 26 lines.

(These two columns certainly contain 53 lines between them.)

Column 14 contains certainly 26 lines.

Column 15 contains either 26 or 28 lines, and the statement of this alternative renders the figure of 26 lines the more probable.

The result of this table is that, in cases of certainty, we have five columns of 26 lines apiece, as against three columns of 27 lines apiece and one column of 28 lines, while in cases of major probability we have four columns of 26 lines apiece, as against two columns of 27 lines. Adding certainties and major probabilities (which latter the marginal numeration of the papyrus renders very strong) together, we have nine columns of 26 lines apiece, five columns of 27 lines apiece, and one column of 28 lines.

It must be noted that in every instance I am for this purpose stating the number of lines per column as actually presented by the first hand (thus omitting l. 242, of which I spoke above), or in the case of lost lines, as, so far as can be inferred, once actually presented by the first hand. The figures just given by me are entirely irrespective of that method of numeration by which two iambic monometers or the like, though written as two



lines, were for purposes of marginal numeration reckoned as one line.

I have satisfied myself that *normally* in this papyrus the occurrence of iambic monometers or the like has nothing to do with the variation of lines in the several columns. For example, although column 5, which includes both the 'Ροῖβδος and also four separate iambic monometers, each written as a separate line, consists *de facto* of 27 lines of manuscript, so also does column 9, though that column contains 26 iambic trimeters and one line of chorus. Or, to take the converse case of unusually long lines, column 12, which contains, in addition to one line of chorus, 24 extant or partially extant iambic tetrameters—verses exceeding the regular length by one-third—was certainly in its original state a column of at least 26 lines and in all probability a column of 27 lines. I have come to the conclusion that the variation between the figure 26 and the figure 27 is not due to any method but to a want of method. But nevertheless I just now confined myself to the statement that the occurrence in the papyrus of monometers etc. does not *normally* affect the variation of lines. In the one case, that of column 8, where we certainly have a total of 28 lines, I am disposed to think that the quadripartite division of line 197 may have suggested to the copyist a doubt whether he would receive full payment for that particular folio if he did not put a little additional writing into it. But the quadripartite division of an iambic trimeter is necessarily a matter of the rarest occurrence.

## B

Seeing that the number of lines per column is almost invariably either 26 or 27, though apparently with a distinct and natural preference for 26, we may conclude with some security that the general instructions given to the copyist were that he should put, circumstances permitting, 27 lines in a column: he is unlikely to have volunteered an extra line so often as would be the case were we to assume that his instructions were to put only 26 lines in a column.

Now this number of 27 lines per column is most intractable for purposes of account on the supposition that we are dealing with a genuine decimal system. On that supposition the copyist would need to have written a full hundred folios, or 2700 lines, before the end of any given folio would coincide with any complete number of hundreds of lines.

But at all times there seems to have been a tendency to count by grosses instead of by hundreds. Three grosses amount to 432; and 432 is the product of  $27 \times 16$ . Therefore, on a basis of 27 lines in a folio, the copyist would complete three grosses of lines every sixteen folios. That would constitute an easily workable commercial basis.

The smallest Roman copper coin in imperial times was the sextula, of which pieces 96 went to the denarius or drachma. Consequently, if the copyist was paid at the rate of one sextula per line, his emoluments would amount to exactly a drachma and a half per gross, or four and a half drachmas per sixteen folios making three grosses. These figures fit in very well with the system of calculation by grosses which I have assumed. The writing of sixteen folios would constitute, allowing for meal times and the conditions of the Egyptian climate, a very full day's work. Four and a half Imperial Roman drachmae, valued as bullion, amount, as nearly as may be, to 2s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. English currency. In purchasing power, that is to say, for every practical purpose, they were worth several times that amount towards the end of the second century A.D. No certainty appears to exist as to the number by which the English bullion equivalent ought to be multiplied in order to arrive at the correct result: but I doubt whether any student of the subject would put that result at less than ten shillings sterling. Ten shillings a day would be by no means excessive payment for piece-work of the kind in question.

If the copyist was a slave, it may be presumed (a) that if his services were let out by his own master to some other person, the payment to the master would be much the same as to a freeman doing the work, and (b) that, supposing the copyist to be working for his own master, that master, if a businesslike man, would

have kept, for the purposes of his business, something in the nature of a wage-account in order to show what market-value the copyist's labour represented, even if he did not hand over the money to be put to the credit of his *peculium*. But I am much inclined to doubt whether at the end of the second century A.D. any appreciable number of persons acquainted with Greek scholarship existed in a state of servitude.

We have seen that a folio of 27 lines suggests a payment-unit of sixteen folios=three grosses of lines. But we have not yet enquired into the reason why this particular payment-unit should have been chosen in the case of the *Ichneutae*, the reason, that is to say, why the copyist should have been instructed to make his columns of the length of 27 lines.

The *Eurypylus* of Sophocles was discovered at the same place and about the same time as the *Ichneutae*. It is in a desperately fragmentary condition; but important evidence is furnished by it. To all appearance it is written by the same scribe as the manuscript of the *Ichneutae*: it presents corrections and supplements similar to those in the *Ichneutae*, and, if one may judge by handwriting, the same person acted as corrector of both manuscripts. Moreover the height of the papyrus roll of the *Eurypylus* is identical with the height of the papyrus roll of the *Ichneutae*. One might therefore, on a superficial view, anticipate that a folio of the *Eurypylus* would present the same number of lines as a folio of the *Ichneutae*. This however is emphatically not the case. Three columns of the 5th fragment are the only materials from which we can gather real information. The first column of the 5th fragment plainly consisted, when intact, of at least 28 lines. After the 28th line the portion of the papyrus which contains the ends of lines continues downwards for a considerable distance. It is blank: but this fact is equally consistent with either of two hypotheses—(a) that the writing came to an end at the 28th line, or (b) that after the 28th line occurred some number or other of choric lines too short to protrude into the extant portion of the papyrus. The second column of the 5th fragment is still physically attached to the first column. It also presents 28 lines



and, so far as I can judge, a vestige of a 29th line ; but, unlike the first column, it is destroyed from this point downwards, so that it is a matter of absolute impossibility to state (unless perhaps by inference) whether it ever contained any greater number of lines. The third column of the 5th fragment presents 29 lines, and it is uncertain whether in its original condition it did or did not present more than this number. I deal more fully with fragments of the *Eurypylus* below under heading C. The only other column which is to any considerable extent intact is fragment 91 : but from this one can learn nothing further than that it now presents 25 lines and once presented more, a good deal of the fabric of it having completely perished.

As regards the *Eurypylus*, we consequently have two columns containing each at least 28 lines and possibly more, and one column containing at least 29 lines and possibly more. The bottom of the first column of Fragment 5 exhibits to my mind—on the assumption that the largely destroyed, as well as the undestroyed, portion of it never contained any writing—so great a waste of valuable papyrus that I am disposed to think that it is more probable than not that four short choric lines originally followed the 28th line of the column. This is absolutely uncertain ; but if it happens to be the case, then one would have a column of 32 lines, and nine columns of 32 lines apiece are identical with two gross of lines. That however by the way. The point I wish to bring out is that, on any view of the facts, the column of the *Eurypylus* contains a materially greater number of lines than the column of the *Ichneutae*.

A reason for this is at once discoverable. The *Cyclops* of Euripides is by itself sufficient to prove that a Satyric drama ran traditionally to considerably less length than a tragedy. It therefore was the part of a good publisher to issue a Satyric drama in a form somewhat more ample than that appropriate to a tragedy. The readiest way of arriving at this result was to diminish, though within reason and not unduly, the number of lines per folio.

But this consideration, though it helps us, does not explain why the particular number of 27 lines per column

was adopted by the director of the scriptorium. Unless that functionary was incompetent or outrageously negligent, he would only have adopted the standard of 27 lines per folio, that is to say, the payment-unit of sixteen folios=three grosses, in the case of a book the whole contents of which amounted approximately (I do not say accurately) either to three grosses or to some non-fractional multiple of three grosses. Now in the case of the *Ichneutae* the extant portion of the play proceeds well beyond what on any reckoning can be counted as the 432nd line. It is true that after the 393rd line the text can only be pieced together with difficulty; but still beyond all question there is a text which takes one well beyond line 432 and which certainly, where it terminates, has not brought the end of the play within the range of immediate vision. Therefore there is no question of this play consisting of one unit of approximately three grosses. But if we take two units of three grosses each, the case is at once altered. So far as can be seen an approximate total of 864 lines would yield good space, neither too much nor too little, for the appropriate conclusion of the action. The *Cyclops*, though the lines of that play are variously numbered, contains on Hermann's numeration 711 lines. We see therefore that 864 lines or thereabouts would be a suitable length for the *Ichneutae*.

I do not hesitate to suggest that the director of the scriptorium, taking a copy of the *Ichneutae* into his hands and observing it contained approximately 864 lines, said to himself "For business purposes I shall treat this play as containing six gross of lines: let me look at my tables." He would then take up his tables and refer to the heading "Six gross." He would find in the tables that convenient ways of dealing with a total of six gross were (a) to divide it into 27 folios of 32 lines apiece, or (b) to divide it into 32 folios of 27 lines apiece. After a moment's consideration he would adopt the latter method, on the ground of the *Ichneutae* being a drama, although a Satyric drama, and therefore of a nature to be put before the public as a roll of adequate dimensions.

## C

Though the first column of the 5th fragment of the *Eurypylus* contains only the latter portions of lines and therefore in itself presents no *terminus a quo*, nevertheless the ninth line of the column is a portion of an otherwise extant fragment, though that fragment contains an inversion of words, so that we are able to obtain indirectly the *terminus a quo* of the line in question, an iambic trimeter, and consequently also the *terminus a quo* of every other iambic trimeter in the column.

The column presents portions of 28 lines, all of them, at least after the fifth line, apparently iambic trimeters. After the 28th line there is no direct evidence of any further writing in the column. The papyrus continues in a downward direction for a sufficient distance to allow of seven further lines to be included, but for the whole of this space the surviving fabric, which is blank, extends but a very little way backwards from the point at which iambic trimeters, containing a usual number of letters, would end.

Assuming for the sake of argument the original existence of a 29th, 30th, and 31st line, each of those three lines, if iambic trimeters, and therefore beginning at the point at which iambic trimeters begin, can have contained no more than a maximum of 24, or possibly 25, letters. It is quite possible for an occasional iambic trimeter to contain as few as 24 letters; but that three iambic trimeters in succession should present only 24 or even 25 letters apiece is so violently improbable that, if in fact ll. 29–31 ever existed, one may reasonably assume that they were of some shorter metre.

Further, assuming for the sake of argument the original existence of a 32nd line, that line can have contained no more than a maximum, if an iambic trimeter and therefore beginning at the point at which iambic trimeters begin of 27, or possibly 28, letters. This length, though shorter than usual, is quite appropriate to an iambic trimeter, so that there is nothing to indicate whether this line, if in fact it ever existed, was an iambic trimeter or a verse of some shorter metre.

Though there is space in the physical sense for three



lines more, yet I abstain, even for the purposes of argument, from assuming the original existence of them or of any of them, except so far as to state that, if by any chance one or more of them ever in fact existed, the maximum length in every case starting from the *terminus a quo* of iambic trimeters is 28, or perhaps 29, letters : my reason for refusing to assume that they or any of them existed is that I consider that we have now passed within the limit of a proper and reasonable inferior blank margin.

Leaving for the moment the assumed 32nd line out of account, because its maximum possible length is fully consistent with its having been an iambic trimeter, let us look at the assumed lines 29–31. We have seen that it is highly improbable, owing to possibilities of length, that they were all three iambic trimeters. The most natural alternative is a group of three lines in a shorter metre, rather than, for example, one abnormally short iambic trimeter and two lines in a shorter metre.

We are therefore led to consider the question of choric indentation. In the *Ichneutae* the extent of indentation varies considerably, and even sinks to the low level of a set forward of three letters' space. In the *Eurypylus* the very next column furnishes five separate ordinary examples of choric indentation. The first of these is a set forward of six letters, counting *αι* as one letter : the second is a set forward of six letters : the third is a set forward of five letters : the fourth is a set forward of five letters : the fifth is a set forward of five letters. The same column exhibits two examples of a much more unusual feature, namely the setting backwards, not forwards, in the midst of choric matter itself already set forward, of isolated choric lines of a different metre, so that the said isolated choric lines begin at a point intermediate between that at which iambic trimeters begin, and at which the adjacent choric lines begin. But both the examples in question occur in choric matter itself set forward for the space of five letters. Each of the two lines is set backward by the space of two letters as compared with the adjacent choric matter, and therefore is set forward by the space of three letters as compared with the iambic trimeters. On the whole, in the absence of such special circumstances as those which governed the placing of the two lines just

mentioned, we see that in this part, at any rate, of the *Eurypylus*, the copyist more often than not set choric matter forward by the space of five letters.

Let us apply this observation to the assumed lines 29–31 of the first column of the fifth fragment. Each of these lines is restricted to a maximum of 24, or perhaps 25, letters, reckoning from the starting point of iambic trimeters. From this figure subtract five letters for choric indentation, and you have left in each case a maximum, on the assumption that the lines are choric, of nineteen or perhaps twenty letters. Let us make ourselves quite safe. In the next column the copyist sometimes sets forward six letters instead of five. We will assume this full set-forward, and we will also drop the possibility (though it is a very clear possibility) of the three lines running to 25 instead of 24 letters apiece from the starting point of iambic trimeters. Then, on the assumption that the three lines were choric, they still retain a possible maximum length of seventeen letters apiece after every practicable curtailment has been applied to them. Let us turn to column 2 of this fragment, ll. 12–16, all choric. Line 12 contains fourteen letters, counting εἰ as one letter : l. 13 contains seven letters : l. 14 contains seventeen letters : l. 15 contains two letters : l. 16 contains eighteen letters. We thus see that there is not the slightest improbability in the occurrence of three consecutive choric lines, none of them containing more than seventeen letters. I suggest that the assumed lines 29–31 of the first column of fragment 5 in fact once existed and were choric, and that the assumed 32nd line of the same column also in fact once existed and may have been either a choric line or else an iambic trimeter.

The only reason that occurs to me why no one seems previously to have made this or some similar suggestion is that the second column of this fragment, which is physically attached at one point to the first column, has hitherto been taken as a column of 28 lines only. Of the 28th line of the second column the fifth, the seventh, and the eighth letters survive, together with vestiges of the third and of the sixth letters. The fabric of the column downwards from this level has entirely perished, with the exception that the locus of the next line, if ever there

was a next line, is fully preserved beneath the seventh and eighth letters of the 28th line. This space has hitherto been treated as a blank, and the conclusion has followed that the 28th line is the last line of the column. But the space is not blank. From the facsimile supplied in Hunt's *editio princeps* it is plain, not only to me, but to others whose opinion supports me, that there are unmistakable traces of a letter below the eighth letter of the 28th line. This means that there was a 29th line; and, if there was a 29th line, there may also have been a 30th, a 31st, and a 32nd. The fact that the fabric of the third column of this fragment breaks off after a minute surviving portion of the 28th line is proof of nothing whatever.

## D

We have seen ground for supposing that the papyrus of the *Ichneutae*, when intact, contained approximately 864 lines, distributed, at the average rate of 27 lines to a folio, over 32 folios. Assuming, as seems most probable, so far as our scanty evidence carries us, that a folio of the *Eurypylus* consisted of 32 lines, we also see that, if the papyrus of that play had been of equal bulk, viz. if it had been a roll of 32 folios, it would have presented 1024 lines. This cannot have been the case. Not only is that total very much shorter than that of any extant Sophoclean tragedy, but in addition the number of folios in question is not resolvable into factors of two grosses of lines (288 lines=nine folios each of 32 lines) apiece. Four units of two grosses apiece would amount to 1152 lines, a total which is still distinctly too short. But five units would come to 1440 lines. That length is a trifle more than that of the *Ajax* and of the *Antigone*, but is less than that of the other extant plays of Sophocles. 1440 then seems to be the right figure. It involves a total of 45 folios as against the 32 folios of the *Ichneutae*. Such a disproportion is not excessive even in the case of two volumes of the same series.

I have just used the word *series*. It raises a question of considerable importance. That there exists a relationship more than casual between the papyrus of the *Ichneutae* and that of the *Eurypylus* is demonstrated by



the fact that they are both in the handwriting of the same copyist, by the further fact that they have both, so far as can be judged, been corrected by the same diorthotes, and by the perhaps more significant fact that they are both written on papyrus rolls of precisely the same dimensions by vertical measurement.

The nature of the relationship becomes more apparent on further consideration. The *Ichneutae* has always, so far as our records go, been among the least celebrated of the plays written by Sophocles. It is mentioned five times only in the whole of extant literature, once by Suidas, once by Pollux, once by Athenaeus, once by Photius, and once by Eustathius. These five mentions really resolve themselves into three, as that in Photius is identical with that in Suidas and that in Eustathius with that in Athenaeus. The play indeed had passed into such oblivion that, until the discovery of the papyrus, modern scholars were completely ignorant of the subject-matter of the plot. The *Eurypylus* had fared even worse. It is mentioned, but without the author's name, in the *Poetics* of Aristotle, and Plutarch quotes, as from Sophocles, a fragment, remains of which, though with an inversion of order, occur in the papyrus, dealing with the fight between Eurypylus and Neoptolemus. On the strength of the fragment in Plutarch it had been conjectured that the unnamed author of the *Eurypylus* spoken of by Aristotle was Sophocles; but no certainty was obtainable until the papyrus came to light. Why should an Egyptian scribe towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. have set himself to copy out, in uniform style of presentment, these two thoroughly uncelebrated dramas? There seems to be no connecting link between them, except their common authorship. The one is a tragedy, the other a Satyric play.

The only natural explanation is that they were intended to form part of a complete edition of the then extant works of Sophocles. Now Sophocles is reputed to have composed at least 123 dramas. Considering that he lived to the age of ninety and that during most of his life he was apparently engaged in literary activity, such a figure is in no way improbable. So long as the Alexandrian library remained intact, it was doubtless

open to any Egyptian publisher to transcribe such of the poet's works as were preserved there, and we may safely assume that at any rate the great bulk of them were to be found on its shelves. Probably therefore an edition of Sophocles in the 2nd century A.D. would have run to something in the neighbourhood of one hundred volumes.

Now it would have been unreasonable, if only from considerations such as those of economy of time, for a publisher contemplating so large an issue to have entrusted the whole work to a single copyist. He would clearly have divided it among numerous copyists. Seeing that the normal unit of Attic drama was a tetralogy, and that consequently copyists of tragedy were presumably accustomed in more or less the ordinary course to deal with four plays in a batch, it would have been natural for the publisher to have assigned in such a case to each of his copyists, not indeed a tetralogy, but an equivalent batch of four plays, taking them consecutively in the alphabetical order of their titles. There was, it is true, another order, indications of which remain to us in the numbers contained in the arguments of various dramas. But the alphabetical order must at all times have been the most convenient, and it was certainly in use in antiquity, as is proved by the *Marmor Albanum*.

On any such view of the probabilities of the case, it is at first sight hard to perceive why the same copyist should have been entrusted both with the *Eurypylus* and with the *Ichneutae*. Between them, in Greek alphabetical order, come—to raise no doubtful questions—at least twelve plays. But the difficulty is not one of substance. Frequently, if the title of a play by Sophocles was such as to give no clear indication of its subject-matter, a descriptive title was added. Thus we have the *Acrisius sive Larissaei*, the *Atreus sive Mycenaeae*, the *Nausicaa sive Plyntriæ*, the *Niptra sive Odysseus Acanthoplex*, the *Pandora sive Sphyrocopi*, and the *Polyidus sive Manteis*. It should be noticed that, when both titles are used in conjunction, the one that is descriptive is put before the other. Thus we find Σοφοκλῆς Ἀτρεΐ ἢ Μυκηναίαις (Hesychius,

s.v. ἐπισπάσει) and Σοφοκλῆς Πανδώρα ἡ Σφυροκόποις (Hesychius, s.v. κελύλωμαι). The less specific titles are certainly ancient, examples of them being found in Pollux, in Athenaeus, and in Stephanus of Byzantium, and were not improbably, being the appellations of the respective chori, those employed by Sophocles himself. But the more descriptive titles were also ancient: Stobaeus quotes seven times from the *Acrisius* as such, and never calls it the *Larissaei*, while both Pollux and Athenaeus speak of the *Pandora*, not of the *Sphyrocopi*, and Pollux once mentions the *Nausicaa eo nomine*, though once also as the *Plyntriae*.

Usually, where non-descriptive titles are not supplemented by descriptive titles, either the play was very well known, as in the case of the *Trachiniae* and the *Aechmalotides*, or else the mentions are so few as to render it probable that the alternative name has merely not been put on any record now accessible. Plays of the latter class are the *Eris* (if indeed such a play existed, as to which see Chapter XIII), the *Cophi*, the *Lacaenae*, the *Hybris* (see however Chapter XIV), and the *Phryges*. Probably the *Ichneutae*, as its title is especially uninforming, should be assigned to this class.

But what additional name can it have been known by? To style it the *Apollo* would be absurd, and any such sub-title as *Apollo searching for his Oxen* would be cumbrous and would omit the more important theme of the lyre. Similarly, it could scarcely be called the *Hermes*, and an appellation of the type of *Hermes the Inventor of the Lyre* could not be brought in Greek within the standard compass of two words. The most natural name would, I think, be the Εὔρεσις Λύρας. In that case the full title would be the Εὔρεσις Λύρας ἡ Ἰχνευταὶ Σάτυροι.

On this easy assumption, there would exist an alphabetical series of five Sophoclean plays, the *Eumelus*, the *Heuresis Lyras*, the *Euryalus*, the *Eurypylus*, and the *Eurysaces*, of which, supposing that the copyist of our two plays was put to transcribe a set of four dramas, either the first to the fourth inclusive, or the second to the fifth inclusive, formed the set in question.



In either case our two plays are brought into one set, with only the *Euryalus* to separate them.

## E

It may perhaps be objected that the system of calculation by grosses, which I have suggested and which would account for the variation in our two plays between the particular figures 27 and 32, neither of them really tractable on any other hypothesis, does not allow sufficient liberty of choice with regard to the number of lines to be written on a folio. But inspection will show that the liberty is amply sufficient for all practical purposes.

Take Sophocles' *Antigone*, a play of 1353 lines. For business calculations it must be regarded as a play of 1440 lines, or ten grosses, as a broken gross was always, one may be sure, charged for at the full rate. Now ten grosses may be regarded either as ten units of one gross each, or as five units of one double gross each, or as two units of one quintuple gross each, or as one unit, viz. as a decuple gross. If, however, it be treated as ten units, the possible lines per folio, supposing, as is proper in the circumstances, we restrict ourselves to the range of numbers from twenty to forty inclusive, are only 24 and 36; if as five units, they are only 24, 32, and 36; if as two units, they are only 24, 30, and 36: if, on the other hand, the decuple gross be regarded as a single unit in itself, there is a choice between the four figures 24, 30, 32, and 36. In every case, in fact, where the widest possible freedom of choice is desired, the total should be treated as a unit in itself: mathematically it always offers as much freedom of choice as does any single one of its factors, and it may turn out to be such that it offers more. I do not think that an ancient publisher would have felt hampered by a system that offered him at his option either 24, 30, 32, or 36 lines to each folio.

Take again the *Oedipus Coloneus*, which runs to the length of 1780 lines. That play must be treated as a total of twelve grosses. As such, it may be presented either with 24, with 27, with 32, or with 36 lines per folio. Here too there is no undue restriction of freedom.

It may be convenient to give in tabular form the possibilities of the various gross units up to the duodecuple gross inclusive :—

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Possible number of lines per folio.</i>		
1 Gross .. ..	24,	36	
1 Double Gross .. ..	24,	32,	36
1 Treble Gross .. ..	24,	27,	36
1 Quadruple Gross .. ..	24,	32,	36
1 Quintuple Gross .. ..	24,	30,	36
1 Sextuple Gross .. ..	24,	27,	32, 36
1 Septuple Gross .. ..	21,	24,	28, 36
1 Octuple Gross .. ..	24,	27,	32, 36
1 Nonuple Gross .. ..	24,	27,	36
1 Decuple Gross .. ..	24,	30,	32, 36
1 Undecuple Gross .. ..	22,	24,	33, 36
1 Duodecuple Gross .. ..	24,	27,	32, 36

The whole of this branch of my investigation is necessarily precarious. I think, however, that the system which I conjecture to have prevailed in the scriptorium in which our two plays were produced not only fits in with the few known facts of the situation but also connects them as parts of an intelligible whole.

Siquid novisti rectius istis,  
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE CHORIC METRES OF THE PLAY

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus. HORACE

## FIRST CHORUS

## Lines 57-70

THIS chorus is dochmiac. Lines 65-67 appear to me to be a spurious addition of much later date than that of Sophocles: at one point in them (the first syllable of l. 66) the dochmiac metre breaks down, and the papyrus indications in l. 67 point to the use of the unclassical word *βατάς*. Lines 68-70 seem to me to be another addition, perhaps a distortion of some genuine dochmiacs from another classical play.

Lines 57-64, which are much mutilated in the papyrus, admit of being easily so filled up as to show a strophe and antistrophe of exact syllabic correspondence. I have so filled them up: but it must be borne in mind that the correspondence is largely conjectural, and indeed that it would be possible to fill them up in such a way as to exhibit an uneven number of dochmiac feet, incapable of division into strophe and antistrophe.

If ll. 57-64 constitute a strophe and antistrophe, then the other lines, considered by me non-original, stand as an epode. On that basis, the following is the scheme of the chorus:

ll. 57, 61	υ υ υ — υ —   υ — — υ —	σπρ. καὶ ἀντ.
ll. 58, 62	υ υ υ — υ —   υ — υ υ υ —	
ll. 59, 63	υ υ υ — υ —   υ υ υ — υ —	
ll. 60, 64	— υ υ — υ υ	
l. 65	[— υ υ υ υ υ υ υ   — υ υ — υ υ υ	ἐπὺδ.
l. 66	— — — υ —   υ υ υ — υ —	
l. 67	υ υ υ — υ —   υ — — υ —	
l. 68	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ   υ — υ	
l. 69	υ — υ — —   υ — — υ	
l. 70	—   — υ υ — υ υ  ]	



I consider it clear from general usage that any considerable collection of dochmii is necessarily divided into strophe and antistrophe : it may even be doubted whether sequent dochmii, not interspersed among other choric feet, are under normal conditions used except in strophic-antistrophic correspondence, instances to the contrary being easily assignable to corruption.

An epode written in a fixed metre (*e.g.* the dochmiac, the hexametrical dactylic, the elegiac, or either kind of the ionic) is an impossibility in classical composition ; but I do not hesitate to present such an epode as the result of interpolation.

## SECOND CHORUS

Lines 80-82

This very brief chorus has almost completely perished. Like the Fourth chorus (*q.v.*) it is the *πρός* of an heraldic proclamation. Consequently, though I put it in dochmiacs, I abnormally arrange it as anomoeostrophic.

## THIRD CHORUS

Lines 168-194

This chorus is singularly unlike the choruses of tragedy in structure. It appears to be largely made up of anapaests, often resolved into proceleusmatics. As regards this feature Hunt and Pearson justly compare it with the fragment of an hyporcheme by Pratinas (Bergk, *Fr.* 1) and with a chorus in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (beginning at l. 327). The similarity to the work of Pratinas is probably significant. In addition to anapaests there are also admitted cretics, very likely dochmii, although dochmii are easily simulated by combinations of other measures, iambs, dactyls, trochees, tribrachs, and perhaps spondees. Most of the lines are so greatly mutilated in their latter portions that an element of serious uncertainty is introduced. But l. 170, which is absolutely intact, and l. 191, which seems to be very nearly so, appear to establish the fact of absence of synapheia. The chorus is thus definitely removed from the tragic category. Copyists (see my English notes) have apparently endeavoured to introduce

some degree of strophic-antistrophic correspondence, which, however, was, so far as I can see, entirely lacking in the original composition. I suggest in my note on l. 166 that in this chorus the Satyrs execute a sort of parody of military tactics. Hence I am inclined to suppose that the metre is likely to be that of some military march or the like. I therefore imagine that the musical accompaniment was that of the flute.

The structure of this chorus is a simpler question than its metre. The First Satyr leads off with a single line (a choric senarius). The Second Satyr introduces the fluid metre, which continues for the rest of the chorus, in an utterance three lines in length. The Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Satyrs follow with two lines each. Then come the Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Satyrs with three lines apiece.

The following is a probable scheme of the metre, though it must be remembered that the terminations of ll. 175, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, and 194 are conjectural, and that in the case of the first six only of those lines does the papyrus control restoration by showing the maximum length to which the missing portions can have run :

1. 168	Σάτυρος α'.	υ —   υ —   — —   υ —   υ υ υ   υ υ
1. 169	Σα. β'.	υ υ —   υ υ υ υ   υ υ υ υ
1. 170		υ υ υ υ   υ υ υ
1. 171		— —   — υ   υ υ υ υ
1. 172	Σα. γ'.	υ υ —   υ —   υ —
1. 173		υ υ υ   υ —   — υ
1. 174	Σα. δ'.	—   — υ   υ υ —   — —
1. 175		υ υ υ υ   υ υ —   υ υ
1. 176	Σα. ε'.	— υ υ   — υ υ   υ —   υ —   —
1. 177		υ υ —   υ — — υ υ
1. 178	Σα. ζ'.	υ υ υ υ   υ υ υ υ   — υ υ
1. 179		υ υ υ υ   — υ   — υ   — υ
1. 180	Σα. ζ'.	υ υ υ   υ — — υ —
1. 181		υ υ —   υ υ —   υ υ υ   — υ
1. 182	Σα. η'.	— υ   — υ υ — υ —
1. 183		υ υ —   υ υ υ —   υ υ υ υ
1. 184	Σα. θ'.	— υ   — υ υ — υ —
1. 185		υ υ υ   υ υ υ — υ υ

l. 186	Σα. ι'.	υ υ υ υ   υ υ υ —
l. 187		υ υ υ   υ υ υ — υ —
l. 188		υ υ —   υ —   υ υ
l. 189	Σα. ια'.	— υ υ   — υ υ   υ υ —   —
l. 190		— υ υ υ   υ υ υ —
l. 191		υ υ —   υ υ —   υ υ —
l. 192	Σα. ιβ'.	— υ   — υ υ   υ υ —   —
l. 193		υ υ υ υ   — υ υ υ
l. 194		υ υ υ υ   υ υ υ υ —   .

In what way, if at all, this chorus ought to be reduced into bars of equal, or of conventionally equal, length, I do not pretend to say. My own impression is that, while a main theme is anapaestic (the German metrical school would on their theories of course describe it as dactylic), that theme is constantly interrupted by another theme or by other themes of a distinctly different character.

I may say at this point that I completely dissent from the view that a strict equality of bars was aimed at in Greek music of the time of Sophocles. So long as ὕμνοι remained ἀναξιφόρμιγγες, so long as the αὐλός continued to be ὑπηρετάς and ὕστερον ἐχορεύετο, music, I conceive, had to content itself with a conventional, not a strict, equality of bars, corresponding to the conventional equality of the metrical divisions of the poetry which it accompanied. The word στρεπτικός is by metre a dactyl; so is the word ἦε: but about this there is a good deal of convention, especially as regards the combination of consonants at the beginning of στρεπτικός, and no one can reasonably maintain that the two words, if at all naturally uttered, take the same time to pronounce. I contend that early Greek music had to adapt itself to the natural pronunciation and consequently to permit, and even to require, in the same theme actually varying, though nominally equal, lengths of bars. Text-books of Gregorian music, of the best medieval period, are insistent that every word shall be sung at its proper natural length, without either curtailment or protraction, and even go so far as to lay down rules with regard to the time to be assigned to various combinations of consonants. Now it is true



that Gregorian music deals principally with the chanting of prose ; but within its purview there fall also a large number of metrical hymns. I think that it follows from Gregorian first principles that, let us say, a Sapphic hymn, such as *Iste confessor Domini triumpho*, though presenting bars in some sense conventionally equal one to another, would, if properly performed, have to be sung and played with bars identical with the varying lengths demanded by the laws of right pronunciation and therefore themselves unequal. I say exactly the same of Greek music of the best period. So far, therefore, as I accept the equalising diagrams now commonly printed in the editions of Greek choric poetry, I accept them as indicating, not a real equality, but a conventional equality, of which the convention is the convention, not of music, but of poetry pure and simple.

## FOURTH CHORUS

Lines 205–208

This short chorus is so sadly mutilated in the papyrus that, of its four lines, we know nothing of the metre of the first, save that it begins with an iamb, nothing of the metre of the second save that it apparently begins with a second epitrite and that it ends with a long syllable, and nothing of the metre of the third save that it begins with a long syllable and probably ends with a long syllable, though fortunately the scansion of the fourth line is intact, *viz.* — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — . The sense, however, helps restoration to some extent, and I tentatively present the metrical scheme thus :

l. 205	∪ —   — ∪ — —   ∪ — — —
l. 206	— ∪ — —   ∪ — — —
l. 207	— ∪ — —   — ∪ — —
l. 208	— ∪   — ∪   — ∪   —   .

On this reconstruction we have, after a preliminary iamb, six epitrites (*viz.* a second epitrite, a first epitrite, a second epitrite again, a first epitrite again, and two more second epitrites), and a trochaic clausula.

The chorus appears to be the so-called ποῦς (see Galen, *Epidem.*, vol. v. 394, and vol. ix. 501) of an

heraldic proclamation, apparently thus designated because it was uttered in one breath, and, so to speak, constituted a sort of single metrical foot. I should imagine that it was accompanied in this particular case neither by music nor by dancing, but that it was perhaps preceded by a blast upon a trumpet. The Second Chorus is in like case.

It is possible that the epitrite metre, which is suggested, though not conclusively, by the remains of l. 206, and which it is difficult to avoid in l. 207, considering the almost total lack of choice one enjoys in filling up that line grammatically so as to connect the previous line and the following line (see my note on the passage), is taken from the triple ἰὴ Παιών, ἰὴ Παιών, ἰὴ Παιών, at the end of an ordinary πούς as delivered by a herald in prose (see Aristophanes, *Thesm.* l. 311: Dindorf and others emend to a double ἰὴ Παιών only).

## FIFTH CHORUS

Lines 235-242 and 281-288

This chorus, which presents a strophe and antistrophe, separated by 38 iambic trimeters, is evidently not lyrical, as the lyre is still with Hermes in the cave, and is therefore probably aulodic; but it does not appear to differ in any way from the ordinary choruses of tragedy. It is composed of cretics, with interspersed trochees, though for a trochee a spondee may be substituted, and possibly a dactyl (see the doubtful restoration of l. 284, which governs that of l. 238). The strophe and antistrophe are sufficiently intact in the papyrus to enable us, by putting the two together, to be fairly sure of the metre of the first four lines of each, while the metre of the last line of each is fully preserved: of the fifth, sixth, and seventh lines neither the strophe nor the antistrophe exhibits the ends, but the beginnings and middles are known, chiefly from the strophe.

Subject to the chances of error in the restored portions mentioned above, the scheme of the chorus is this:

- |              |                             |               |
|--------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| ll. 235, 281 | —   — ∪ —   — ∪ —   — ∪ —   | σπρ. καὶ ἀντ. |
| ll. 236, 282 | —   — ∪ —   — ∪   — ∪   — — |               |
| ll. 237, 283 | —   — ∪   — —   — ∪   — ∪ — |               |

- ll. 238, 284 — | — ∪ — | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ — |  
 ll. 239, 285 — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — |  
 ll. 240, 286 — | — ∪ | — — | — ∪ — |  
 ll. 241, 287 — ∪ — | — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ — |  
 ll. 242, 288 — ∪ — | — ∪ | — ∪ | — — | .

It will be seen on this presentation that cretics come sometimes as often as thrice in a line and that no line is without a cretic. The result is the maintenance throughout of a certain tone of excitement, which, however, is prevented from becoming obtrusive by the interspersions of trochees or their equivalents, mostly in dipodies, not as isolated feet, so that the trochaic relief is very considerable.

## SIXTH CHORUS

Lines 319–327 and 360–368

The metre of this chorus is fully preserved throughout. The chorus consists of a strophe and antistrophe, separated by apparently 32 (of which the papyrus preserves 30) iambic trimeters: the last two lines of the antistrophe have perished. The metre is a succession of cretics, relieved at one point by two trochees plus a spondee, and at another by three trochees, except that the clausula consists of an iambic dimeter acatalectic followed by an iambic dimeter catalectic.

The scheme is this :

- ll. 319, 360 ∪ | — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — | στρ. καὶ ἀντ.  
 ll. 320, 361 — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — |  
 ll. 321, 362 — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — — |  
 ll. 322, 363 ∪ | — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — |  
 ll. 323, 364 — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — |  
 ll. 324, 365 — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — |  
 ll. 325, 366 — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ — | — ∪ |  
 ll. 326, 367 ∪ — | ∪ — | ∪ — | ∪ — |  
 ll. 327, 368 — — | ∪ — | ∪ — | — — |.

The overwhelming abundance, marking strong excitement, of cretics in this chorus, and the paucity of trochaic relief, distinguish it very clearly from the previous chorus, in which indeed the metre was theoretically



identical, but which combined the elements of its structure in an altogether different proportion. In fact, we now see that that chorus was a preparation for this.

This chorus is, apparently beyond dispute, lyrical, being sung to the strains of the lyre, which, as the opening words show, were issuing from the depths of the cavern.

In the lost end of the play, when the lyre had been obtained by Apollo, an opportunity must have been presented, of which I conceive Sophocles availed himself, of constructing a grand choric finale in which the pipe and the lyre both played their parts, one semi-chorus perhaps dancing after the old fashion to the strains of a wind-instrument and the other semi-chorus putting for the first time the lyre to its orchestral use. Thus, it seems to me, Pan and Apollo were symbolically reconciled.

#### SEVENTH CHORUS

Lines 403-405 and 408-410

The existence of this chorus, though only the beginnings of the six lines of which it is composed are preserved, at least in columnar form, in the papyrus, is clearly proved by the protrusion forwards of those beginnings: this protrusion, coupled with the scansion of the beginnings themselves, shows us further that it is a case of a strophe and an antistrophe, each consisting of one choric iambic tetrameter acatalectic followed by two trochaic tetrameters catalectic, the relation of strophe and antistrophe being fixed by the fact that the six lines are divided into two sets of three by the interposition of two other lines, of which the beginnings only are, at least in columnar form, preserved in the papyrus, but which are shown to be ordinary iambic trimeters by the fact that they start, without protrusion, from the ordinary alignment. *Fragment 30*, however, seems to have preserved in a partial manner the alignment that results from the positions of the ends of the verses in this very passage. If it is rightly taken as so doing (the probability is increased by the fact of its appearing to indicate the existence of a Doric genitive plural in -ᾶν, possible only in a chorus, at the end of l. 409), it supplies us with the maximum

possible length of l. 405, with penultimate portions of the iambic trimeters ll. 406–407, with the extreme ends of the iambic tetrameter l. 408 and of the trochaic tetrameter l. 409, and the maximum possible length of the trochaic tetrameter 410 together with that of the succeeding iambic trimeter l. 411.

From what I have said, it will be seen that, however dubious may be my verbal reconstruction, nothing is uncertain with regard to the metrical supplements required, except, in the two iambic tetrameters, the choice between iambs and spondees in places where the metre permits either, and, in the four trochaic tetrameters, the choice in like places between trochees and spondees. Subject to those uncertainties the scheme of the chorus is this :

ll. 403, 408 — — | ∪ — | — — | ∪ — | — — | ∪ — | ∪ — | ∪ — |  
στυ. καὶ ἀντ.  
 ll. 404, 409 — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | ∪ — | — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | — |  
 ll. 405, 410 — ∪ | — — | — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | — |

I speak in my English notes of the peculiar scansion of ἰσοῖ ἰσοῖ in l. 403.

## EIGHTH CHORUS

Lines 421–428

The existence of this chorus is known to us only from *Fragment* 34, which presents the maximum possible lengths of ll. 421, 422, 425, and 427, together with the endings, ατον, of l. 423, σ, of l. 424, ελεασ, of l. 426, and νᾶν, of l. 428. The scansion of ελεασ and the Doric character of νᾶν prove that the passage is choric : but in any case that fact would be sufficiently proved by the great variations in the alignment presented by the ends of verses. In my English notes I give my reasons for inserting this chorus where I do insert it and for limiting it to the length of eight lines.

Seeing that, subject to the data above mentioned, my restoration of the chorus is entirely conjectural, although, if I have rightly placed it, I can hardly have failed to express the general sense of the original, there is no reason why I should set out a metrical scheme.

## AULODIC GENRES

At this point, it being apparent that the music of the extant portion of this play must have been for the most part aulodic, it is proper that I should endeavour to assign to each chorus the particular variety of instrumental accompaniment that seems most suitable.

Our chief authority for the various genres of wind music employed in conjunction with dancing is a passage from the second book of the *Onomasiae* of Trypho of Alexandria, preserved by Athenaeus (xiv. 618): αὐλήσεων δ' εἰσὶν ὀνομασίαι αἷδε· κῶμος, βουκολιασμός, γίγγρας, τετράκωμος, ἐπίφαλλος, χορεῖος, καλλίνικος, πολεμικόν, ἡδύκωμος, σικινοτύρβη, θυροκοπικόν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ κρουσίθυρον· κνισμός, μόθων. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μετ' ὀρχήσεως ἡϋλεῖτο. The first and most obvious inference to be drawn from this statement is that, between l. 212 and l. 213 of the *Ichneutae*, after Silenus has announced that he will jump and kick and make a noise, but before Cyllene appears in answer, music of the kind known alternatively as θυροκοπικόν or κρουσίθυρον was performed and that Silenus made his demonstration in an appropriate dance. We thus obtain what is in reality an additional aulodic chorus, although, owing to the din created, it naturally was left unprovided with accompanying words. The helpfulness of Trypho on this point encourages me to suppose that his list is actually a list of different sorts of aulodic dance-music which one might expect to find side by side in the course of the same play.

Proceeding on this basis, I can hardly doubt but that the Third Chorus (ll. 168–194), with its military affinities, is an example of the πολεμικόν. From this it would follow, and even without this it would be nearly certain, that the Seventh Chorus (ll. 403–405 and ll. 408–410) exhibits the καλλίνικος, a καλλίνικος to be clearly distinguished from the lyric τήνελλα καλλίνικε.

To turn to the other choruses, the First (ll. 57–64, with an addition extending to l. 70), in view of the exhortation to secrecy in ll. 61–62, seems to demand music of a markedly quiet character. If that music is to be found among the varieties mentioned by Trypho, I should unhesitatingly select the γίγγρας, which seems to have



been of a sober nature (compare Athenaeus iv. 174). The Second and Fourth Chori, each consisting of the πούς of a herald's proclamation, clearly were either accompanied or preceded by such music as was customary at proclamations (I should myself imagine that they were merely preceded by an appropriate call performed on the σάλπιγξ), and stand outside Trypho's subject-matter. The Fifth Chorus (ll. 235-242 and ll. 281-288) is, as regards the strophe, suave and conciliatory to a degree, although the fragmentary antistrophe appears to be couched in language of a less friendly character. It is tempting to suppose that the strophe is an example of the ἡδύκωμος: but, in that case, it would, I think, be necessary to postulate the introduction into the antistrophe of some harsher musical element. Whether such a postulate is permissible depends on the rules which governed the musical relations of strophe and antistrophe, which rules are almost entirely unknown to us. The Sixth Chorus (ll. 319-327 and ll. 360-368) is lyrical, but, as has been pointed out above, it continues, though with a marked difference of proportion, the same combinations of feet as characterise the previous aulodic chorus. The object of this continuation is, I suppose, in part at least a desire for unity, in order that a lyrical chorus may not, so to speak, be pitchforked into an aulodic series without connexion with what precedes.

The Eighth Chorus (ll. 421-428) is so absolutely fragmentary that it might seem scarcely worth while to discuss it. But we know its length and the context in which it stands. It is manifestly a short song and dance, expressive of satisfaction, executed by the Satyrs. As up to this point the σίκιννις, the typical dance of Satyric drama, seems quite clearly, owing, doubtless, to the comparative sedateness imposed by the nature of the first portion of the plot, to have found no place, and as the σίκιννις can scarcely be kept very long out of a Satyric play, I conjecture that that is quite likely to be the dance here. It is evident that the music accompanying the σίκιννις was the σικινοτύρβη mentioned by Trypho.

I have already (under the heading of the Sixth Chorus) touched on the probability of a grand finale in which the pipe and the lyre were combined. The music resulting

from this combination was called by the Greeks συναυλία, as to which the *locus classicus* is in Athenaeus (xiv. 617-618) almost immediately before the quotation from Trypho's *Onomasiae*. First of all Athenaeus represents Magnus as stating on his own account: περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐλῶν πρὸς λύραν κοινωνίας, ἐπεὶ πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὴ ἡμᾶς ἡ συναυλία ἔθελγεν, Ἐφιππος ἐν Ἐμπολῇ φησι κτλ. These words establish the fact that in the time of Athenaeus the pipe and the lyre were frequently played in conjunction and with an effect that was felt to be pleasing. They also prove that such music was then called συναυλία. There follows a quotation from Ehippus (*Empole*, *Fr.* 2), in which however the word συναυλία does not occur, and it does not appear whether the conjunction of the two instruments is simultaneous or consecutive. The quotation is this:

κοινωνεῖ γάρ, ὦ μεираκίδιον,  
ἡ 'ν τοῖσιν αὐλοῖς μουσικὴ καὶ τῇ λύρᾳ  
τοῖς ἡμετέροισι παιγνίοις. ὅταν γάρ εὔ  
συναρμόσωσι τοῖς συνοῦσι τὸν τρόπον,  
τόθ' ἡ μεγίστη τέρψις ἐξευρίσκεται.

5

The mss. read ὦ μεираκίδιον ἦν τοῖσιν αὐλοῖς (except that *codex* C gives only a précis and ignores the words in question: μεираκίδιον is due to Dobree and ἡ 'ν to Casaubon). This quotation throws no further light on the subject of συναυλία. Magnus next wanders artlessly off to a mention of quite a different kind of συναυλία, in which the lyre had no part. He proceeds: τὴν δὲ συναυλίαν τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐμφανίζει Σῆμος ὁ Δήλιος ἐν πέμπτῳ Δηλιάδος, γράφων οὕτως· ἀγνοουμένης δὲ παρὰ πολλοῖς τῆς συναυλίας λεκτέον. ἦν τις ἀγὼν συμφωνίας ἀμοιβαῖος αὐλοῦ καὶ ῥυθμοῦ χωρὶς λόγου τοῦ προσμελωδοῦντος. If ῥυθμοῦ be not corrupt (which I see no reason to suppose), the only possible interpretation of the words of Semus seems to be that the kind of συναυλία described by him was a contest between two persons, who performed alternately, without verbal accompaniment, each of them not only playing on the flute but also making rhythmic movements of the body (we shall see, I think, in a moment that there existed a rival school which condemned such movements as foreign to

the musician's function). Be that as it may, we learn from Semus that at any rate his variety of συναυλία had no song fitted to it. Magnus goes on to quote Antiphanes (the only *Fragment* of the *Auletes*). The text is violently corrupt, so much so indeed that Meineke pronounces it incurable; but I give it as it stands, disregarding certain variants of no importance: ἀστείως δὲ αὐτὴν Ἀντιφάνης φανεράν ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Αὐλητῇ λέγων·

ποῖαν, φράσον γάρ, ἥδε τὴν συναυλίαν  
ταύτην; ἐπίσταται γάρ, ἀλλ' ἡϋλοῦν ἔτι  
μαθόντες, ὥστε τοὺς αὐλοὺς σὺ τε  
αὐτὴ τελετῇ ψεθείθαμεν συντυγχάνεις  
αὐλῶν πέραινε. δέξεται δὲ τᾷλλά σοι. 5  
ἡδύ τι κοινόν ἐστιν, οὗ χωρὶς πάλιν  
συννεύματ' οὐ προβλήμαθ' οἷς σημαίνεται  
ἕκαστα.

I propose:

ποῖαν, φράσον, παρηδέτην συναυλίαν  
ταύτην, ἐπ' ἴσα ταῶν πάραυλ' αὐλοῦντε, τί  
μαθόντε παθόντε θ'; ὥστε τοὺς αὐλοὺς σὺ τε  
αὕτη τε λήψεσθ'· εἴθ' ἃ μὲν σὺ τυγχάνεις  
αὐλῶν πέραινε, ἐκδέξεται δ' Ἰαννά σοι. 5  
ἡδύ τι τὸ κοινόν ἐστιν. οὐ χωρεῖ πάλον,  
οὐ νεύματ', οὐ προβήματ'. οὕς σημαίνεται  
ἕκαστα.

I translate: "Into what strange travesty, pray, of a flute-duet have you two been turning this practice, piping all out of tune, just like a pair of peacocks? What ailed you both, what possessed you to do it? Now then, pick up your pipes, both you and the girl; and, as for you, play out to the end the part you've started on, and, as soon as you stop, Ianna will take up the melody. There is a sweet simplicity about part-playing. There is no place in it for quivering ecstatically at one moment, nodding at another, stepping forward at another. The ear, and the ear alone, is its interpreter." In l. 1 ἡδέτην is an old emendation, but it does not go far enough. It is physically impossible for the flute-players to have sung their piece, and ἡδέτην would mean that they did. But παρηδέτην, with παρωδία to



support it, could obviously be used of any parody or travesty, whether sung or not. συναυλίαν in the same line would unquestionably require in comedy the definite article, if ταύτην agreed with it: but ταύτην does not agree with it, the construction being *In this (duet) what kind of a duet have you been producing by parody?* I think that the rest of my emendations, whether right or wrong, speak for themselves. In l. 4 Meineke reads

αὕτη τε λήψεσθ'· εἴθ' ἃ μὲν σὺ τυγχάνεις,

taking εἴθ' ἃ μὲν σὺ τυγχάνεις from Dindorf. In l. 6 Meineke thought of ἡδὺ τι τὸ κοινόν ἐστίν. In l. 7 the προβλήμαθ' οἷς which I have given in my unemended text is a reading of Casaubon's for προβλήμαθοις, which is found in at least some mss.: whether προβλήμαθ' οἷς possesses actual ms. authority I do not know. The συναυλία dealt with by Antiphanes seems to me to consist simply of a performance by two flute-players playing alternately, in which dramatic gestures were forbidden, and from which the vocal element was absent. If one may argue from the συναυλία of two flutes to the συναυλία of a flute and a lyre, one would conclude that the instruments were played alternately, not simultaneously. Though either the lyre or the flute, in the absence of any kind of συναυλία, could be, and most regularly was, employed as a support for vocal music, yet, in the case of a συναυλία, we may doubt, after reading the quotations from Semus and Antiphanes (though the argument is based solely on analogy), whether those instruments were, in the ordinary course, used in connexion with song. I rather imagine that in the concluding chorus of this play Sophocles in fact introduced a συναυλία of the flute and lyre, played alternately, that he added the element of song, and that thereby he produced, if not a novel, at least an unusual, effect.

If, as seems probable, Timotheus (*Persae*, ll. 229–235) makes reference to the *Ichneutae*, his words imply that in the lost portion of the play there stood a chorus at once long, lyric, and heraldic. But to pursue such topics would be “consectari rivulos.”

## CHAPTER VIII

NON-CHORIC METRE IN SATYRIC DRAMA,  
WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE PRACTICE OF PRATINAS

Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem  
Testa diu. HORACE

WITH regard to the metre of the non-choric portions of Satyric drama two separate, though allied, questions arise, *viz.* that as to the use of trisyllabic feet in places where they are permitted in tragedy, and that as to the use of anapaests and dactyls in places where they are forbidden in tragedy but allowed in comedy. A third question is that of the applicability of Porson's canon concerning the pause.

I will take these three questions in their order.

## A

Of Pratinas himself, the founder of the Satyric Drama, not a single Satyric fragment is reputed to survive, except that we know the title of one of his Satyric plays, the *Palaestae*, and of another play, whether Satyric or not, the *Dymaenae* or *Caryatides*, in which he speaks of the ὄρνιξ as ἀδύφωνος. But I am satisfied that *Fragment* 458 of the Tragic *Adespota*, a passage of fifteen lines, is by him and from one of his Satyric plays. I will deal with this matter separately in the last section of this chapter. Until I come to that section, I will abstain from discussion of the piece in question, examining only, for the purposes of this first section and of the two sections which follow it, the metrical evidence to be gathered from other sources, and treating for the time being the Satyric writings of Pratinas as having wholly perished. Yet even so we are not altogether without guidance as to what his dramas were like. Dioscorides (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 707) writes thus of Sositheus,

a poet of the Alexandrian Pleiad, putting the words into the mouth of a Satyr sculptured upon his tomb :

κῆγ' ὦ Σωσιθέου κομέω νέκυν, ὅσπον ἐν ἄστει  
 ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐθαίμων ἡμετέρων Σοφοκλῆν,  
 Σκίρτος ὁ πυρρὸ γένειος. ἐκισσοφόρησε γὰρ ὦνῆρ  
 ἄξια Φλιασίων, ναὶ μὰ χοροῦς, Σατύρων·  
 κῆμ' ἐν τὸν ἐν καινοῖς τετραμμένον ἤθεσιν ἤδη  
 ἤγαγεν εἰς μνήμην πατρίδ' ἀναρχαῖσας·  
 καὶ πάλιν εἰσώρμησε τὸν ἄρσενά Δωρίδι Μούσῃ  
 ῥυθμόν, πρὸς τ' αὐδὴν ἐλκόμενος μεγάλην.  
 εὐαδέ μοι θύρσων τύπος οὐ χερὶ καινοτομηθεὶς  
 τῇ φιλοκινδύνῳ φροντίδι Σωσιθέου.

From this epigram we may gather with security that, whatever else Sositheus attempted, at any rate he set himself to imitate the rhythm of the Phliasian writers of Satyric Drama. Fortunately there are 24 lines extant of Sositheus' Satyric play, *Daphnis or Lityrses*. In these lines there is not a single trisyllabic foot. In view of the great frequency of trisyllabic feet in certain forms, at any rate, of Satyric Drama (e.g. Euripides' *Cyclops*) it is safe to conclude that Sositheus is deliberately avoiding them in the lines mentioned. It follows that Pratinas used them either in moderation or not at all.

I consider that we may say with confidence that at any rate he would not have employed two such feet in the same line. The lawfulness or unlawfulness of the duplication of trisyllabic feet in the same line in Satyric drama of the time of Sophocles becomes of considerable practical importance when one sets oneself to repair the mutilated text of the *Ichneutae*.

That, however, Pratinas did not altogether deny himself the use of trisyllabic feet is rendered probable by the scanty remains of the works of his son, Aristias. Only one line of the *Cyclops* of Aristias has come down to us, but in that line the 4th foot is a tribrach. The line runs (Aristias, *Fr.* 4) :

ἀπώλεσας τὸν οἶνον ἐπιχέας ὕδωρ.

It is quoted by Suidas, who adds ἡ παροιμία γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀριστίου Κύκλωπος, ὥς φησι Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ σατύρων. The words ὥς φησι Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ



περὶ σατύρων show that Aristias' *Cyclops* was a Satyric drama. Compare the second of two lines surviving from Aristias' *Fata*, which runs (Aristias, *Fr.* 3, l. 2):

Ἄιδου τραπεζεύς, ἀκρατέα νηδὺν ἔχων.

This fragment is preserved by Athenaeus (xv. 686 A). Athenaeus does not state that the *Fata* is a Satyric play, though in introducing the fragment he speaks of Aristias as *Phliasian* (κατὰ τὸν Φλειάσιον δ' Ἀριστίαν): presumably Pratinas and Aristias wrote their tragedies in much the same dialect as their Satyric plays. ἀκρατέα (which is the uncontracted form of ἀκρατῆ and must be scanned — ∪ ∪ ∪) is not Attic, and νηδὺν presents a quantity contrary to the later usage even of Satyric Drama (see νηδύν, Euripides, *Cyclops*, l. 574). There is a tribrach in the 4th foot.

The plays of Aeschylus that we know to have been Satyric, though there are others that certain editors have considered such, are eight in number, viz. the *Cercyon*, the *Ceryces*, the *Circe*, the *Leon*, the *Lycurgus*, the *Prometheus* (apparently *Pyrcaeus*), the *Proteus*, and the *Sphinx*. Of these, the *Ceryces*, the *Lycurgus*, the *Prometheus Pyrcaeus*, and the *Sphinx* alone supply us with evidence. In one line of the *Ceryces* (*Fr.* 109) we find an anapaest in the first foot: another fragment of the same play (*Fr.* 111) consists of the single word κακοποιεῖν, which, if employed in a non-choric passage, presumably implies a tribrach in some foot or other. In the *Lycurgus* (*Fr.* 125) we have a dactyl in the third foot. In the *Prometheus Pyrcaeus* (*Fr.* 205)\* we have a tribrach in the fourth foot. In the *Sphinx* (*Fr.* 235, l. 1) we have a dactyl in the third foot.

Of the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* of Aeschylus there is no ground for taking any as Satyric, except, on the doubtful strength of the metre of an ancient variant, *Fragment* 370. This does not yield, on either reading, a trisyllabic foot lawful in tragedy.

Among the spurious *Fragments* attributed to Aeschylus, one (*Fr.* 464), which runs to twelve lines, is manifestly a post-Attic composition: but its combination

\* Pollux (x. 64) gives λῖνα δὲ (v.l. λινάδες) πῖσσα κώμολινου μακροὶ τόνοι: read λινᾶ δὲ λισσὰ κώμόλινα, μακροὶ τόνοι: λισσὰ contrasts with ὠμόλινα.

of tragic diction with comic metre stamps it either as an example of late Satyric drama or else as the production of some very incompetent person. It is quoted as from Aeschylus both by Justin Martyr (*Monarch.* 2, 130) and by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 727-728), while Eusebius (*P.E.* XIII. 689) repeats it from Clement, so that we possess a triple array of ms. authority. Of trisyllabic feet permitted by tragic law, it presents a dactyl in the third foot (l. 4) and a dactyl in the first foot (l. 12). It also presents, according to the text of St. Justin, a tribrach in the first foot (l. 11) in the words ὅταν ἐπιβλέψῃ: but the caesura is such that one must prefer the reading of Clement and of Eusebius, ἐπὶ ἐπιβλέψῃ, which substitutes a comic anapaest in the second foot, although with an obvious violation of the Attic rule as to βλ.

We next come to Sophocles. Editors have thought various plays of Sophocles to be Satyric, but those we know to have been so are the *Achilleos Erastae*, the *Amycus*, the *Amphiaraus*, the *Dionysiscus*, the *Helenes Gamos*, the *Heracles epi Taenaro*, the *Ichneutae*, the *Crisis*, the *Cophi*, the *Salmonesus*, and the *Tele*—(*Telegonus* ?): Herodian also (*Mon. Lex.* 30, 28) quotes a passage as written by Sophocles ἐν Κηδεμόνι σατυρικῷ, and Hesychius (I. 464) cites a word from the same passage as used by Sophocles Κιδάλιφ, on the strength of which it has naturally been inferred that the *Cedalion* of Sophocles is meant and is a Satyric play, while a gloss in Bekker's *Anecdota* (446, 12) ending Σοφοκλῆς Νόμῳ σατυρικῷ has been taken to mean that the *Momus* is Satyric, though Νόμῳ could stand equally well for Γάμῳ, i.e. 'Ελένης Γάμῳ: in the existing text of Stobaeus the *Hybris* is termed Satyric, but see Chapter XIV. Of these plays the *Amycus*, the *Amphiaraus*, the *Dionysiscus*, the *Heracles epi Taenaro*, the *Ichneutae*, the *Cedalion*, and the *Cophi* alone supply us with evidence. The so-called *Eris* also comes into question. In a trimeter of the *Amycus* (constituting *Fr.* 111) the fifth foot is a tribrach. In the *Amphiaraus* (*Fr.* 115) we find a tribrach in what seems to be the second foot of a corrupted iambic trimeter. In a trimeter of the *Dionysiscus* (*Fr.* 171, l. 3) the fifth foot is a tribrach. The passage, which is preserved as

evidence of the spelling ψιλαφᾱ, runs (*Lex. Messan.* f. 283, r):

ὅταν γὰρ αὐτῷ προσφέρω βρωῶσιν διδούς,  
τὴν ῥῖναν εὐθύς ψιλαφᾱ κᾶνω φέρει  
τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς φαλακρὸν ἡδὺ διαγελῶν.

In l. 2 Pearson rightly reads τὴν ῥῖνά μ' for τὴν ῥῖναν. Blaydes, followed by Pearson, wrongly introduces an additional tribrach into l. 3 by changing φαλακρὸν to τὸ φαλακρὸν.\* It is a serious matter to present by conjecture two trisyllabic feet in one line of early Satyric drama. The infant Dionysus is evidently being spoken of as feeling the nose and lifting his hand to the bald pate of Silenus or of some Satyr. The introduction of τὴν χεῖρα, his *hand*, between τὴν ῥῖνα, my *nose*, and φαλακρὸν makes a difference. It is better, in a style which, unlike that of comedy and that of Attic prose, makes the employment or omission of the definite article a matter, within limits, of option, to leave φαλακρὸν, after τὴν χεῖρα, without a τό, as τὸ φαλακρὸν might at first hearing suggest the bald pate of the owner of τὴν χεῖρα: if Dionysus was represented as a very young infant, τὸ φαλακρὸν would be, perhaps, seriously confusing. As for the scansion φαλακρὸν, there is even more liberty of prolation in Satyric drama than in tragedy. Euripides in the *Cyclops* presents in senarii not only ἐρετμοῖς (l. 16) and ἔχνεύων (l. 130), but also ἄκρατον (l. 149) and πατρώας (l. 108), and moreover a line (l. 206) quite impossible in tragedy:

πῶς μοι κατ' ἄντρα νεόγονᾱ βλαστήματα;

In the *Ichneutae* we find ἀπὸπροθεν (l. 3), ἐπέκλυον (l. 38), and λῖκνῖτιν (l. 267), while κατέκλυον (l. 223) is the preferable of two papyrus readings and, according to my view, a supplement ῥῖκνοῖ (l. 124) is right. I do not like, though perforce I follow, the custom of indicating such prolation by placing a mark of length over the vowel: in fact the vowel remains short, and it is the consonantal part of the syllable that is made longer. In the *Heracles epi Taenaro* (*Fr.* 225, l. 1) we find a tribrach in the second foot of a trimeter, (*Fr.* 226) a

\* Blaydes, but not Pearson, avoids this by proposing ἡδέως γελῶν.



dactyl in the third foot of a trimeter, (*Fr.* 231) what looks like a case of an anapaest in the first foot of a trimeter, and (*Fr.* 232) apparently either a tribrach or a dactyl in a foot of undetermined position.

In the *Ichneutae* we have the following absolutely certain instances, a tribrach in the fourth foot of an iambic trimeter (l. 96); a tribrach in the fourth foot (l. 110); a dactyl in the fourth foot (l. 112); a tribrach in the third foot (l. 117); a dactyl in the third foot (l. 118); a dactyl in the third foot (l. 121); a dactyl in the third foot (l. 124); a dactyl in the third foot (l. 125); a dactyl in the third foot (l. 152); a tribrach in the fourth foot (l. 165); a tribrach in the fifth foot of what appears to be a slightly corrupt choric trimeter (l. 168); an anapaest in the first foot of an ordinary iambic trimeter (l. 222); a tribrach in the fourth foot (l. 232); a dactyl in the fifth foot of an iambic tetrameter acatalectic (l. 304), where there is indeed a lacuna, but the foot in question is absolutely certain; a tribrach in the fifth foot of an iambic tetrameter acatalectic (l. 307), where there is no real room for doubt; a tribrach in the third foot of an iambic trimeter (l. 328); and a dactyl in the third foot (l. 357). The subjoined instances are almost (indeed, I am far from sure that I could not, consistently with due caution, omit the "almost") equally certain, *viz.* a tribrach in the third foot of an iambic trimeter (l. 12), though there is a slight lacuna; a tribrach in the fifth foot (l. 103), though there is a slight lacuna; a tribrach in the second foot (l. 201), though there is a slight lacuna; a dactyl in the third foot (l. 253), though there is a slight lacuna; a tribrach in the seventh foot of an iambic tetrameter acatalectic (l. 302), though there is a slight lacuna. The remaining examples are less simple, *viz.* a dactyl in the third foot of an iambic trimeter (l. 120), so presented by the first hand of the papyrus with a spondee following in the third foot, whereas the second hand of the papyrus presents an iamb in the third foot and an anapaest in the fourth foot, as to which see my notes on the line; a tribrach, as it would appear, in the fourth foot (l. 200), though there is a lacuna; a tribrach in the third foot (l. 213), as presented by the first hand of the papyrus, though

the second hand presents a spondee; a tribrach, obviously, in the fourth foot (l. 234), though there is a slight lacuna, which tribrach is apparently put in mistake for an iamb; an iamb in the fourth foot (l. 252), where however the sense seems to require emendation into a tribrach; a tribrach, as it would appear, in the fourth foot (l. 334), though there is a lacuna; an iamb in the fifth foot (l. 358) in the handwriting of the second hand of the papyrus, where I argue in my notes that a tribrach must originally have appeared; a spondee in the first foot (l. 386), which the second hand in the margin, rightly in my opinion, corrects to an anapaest; and an iamb in the fourth foot (l. 387), apparently in mistake for a tribrach. Once (l. 120) the first hand presents a dactyl in the third foot followed by an iamb in a fourth, where the second hand converts into a spondee in the third foot and an anapaest in the fourth.

Apart from this false reading of the second hand the list presents no metrical features alien to the tragedies of Sophocles, except the occurrence of iambic tetrameters and the very high number, considering the small total of lines in question, of ten dactyls in the third foot.

In the *Cedalion* we have apparently in one line (*Fr.* 328, l. 2), the *Fragment* mentioned above as referred to both by Herodian and by Hesychius, a tribrach in the second foot of an iambic trimeter, in another line (*Fr.* 329) certainly a tribrach in the fifth foot, and in yet another line (*Fr.* 331), though the reading is almost demonstrably corrupt, an anapaest in the first foot. In the *Cophi* (*Fr.* 363) we find a tribrach in the fourth foot. The first *Fragment* of the so-called *Eris* (*Fr.* 199), which is unmetrical, appears to be a distortion of a comic, not Satyric, senarius: I treat this matter in Chapter XIII. Of the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* of Sophocles there is no sure ground for classing any as Satyric. *Fragment* 777 presents *prima facie* a comic anapaest in the fourth foot. The line however, which constitutes the *Fragment*, admits of ready emendation, and in any case exhibits no trisyllabic foot permitted by tragic law. *Fragment* 866 and, as emended by Dindorf, *Fragment* 735 present comic features: I treat both in Chapter XIII.

Euripides comes next. The only plays of his known to have been Satyric, besides the extant *Cyclops*, are the *Autolycus*, the *Busiris*, the *Eurystheus*, the *Sciron*, the *Sisypheus*, the *Syleus*, and the *Theristae*. Others have been classified as Satyric, possibly rightly in some cases, but without proof. The *Cyclops* supplies copious evidence. Of its seven companion plays, the *Autolycus*, the *Eurystheus*, the *Sisypheus*, and the *Syleus* alone give any. In the *Autolycus*, in one line (*Fr.* 282, l. 18), we find a dactyl in the third foot of an iambic trimeter, as also in another line (*Fr.* 282, l. 19), and in yet another a tribrach in the fourth foot (*Fr.* 282, l. 21), while once we see (*Fr.* 284) what may be a tribrach in an undetermined foot of an iambic trimeter or possibly an anapaest in the fourth foot of a trochaic tetrameter. In the *Eurystheus* we find an iambic trimeter (*Fr.* 373, l. 1) with a tribrach in the second foot, and another (*Fr.* 376, l. 1) with a dactyl in the third foot. In the *Sisypheus* (*Fr.* 673, l. 2\*) there is an iambic trimeter with a tribrach in the third foot. In the *Syleus* we have one iambic trimeter (*Fr.* 692, l. 2) with a dactyl in the third foot, and one (*Fr.* 694, l. 1) with a tribrach in the fourth foot: another (*Fr.* 907, l. 1), perhaps from the *Syleus*, shows a tribrach in the first foot.

In the *Cyclops* we find (l. 1) a dactyl in the first foot of an iambic trimeter, and a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 6) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 7) a dactyl in the first foot; (l. 8) a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 9) a dactyl in the first foot; (l. 13) a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 17) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 18) a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 19) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 20) a dactyl in the first foot; (l. 25) an anapaest in the first foot in a proper name; (l. 26) a tribrach in the third foot; (l. 31) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 35) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 84) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 88) a tribrach in the third foot; (l. 91) an anapaest in the first foot in a proper name; (l. 95) a tribrach in the third foot; (l. 96) a tribrach in the fourth foot; (l. 99) a tribrach in the second foot and a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 100) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 103) a tribrach in the first foot; (l. 104) a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 106) a tribrach in the

\* Read: ἤκοντα τὸν τε μιὰρὸν ἐξολωλότα.



second foot ; (l. 109) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 112) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 114) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 120) a tribrach in the first foot ; (l. 123) an anapaest in the first foot in a proper name ; (l. 124) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 126) a tribrach in the first foot and a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 136) a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 137) a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 139) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 147) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 156) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 158) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 159) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 161) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 162) a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 163) a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 164) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 167) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 173) a tribrach in the fifth foot ; (l. 175) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 177) a tribrach in the first foot, and an anapaest in a proper name in the fourth foot ; (l. 178) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 180) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 182) a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 183) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 184) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 185) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 190) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 192) a tribrach in the first foot ; (l. 194) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 197) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 198) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 203) a tribrach in the first foot, a tribrach in the second foot, and a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 204) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 205) a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 206) a tribrach in the third foot, in a line which in two respects violates tragic rules of scansion ; (l. 210) a tribrach in the first foot, a tribrach in the second foot, and a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 211) a tribrach in the first foot, and a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 212) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 215) a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 219) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 221) a tribrach in the second foot and a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 227) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 229) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 230) an anapaest in the first foot, and a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 232) a tribrach in the first foot, in a line which also presents a comic anapaest in the fourth foot ; (l. 235) a dactyl in the third foot by a certain emendation of Canter's for an anapaest in the fourth foot ; (l. 237) a tribrach in the fourth foot ;

(l. 239) a tribrach in the fourth foot; (l. 240) a tribrach in the fifth foot; (l. 241) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 243) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 249) an anapaest in the first foot and a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 259) a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 265) a tribrach in the first foot; (l. 269) a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 270) a dactyl in the first foot; (l. 272) an anapaest in the first foot, in a line which also presents a comic anapaest in the second foot; (l. 273) an anapaest in a proper name in the fifth foot; (l. 275) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 276) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 277) an anapaest in the first foot and a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 281) an anapaest in the first foot in a proper name; (l. 287) an anapaest in the first foot and a tribrach in the fourth foot; (l. 290) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 292) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 293) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 295) a tribrach in the third foot; (l. 296) a dactyl in the first foot; (l. 300) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 301) a tribrach in the first foot; (l. 303) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 304) a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 305) a tribrach in the fourth foot; (l. 306) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 307) an anapaest in the first foot and a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 318) a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 319) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 323) a tribrach in the second foot; (l. 326) a dactyl in the first foot; (l. 329) a tribrach in the second foot, and a dactyl in the third foot, in a line in which, by obvious orthographic error, the mss. also present an anapaest instead of an iamb in the fifth foot; (l. 330) a tribrach in the fourth foot; (l. 331) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 342) a tribrach in the first foot; (l. 344) a tribrach in the third foot, an apparently necessary emendation of Scaliger's for an iamb in the mss.; (l. 348) a tribrach in the fifth foot; (l. 349) a tribrach in the third foot; (l. 350) a tribrach in the fourth foot; (l. 354) a dactyl in the first foot; (l. 378) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 383) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 386) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 390) a dactyl in the third foot; (l. 393) an anapaest in the first foot; (l. 394) a tribrach in the second foot and a tribrach in the fourth foot; (l. 395) a tribrach in the fourth foot; (l. 401) a dactyl

in the third foot ; (l. 402) a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 405) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 410) a tribrach in the first foot and a tribrach in the second foot, the latter being a necessary emendation of Scaliger's for an anapaest presented by the mss. ; (l. 415) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 421) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 425) a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 430) by a false reading, as to which see below, a tribrach instead of an iamb in the third foot ; (l. 433) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 434) a tribrach in the first foot and a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 435) a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 436) an anapaest in the first foot in a proper name, and a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 439) in an interpolated line, as to which see below, a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 443) a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 444) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 449) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 453) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 455) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 473) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 478) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 481) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 529) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 535) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 537) a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 546) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 548) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 549) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 551) a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 553) a tribrach in the third foot, and a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 555) a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 557) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 558) an anapaest in the first foot, in a line which also presents a comic anapaest in the fourth foot ; (l. 559) a tribrach in the first foot ; (l. 560) a dactyl in the first foot and a tribrach in the second foot, in a line which also presents a comic anapaest in the fourth foot ; (l. 561) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 569) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 577) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 582) an anapaest in a proper name in the second foot, in a line which also presents a comic anapaest in the fifth foot ; (l. 583) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 585) a tribrach in the second foot and a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 586) a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 587) an anapaest in the first foot, and a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 589) a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 590) an anapaest in the first foot, and an anapaest in a proper



name in the second foot ; (l. 592) a dactyl in the third foot, where the spelling in the mss. impossibly presents a cretic ; (l. 597) a tribrach in the fifth foot ; (l. 598) an anapaest in the first foot, being a certain emendation of Canter's for an impossible bacchius presented by the mss. ; (l. 604) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 625) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 627) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 630) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 631) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 635) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 641) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 643) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 645) a dactyl in the first foot ; (l. 671) an anapaest in the first foot, and a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 673) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 676) a tribrach in the first foot ; (l. 677) a tribrach in the first foot and a tribrach in the fifth foot ; (l. 681) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 684) a tribrach in the fourth foot, in a line which also presents a comic anapaest in the second foot ; (l. 686) a tribrach in the second foot ; (l. 690) an anapaest in the first foot ; (l. 691) a tribrach in the second foot and a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 693) a tribrach in the third foot ; (l. 694) a tribrach in the fourth foot ; (l. 695) a dactyl in the third foot ; (l. 700) a dactyl in the third foot ; and (l. 703) a dactyl in the third foot.

I have mentioned that by an error the mss. present l. 430 as exhibiting a tribrach instead of an iamb in its third foot. The line has come down to us thus :

ναίειν μέλαθρα Δαναΐδων νυμφῶν μέτα.

Casaubon saw that the Naiads were meant and emended to Ναΐδων. Ναιάδων is now more generally read ; but the form proposed by Casaubon is more likely, whether original or not, to have been the parent of the corruption.

I have stigmatised l. 439 as an interpolation. That this line and that which follows it are a late addition I argue at some length in the section of this chapter which deals with comic anapaests.

In this list of examples from Euripides' *Cyclops* it must be noted that I have referred to instances of anapaests presented contrary to tragic law only where such anapaests occur in the same line as some trisyllabic foot permitted by tragic law. My reason for referring to those

which so occur is that it is necessary to refer to them in order to deal fully with the subject of the occurrence of more than one trisyllabic foot in the same line. I revert to these particular anapaests when I come to discuss the other branch of this enquiry, and then I of course include with them all other anapaests, forbidden by tragic law, which are to be found in the play, and also one factitious appearance of a dactyl forbidden by tragic law.

Among the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* of Euripides there are three (*Frr.* 1013, 1040, and 1080) that, owing to the presence of a comic anapaest in the first example and of a breach of the law of the tragic pause in the other two examples, might be set down as Satyric. I give reasons in the section of this chapter which deals with comic anapaests, and in that which deals with the pause, for disputing the ms. readings in all three cases and, in consequence, for refusing to regard the passages as Satyric. Even if they be Satyric, I have here only to remark that the sole trisyllabic feet, permitted by tragic law, presented in them are a dactyl in the third foot (*Fr.* 1040, l. 4), where however another ancient reading is widely different and exhibits instead a tribrach in the second foot and another dactyl in the third foot (*Fr.* 1080, l. 3).

It will be seen from the above instances that in the extant Satyric portions, known to be such, of Euripides, the following table represents, so far as is ascertainable, the distribution of such trisyllabic feet as conform to the tragic law :—

				Tribrachs		Anapaests		Dactyls	
						(in proper names when			
						not in the first foot)			
In the first foot									
<i>Cyclops</i>	..	..	..	16	..	40	..	18	
Other plays	..	..	..	0	..	0	..	0	
Total				16	..	40	..	18	
In the second foot									
<i>Cyclops</i>	..	..	..	34	..	2	..	0	
Other plays	..	..	..	1	..	0	..	0	
Total				35	..	2	..	0	

				Tribrachs	Anapaests (in proper names when not in the first foot)		Dactyls
In the third foot							
<i>Cyclops</i>	..	..	..	23	..	0	51
Other plays	..	..	..	0	..	0	3
Total .. ..				23	..	0	54
In the fourth foot							
<i>Cyclops</i>	..	..	..	26	..	1	0
Other plays	..	..	..	1	..	0	0
Total .. ..				27	..	1	0
In the fifth foot							
<i>Cyclops</i>	..	..	..	5	..	1	0
Other plays	..	..	..	0	..	0	0
Total .. ..				5	..	1	0
In a foot of undetermined position in the <i>Autolycus</i>							
				1	..	0	0
Grand Total .. ..				107	..	44	72

In all, not counting trisyllabic feet which are let in by virtue of comic law only, there are found in the plays in question 223 trisyllabic feet permissible under the law of tragedy.

In the great majority of instances, *viz.* in the case of 161 lines in the *Cyclops* and of six lines (though of one of them we cannot speak certainly) in the other plays, or of 167 lines in all, there is only one trisyllabic foot to a line. To this total of 167 must be added, for our momentary purpose, sixteen lines in the *Cyclops* in which (as will be seen later) a trisyllabic foot, permitted by the laws of comedy only, presents itself unaccompanied by any other trisyllabic foot. The complete total therefore is one of 183 lines.

On the other hand there exist in the *Cyclops*—we know of no instances in the other plays in question—31 lines in which are found more than one trisyllabic foot, including, it is important to observe, the first line in the *Cyclops*, which, so to speak, strikes a key-note. Of these 31 lines 28 present two trisyllabic feet only. The remaining three present three trisyllabic feet apiece. If we analyse the above number of 31 lines in another way, we see that 25 of them show exclusively combinations of trisyllabic



feet permitted by tragic law, *viz.* 23 of them a combination of two such feet only and two of them a combination of three such feet, while the remaining six show combinations of trisyllabic feet permitted by tragic law with trisyllabic feet permitted only by comic law, *viz.* five of them combinations of one trisyllabic foot permitted by tragic law with one trisyllabic foot permitted by comic law only, and one of them a combination of two trisyllabic feet permitted by tragic law with one trisyllabic foot permitted only by the law of comedy.

It will be noticed that, while trisyllabic feet, at the rate of one to a line, are spread fairly evenly over the *Cyclops*, the use of two or more such feet in the same line is largely, though not entirely, confined to certain passages of which the action verges on that of comedy. It should be added that a tribrach, though not in the first foot, may consist of a single trisyllabic word. Line 112 runs :

ληστὰς διώκων, οἱ Βρόμιον ἀνήρπασαν.

On the permissibility of such a rhythm as this editors have cast doubt elsewhere in what happens to be Satyric Drama (Sophocles, *Cedemon* or *Cedalion*, *Fr.* 328, l. 2). I see no reason to impugn it either in Satyric Drama or in Tragedy. It is not until we come to Babrius that, so far as I can see, we find the use of tribrachs governed by any special rule beyond the condition that the caesura, if any, must be between the first and second syllables. The trisyllabic feet in the *Cyclops*, permitted by tragic law, conform to tragic law, as understood by Euripides, without, I believe, either modification or addition. The large number of dactyls in the third foot is, as in Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, a prominent and important feature of no small metrical interest.

It may be well at this point to revert to l. 206, which I have stated above to violate in two respects tragic rules of scansion. The line runs :

πῶς μοι κατ' ἄντρα νεόγονα βλαστήματα ;

The first tragic rule which it violates is that the last syllable of a declensional form such as νεόγονα may not be lengthened by position (and, as a result, may

not be used "in position") save at the extreme end of the fifth foot. In this line Euripides lengthens the last syllable of νεόγονα at the end of the fourth foot. That the lengthening is permitted in the *Cyclops* is shown by l. 524 :

τοιόσδ' ὁ δαίμων· οὐδένα βλάπτει βροτῶν.

The second tragic rule violated is that which excepts βλαστάνω and its cognates from the general law that βλ makes position. I can produce no Satyric instance of the breach of this rule, neither can I of its observance ; but it is reasonable on the face of it that Satyric Drama should be permitted to depart from a convention so artificial. Even Tragedy varies in its dealings with the word γλῶσσα, which enjoys, at any rate partially, exemption from the sister law that γλ makes position. There exists a sort of tradition that γλήνη is similarly exempted ; but I have never been able to discover on what the idea is based. On the whole, I consider l. 206 to be sound, and therefore I have not queried the instance of a tribrach which it presents.

Having dealt with Pratinas and his son Aristias, and incidentally with the Alexandrian imitator of Pratinas, Sositheus, and having also dealt with Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, we will now pass to the minor tragic poets of the strictly Attic period. Among their fragments, we have either remains or titles of plays, definitely known to be Satyric, written by Achaeus, who was born 484 B.C., and who specialised in Satyric Drama ; by Ion, who was probably by some five to ten years the junior of Achaeus ; by Euripides' contemporary, Xenocles the elder ; by Iophon, the son of Sophocles ; by Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants ; by (or reputed to be by) Astydamas the younger, who apparently flourished in the fourth century B.C., and by an unknown author (*Pap. Ox.* 1083), who, from the nature of his work, may perhaps be assigned to a date earlier than that of Euripides' *Cyclops* : we hear also (*Teian Inscriptions* III. 91) of a Satyric play by Anaxion of Mytilene, whose period is altogether uncertain. Of these writers the following plays are known to have been Satyric : of Achaeus, the *Aethon*, the *Alcmeon*, the *Hephaestus*, the *Iris*, the *Linus*, and the *Omphale* ;

of Ion, the *Omphale*; of Xenocles, the *Athamas*; of Iophon, the *Aulodi*; of Critias, the *Sisyphus*; and of Astydamas, the *Hercules*, while the fragments included in the Oxyrrhynchus Papyrus above-mentioned are manifestly those of a Satyric drama, and Anaxion's *Persae* is in an inscription, from which alone we know of it, termed Satyric. Evidence, however, for our purpose is presented only by the *Aethon* and the *Alcmeon* of Achaeus, by the *Omphale* of Ion, by the *Sisyphus* of Critias, and by the said Oxyrrhynchus fragments. Achaeus in the *Aethon* shows a tribrach in the fourth foot of one iambic trimeter (*Fr.* 7, l. 2), and a tribrach or dactyl in the third foot of another (*Fr.* 8, l. 1), while in the *Alcmeon*, though the reading is not absolutely certain, he seems to exhibit (*Fr.* 14, l. 1) a tribrach in the third foot. Ion in the *Omphale* presents in one iambic trimeter (*Fr.* 18, l. 1) a dactyl in the first foot, in another (*Fr.* 21) an anapaest in the first foot, in yet another (*Fr.* 23) a tribrach in the second foot, in a fourth trimeter (*Fr.* 24, l. 3) a dactyl in the third foot, in a fifth (*Fr.* 29, l. 1) a tribrach or a dactyl in the third foot, in a sixth (*Fr.* 29, l. 2) an anapaest in the first foot, and once (*Fr.* 32) what is apparently a tribrach or a dactyl in a foot of undetermined position. Critias in the *Sisyphus* has three iambic trimeters (*Fr.* 1, ll. 1, 19, and 40) each with a dactyl in the first foot. The unknown author of the papyrus fragments has an iambic trimeter (*Fr.* 1, l. 19) with a dactyl in the third foot, and another (*Fr.* 2, l. 6) also with a dactyl in the third foot, while, if *Fragment* 20 is in trimeters, there occur in it remains of two lines (l. 2 and l. 3) each of them exhibiting a tribrach in a foot later than the first but otherwise of undetermined position.

Among the Tragic *Adespota*, *Fragment* 547, a piece of thirteen lines, might easily be taken as coming from a Satyric play. It is markedly tragic in style and diction, except that two couplets (ll. 4-5 and 7-8) exhibit comic licence of metre and that in the former couplet (l. 5) *πράττειν* occurs. Nauck regards the two couplets as interpolations. To me also they have that appearance. Of tragic trisyllabic feet, the piece in question presents a tribrach in the first foot (l. 1), a dactyl in the first foot (l. 2), a tribrach in the first foot (l. 4), a dactyl in



the first foot (l. 6), a dactyl in the first foot (l. 10), and a tribrach in the second foot (l. 11).

Before we cross the frontier which separates writers of the strictly Attic school from their successors, we must turn for a moment to the Satyric dramas composed by comedians. We have positive evidence as to Timocles\* (*circa* 350 B.C.) that his *Icarii* (Athenaeus, ix. 407 F) and his *Lycurgus* (*C.I.A.* ii. 973) were Satyric dramas; and, as regards one Dionysius, almost certainly Dionysius Comicus (also *circa* 350 B.C.), we know (*scholium* on *Iliad* xi. 515) that the plot of his *Limos* (some doubt exists whether this title is not corrupt) was of such a kind, introducing Silenus, that it is difficult to see an alternative to classing the play as Satyric. Timocles, who, as we have just seen, certainly wrote two Satyric dramas, very likely wrote another also: at any rate the title of his *Demosatyri* suggests that that play too was Satyric. The same presumption arises even more strongly from the titles of Ecphantides' (*circa* 460 B.C.) *Satyri*, of Cratinus' (*circa* 454 B.C.) *Satyri*, and of Phrynichus' (*circa* 429 B.C.) *Satyri*. That the Phrynichus who wrote the *Satyri* is the comic poet, not the tragic poet, of that name is put beyond the possibility of question by an express statement of a third Phrynichus, namely the Atticist (Lobeck, p. 266). On similar grounds one may wonder whether Amphis' (*circa* 350 B.C.) *Pan* was not Satyric, and the same question, if one may travel for the moment a little outside the most strictly Attic period, arises with regard to Timostratus' (perhaps *circa* 310 B.C.) *Pan* also. Moreover Hermippus' (*circa* 432 B.C.) *Moerae* seems (*Fr.* 1, l. 1) to introduce Pericles

\* Athenaeus (ix. 407 F) states: Τιμοκλῆς ὁ τῆς καμφοδίας ποιητῆς—ἦν δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας—ἐν μὲν δράματι Λήθη φησί (here follow first a quotation from the *Lethe*, secondly a few words of Athenaeus' prose introductory of a quotation from another comedy by Timocles, the *Dionysus*, and thirdly the actual quotation from the *Dionysus*). Athenaeus then proceeds: ἐν δ' Ἰκαρίοις Σατύροις φησὶν κτλ. Notice the μὲν of ἐν μὲν δράματι. As Schweighäuser saw, the parenthesis ἦν δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας means that Timocles added the rôle of tragedian to that of comedian: it is inserted to account for the same man having written both the *Lethe* and the *Icarii Satyri* (a Satyric drama is technically a sort of tragedy). But more recent scholars, without due consideration, take the words as meaning *there was also another Timocles, a tragedian*. To this figment of their imaginations they ascribe the *Lycurgus*. A late botcher of Suidas, following a penchant of his, divides Timocles into two men, but not into a comedian and a tragedian.

as leader of a Chorus of Satyrs, though, if the *Moerae* is a Satyric play, it can only be so in a sort of burlesque manner. On the other hand, I see no grounds for attributing a Satyrical appearance to any of the fragments usually grouped together as constituting the remains of Eupolis' *Helotae*. Of the seven fragments in question, three (*Fr.* 1, *Fr.* 4, and *Fr.* 5) are expressly assigned to the *Helotae* of Eupolis (Athenaeus iv. 138 F), Εὐπολις ἐν Εἰλωσι: (Pollux ix. 74, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Εὐπόλιδος Εἰλωσιν: Pollux x. 98, ἐν Εἰλωσιν Εὐπόλιδος), while four (*Fr.* 2, *Fr.* 3, *Fr.* 6, and *Fr.* 7) are attributed to "the author of the *Helotae*" (Athenaeus ix. 400 C, ὁ τοὺς Εἰλωτας ποιήσας: Athenaeus xiv. 638 D, καὶ ὁ τοὺς Εἰλωτας δὲ πεποικηκώς φησι: Herodian, *Dict. Solit.* 10, ὁ δὲ τοὺς Εἰλώτας, sic: Herodian, *Dict. Solit.* p. 26, ὃ εἴρηται παρὰ τῷ τοὺς εἰλωτασαίμην, sic). Meineke is right in holding that this variation of ascription implies an ancient doubt as to authorship, as against Mueller, who divides the fragments between a comedy by Eupolis and an anonymous Satyric drama. Mueller appeals to a statement by Eustathius (on *Iliad*, ii. p. 297), who mentions a dictum of Herodian, which appears to me to refer, not to the *Helotae* attributed to Eupolis, but to the *Heracles epi Taenaro* of Sophocles.

The question as to the composition of Satyric plays by comedians was first raised by Eichstaedt, who believed in such plays. Hermann opposed him in an essay *De Dramate Comicosatyrico* (*Opuscula*, i. pp. 44-59). I do not consider Hermann very illuminating. He argues, *inter alia*, that the later comedians could not have written Satyric dramas because they employed no Chorus. To say this is to beg the question. The problem is extremely difficult; but fortunately it does not affect our enquiry very greatly. The one partially extant play by a comedian definitely stated in antiquity to be Satyric, viz. Timocles' *Icarii* (his *Lycurgus* has wholly perished), furnishes important evidence, and his *Demosatyri* yields a trifle of testimony, as do Ecphantides' *Satyri*, Hermippus' *Moerae*, and Amphis' *Pan*, but no others. Timocles in the *Icarii* exhibits an iambic trimeter (*Fr.* 2, l. 1) with an anapaest in a proper name in the second

foot ; another (*Fr.* 2, l. 2) with a tribrach in the second foot ; yet another (*Fr.* 3, l. 1) with a dactyl in the third foot and a tribrach in the fourth foot ; a fourth (*Fr.* 3, l. 5) with a dactyl in the third foot ; a trochaic tetrameter (*Fr.* 4, l. 2) with a tribrach in the seventh foot, equivalent to a dactyl in the fifth foot of an iambic trimeter, but the reading inspires doubt ; another trochaic tetrameter (*Fr.* 4, l. 4) with a tribrach in the first foot and a tribrach in the sixth foot, equivalent to a tribrach in the fourth foot of an iambic trimeter, in a line the metre of which has been disturbed near the beginning ; a third trochaic tetrameter (*Fr.* 4, l. 6) with a tribrach in the second foot, an anapaest in the sixth foot, equivalent to a tribrach in the fourth foot of an iambic trimeter, and a tribrach in the seventh foot, equivalent to a dactyl in the fifth foot of an iambic trimeter ; and a fourth trochaic tetrameter (*Fr.* 4, l. 7) with a tribrach in the fourth foot, equivalent to a tribrach in the third foot of an iambic trimeter, and a tribrach in the fifth foot, equivalent to a tribrach in the third foot of an iambic trimeter ; and a fifth trochaic tetrameter (*Fr.* 4, l. 8) with a tribrach in the fifth foot, equivalent to a dactyl in the third foot of an iambic trimeter. When I say that such and such a foot in a trochaic tetrameter is equivalent to such and such a foot in an iambic trimeter, I mean that, if we cut off from the trochaic tetrameter its initial cretic or quantitative equivalent, and scan the remainder as an iambic trimeter, the foot mentioned by me will result. I do not mean that the foot in the iambic trimeter is conterminous with the foot in the trochaic tetrameter. Moreover the same foot in the same place in a trochaic tetrameter may produce at different times varying feet in the iambic trimeter, because of the varying quantity of adjacent syllables included in the iambic feet in question. These particular trochaic tetrameters have to be translated as I have translated them into terms of iambic trimeters, if we are readily to understand their bearing. Applying to them the language familiar in the case of iambic trimeters, or, in other words, stripping them of their initial cretics, we see (since as a matter of fact they present no comic anapaests) that they violate no tragic



rule whatever, except that, certainly once, and perhaps twice, they admit a dactyl into the fifth foot (taking them as iambic trimeters). Seeing that the real iambic trimeters of the play also as a matter of fact present no comic anapaests, we have strong confirmation of the statement of Athenaeus that this is a Satyric drama. It appears however, so far as the evidence extends, to be a Satyric drama of a metrical character intermediate between tragedy and comedy, seeing that it admits comic dactyls but rejects, so far as we can tell, comic anapaests. It seems to be stricter than Euripides' *Cyclops*. But in one way it is as lax as is the *Cyclops*, allowing as many as three trisyllabic feet in the same line. This feature is of high importance, seeing that, except in the distinctly post-Attic Satyric Drama of Python and of Lycophron, there is not elsewhere extant a single scrap of writing of proved Satyric origin to support the *Cyclops* of Euripides in its employment of two or sometimes three trisyllabic feet in the same line, while not even Python or Lycophron exhibits in the same line more than two such feet.

Timocles, in the possibly Satyric *Demosatyri*, has an iambic trimeter (the only *Fr.* 1. 1) with a dactyl in the first foot. Ecphantides in the possibly Satyric *Satyri* presents a trochaic tetrameter (the only *Fr.*) with a tribrach in the first foot, a tribrach in the fourth foot, equivalent to a tribrach in the second foot of an iambic trimeter, and a tribrach in the fifth foot, equivalent to a dactyl in the third foot of an iambic trimeter. Hermippus in the possibly Satyric *Moerae* has an iambic trimeter (*Fr.*, 4, l. 2) with an anapaest in the second foot and an anapaest in the fourth foot, which fact I mention here because, although these anapaests are comic, and will be dealt with later, the fact that there are two of them raises the questions connected with the use of more than one trisyllabic foot in the same line; he has another iambic trimeter (*Fr.* 7, l. 2) with a tribrach in the third foot, yet another (*Fr.* 7, l. 3) with a dactyl in the third foot; and also appears once (*Fr.* 8) to have employed a tribrach or a dactyl in a foot of undetermined position. Amphis in his possibly Satyric *Pan* has an iambic trimeter (the only *Fragment*) with

an anapaest in the first foot. It is abundantly plain that, if Hermippus' *Moerae* is Satyric at all, it is nevertheless composed in the metre of comedy. Much the same may be said of Phrynichus' *Satyri*, seeing that it seems to present, though not in the same line, two comic anapaests, which will be dealt with later in their place. These two plays, at any rate, are probably comic in the full sense, as regards metre, not in a limited sense, as the *Cyclops* of Euripides. Had they been composed, like the *Cyclops*, with merely a certain infusion of comic metre, it is not likely that the comic element would have been so evident in the extremely exiguous remains.

Now that we have obtained some real and valuable information from the *Icarii* of Timocles, but not much enlightenment, I am afraid, from or about his brother comedians, we will pass beyond the confines of the Attic atmosphere. Python of Catana, a poet in the suite of Alexander the Great, composed a Satyric drama, the *Agen*, which was acted at a Dionysiac festival held by the Macedonian army in the neighbourhood of the Hydaspes (the authorship of the play was attributed by some to Alexander himself). A small portion of it is preserved by Athenaeus. This play has a bearing on the comicosatyric question, as it employs comic forms (πράττουσι, l. 10, and ἀρρᾶβών, l. 18), thereby seeming to point to the existence of a comicosatyric tradition. Like Euripides' *Cyclops*, it admits comic anapaests, which I shall not at this point mention, except when, as once happens, one of them occurs in the same line as another trisyllabic foot. Python in the *Agen* has an iambic trimeter (*Fr.* 1, l. 1) with a tribrach in the third foot; another (*Fr.* 1, l. 4) with a dactyl in the third foot; yet another (*Fr.* 1, l. 8) with an anapaest in a proper name in the second foot; a fourth (*Fr.* 1, l. 11) with a tribrach in the first foot, a fifth (*Fr.* 1, l. 12) with a tribrach in the first foot and, by necessary emendation, a tribrach also in the fifth foot; a sixth (*Fr.* 1, l. 13) with a tribrach in the second foot; a seventh (*Fr.* 1, l. 16) with a comic anapaest in the second foot, and a comic dactyl in the fifth foot, which instances I mention here because they both come in the same line; and an eighth (*Fr.* 1, l. 18) with a tribrach in the second foot. The emendation mentioned as necessary in l. 12 is that

of τὸν χέδροπα μόνον (so Porson and Jacobs) for the meaningless and unmetrical τὸν χεδρώπαν ὦμόν of the mss.

Though only 18 lines of Python's *Agon* are extant, their evidence is important enough to be tabulated; thus (comic anapaests and dactyls not reckoned in): Tribrachs, in the first foot, two, in the second foot, two, in the third foot, one, in the fourth foot, none, in the fifth foot, one, total, six; anapaests, one only, viz. in the second foot in a proper name; dactyls, one only, viz. in the third foot. The salient feature is the almost total absence of tragic dactyls. In my Euripidean table such dactyls amounted to 72 out of a total of 223 tragically permitted trisyllabic feet. In the *Cyclops*, containing 587 iambic trimeters, there are 69 tragically permitted dactyls, or, approximately, one to every nine iambic trimeters. On the basis of the *Cyclops*, we should expect in the eighteen trimeters of the *Agon* to find, not one tragic dactyl, but about three tragic dactyls, as the fragment of the *Agon* contains in proportion over 25 per cent. more tragic trisyllabic feet than does the *Cyclops*.

It remains for us to consider the usage of Lycophron in his *Menedemus*. He presents an iambic trimeter (*Fr.* 1, l. 5) with an anapaest in the first foot; another (*Fr.* 2, l. 1) with a tribrach in the fifth foot; yet another (*Fr.* 2, l. 2) with a tribrach in the first foot and a comic anapaest in the third foot; a fourth (*Fr.* 2, l. 3) with a tribrach in the first foot and also a tribrach in the fourth foot; and a fifth (*Fr.* 2, l. 4) with a tribrach in the third foot. It may be observed that Lycophron resembles Python in employing more than one trisyllabic foot in the same line, and that, as regards dactyls, these fragments go even further than Python's, seeing that they exhibit none at all.\*

\* Before summing up, I may interject that Harmodius of Tarsus with the *Protesilaus*, Polemaeus of Ephesus with the *Ajax*, and one Theodore with the *Palamedes* and the *Thythes* (all first century B.C.) won Satyric prizes at the Magnesian Rhomaea: the plays are wholly lost. The philosopher Plato and the poet Callimachus composed Satyric drama, but of the product not even the names survive; in like case are Timon of Phlius (circa 275 B.C.), Aradus of Athens (circa 225 B.C.), Aminias of Thebes (circa 200 B.C.), Alexander of Tanagra (first century B.C., or earlier), Callippus of Thebes, Gorgippus of Chalcis, Heraclides of Athens, Philoxenides of Oropus, a prize-winner at Magnesia named Polemon (all first century B.C.), Demetrius of Tarsus (apparently visited Britain first century A.D.), Aemilius of Hyettus (circa first century A.D.), and Timocles of Cyme (date unknown).



It is clear on a survey of the whole of the above evidence, if we put on one side the possibly Satyric productions of comedians other than Timocles, that, at any rate after Pratinas (who seems however to have found a more or less close imitator, at least in some respects, in his son, Aristias), a moderate, but not scanty, use of tragically permitted trisyllabic feet, chiefly indeed of tribrachs, but notably, as compared with tragedy, of dactyls, especially of dactyls in the third foot, is characteristic of writers of Satyric drama up to and including Euripides and Timocles. After Timocles the employment of tragically permitted trisyllabic feet continued, but the free use of dactyls appears to have diminished. The last exponent of the post-Timoclean school known to us is Lycophron, whose contemporary at Alexandria, Sositheus, reverted to the old technique of Pratinas, allowing the use either of no trisyllabic feet at all, or, at any rate, of but few (in his extant fragments there are none). It may reasonably be inferred that, if Pratinas employed trisyllabic feet, he did not employ more than one of them in a single line. It is a remarkable fact that two trisyllabic feet in a Satyric line are not exhibited in the remains of any author, not even of Achaeus (who nevertheless tolerated, as will be seen later, the use of the comic anapaest), until we come to Euripides, in whose *Cyclops* the employment of two trisyllabic feet in a line is common and that of three not particularly rare. As to the usage in this respect prevalent in the strictly Attic period after the time of Euripides we have no evidence save that of the fragments of Timocles, who agrees with Euripides in the use of two trisyllabic feet in one line, and even in a trochaic tetrameter, in the use of three. After Attic times, the Satyric remains, though scanty, of Python and of Lycophron supply instances of two, but not of three, trisyllabic feet in a line. Putting all this together, I conclude that it is not by accident that the exiguous survivals of pre-Euripidean Satyric Drama which we possess present no instance of more than one trisyllabic foot in a single line. It seems to me fairly safe to lay down as a canon for the guidance of workers upon the *Ichneutae* that Sophocles restricts himself to

one trisyllabic foot in any one line. This conclusion, which has been arrived at by others before myself, though I doubt whether the evidence has until now been sufficiently scrutinised—and doubtless it will still bear much further scrutiny—leads naturally to the enquiry how far in this particular respect the practice of Satyric Drama differed from the practice of tragedy. That enquiry lies outside the scope of my discussion; but I may say that some at least of the examples in pre-Euripidean tragedy of the multiplication of trisyllabic feet in a single line seem to me to be open to grave suspicion. I have long, for instance, entertained the idea that l. 967 of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*,

κτανεῖν ἔμελλον πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν; ὁ δὲ θανών,

and other lines in the neighbourhood, including l. 943, were written by the poet, not in iambic trimeters, but in the dochmiac metre. So much for trisyllabic feet lawful by the rules of tragedy and for the recurrence of trisyllabic feet in a single line.

## B

I will now turn to the use of comic anapaests and comic dactyls in Satyric Drama. As I have, though with a different objective, to go over the same ground that I have covered under the previous heading, I will assume that the reader has seen what I have there written, and I will not repeat myself unnecessarily.

Comic anapaests, *i.e.* anapaests which stand, not in proper names, in feet other than the first foot of an iambic trimeter, and comic dactyls, *i.e.* dactyls in the fifth foot of an iambic trimeter, are characteristic of Satyric Drama, at least at some stages of its history. For the purposes of this discussion, I class with comic anapaests and with comic dactyls those feet which in trochaic tetrameters present themselves as such, if we remove from the trochaic tetrameter its initial cretic or metrical equivalent, and treat the remainder as an ordinary iambic trimeter.

If we leave out of account for the moment the possibly Satyric plays of certain comedians (see under the previous

heading), we find in Satyric drama up to the beginning of the Alexandrian period no credible examples of comic anapaests except in Achaëus and in Euripides, and no examples of comic dactyls, except in the certainly Satyric *Icarîi* of Timocles, the comedian. I do not propose to touch on irregular feet presented by obvious corruption in *Fragments* clearly not Satyric, such as an anapaest in the fourth foot in Theodectes (*Fr.* 6, l. 1). Moreover I reserve for discussion in Chapter XIII. *Fragment* 866 of Sophocles. This presents (l. 1) an anapaest in the second foot of a senarius, and (l. 2) another anapaest in the second foot of a senarius. It is classed among the *Incertarum Fabularum Fragmenta*; but I regard it as Sophoclean indeed, yet not dramatic, much less Satyric.

I also reserve for discussion in the same Chapter the whole question of the so-called *Eris* of Sophocles, of which the unmetrical first Fragment (*Fr.* 199) must almost necessarily be emended into a senarius without a caesura and with an anapaest in the second foot: this also I regard as not dramatic, although Sophoclean.

I will set out the other examples at full length, as details of metre have to be considered.

Achaëus (born 484 B.C.) presents in his *Aethon* (*Fr.* 11, l. 2) a comic anapaest in the second foot of an iambic trimeter. The passage is this:

χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων.  
ἦ που σφόδρα θυμοῖ;

It is given, on the authority of Demetrius (presumably Demetrius of Adramyttium), by a scholiast on Aristophanes (*Ran.* l. 184). The Aristophanic line is

χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων,

and Aristophanes continues thus:

τίς εἰς ἀναπαύλας ἐκ κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων;

It therefore seems clear that ἦ που σφόδρα θυμοῖ; is part of the quotation from Achaëus. I can in no way agree with Methner that it is wrongly imported into the quotation.

Euripides presents comic anapaests in the *Cyclops* only (except a solitary one in a line from an unknown



play, which is clearly Satyric, if the reading, as is not certain, happens to be correct, and another, due to obvious corruption, in a *v.l.* in the *Syleus*): but the fragments of his Satyric plays that, but for these, have perished, are so scanty that it is not reasonably possible to base any distinction between them and the *Cyclops* on this fact. In the *Cyclops* there occur, *prima facie*, 22 comic anapaests, each of them in a separate line: but of these 22 two admit, or possibly admit, of being scanned by synizesis as iambs, while one presents itself in a context containing so strong a crasis that suspicion has, in my opinion wrongly, been cast on the reading, and another is, unlike the rest, in the mouth of Ulysses (if I may be pardoned for writing English), and therefore, again in my opinion wrongly, has been arbitrarily altered into an iamb. In any case the play exhibits seventeen comic anapaests, which number is amply sufficient to put the usage beyond the faintest possibility of doubt.

The examples are these:

In the third foot (l. 28), though this instance may, perhaps, be scanned by synizesis as an iamb:

νέμουσι μῆλα, νεανίαι πεφυκότες.

In the fourth foot (l. 154):

εἶδες γὰρ αὐτήν; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ὀσφραίνομαι.

In the fourth foot (l. 232):

ἔλεγον ἐγὼ τάδ'· οἱ δ' ἐφόρουν τὰ χρήματα.

In the third foot (l. 234):

τούς τ' ἄρνας ἐξεφοροῦντο· δῆσαντες δέ σε.

In the fifth foot (l. 242):

θήξεις μαχαίρας, καὶ μέγαν φάκελον ξύλων.

In the second foot (l. 260), though here Ulysses is speaking and Heath consequently emends ἐπεὶ κατελήφθη το ἐπεὶ γ' ἐλήφθη:

ἐπεὶ κατελήφθη σοῦ λάθρα πωλῶν τὰ σά.

In the second foot (l. 272):

ἀπόλοιθ' ὁ πατήρ μου, τοὺς ξένους δὲ μὴ 'δίκει.

In the fifth foot (l. 274) :

πλείω πέποιθα καὶ δικαιοτέρον λέγω.

In the fifth foot (l. 327), though this instance may perhaps be scanned by synizesis as an iamb :

ἐπεκπιὼν γάλακτος ἀμφορέα, πέπλον.

In the second foot (l. 334), where however the crasis of ἀγὼ οὔτινι, for which compare ἐγὼν ἂν ὥόμην (Sophocles, *Ichn.* l. 9), has needlessly aroused suspicion :

ἀγὼ οὔτινι θύω πλὴν ἐμοί, θεοῖσι δ' οὔ.

In the fourth foot (l. 343) :

πῦρ καὶ πατρῷον τόνδε λέβητά γ', ὃς ζέσας.

In the fourth foot (l. 558) :

ἀπολεῖς· δὸς οὔτος. ναὶ μὰ Δί' οὐ πρὶν ἂν γέ σε.

In the fourth foot (l. 560) :

ῥινοχόος ἄδικος. ναὶ μὰ Δί' ἄλλ' ὄνως γλυκύς.

In the second foot (l. 562) :

ἰδοῦ, καθαρὸν τὸ χεῖλος αἰ τρίχες τέ μου.

In the fourth foot (l. 566) :

λαβὼν, ξέν' αὐτὸς οἰνοχόος γέ μου γενοῦ.

In the fourth foot (l. 581) :

οὐκ ἂν φιλήσαιμ'· αἱ Χάριτες πειρῶσί με.

In the fifth foot (l. 582) :

ἄλις Γανυμήδην τόνδ' ἔχων ἀναπαύσομαι.

In the second foot (l. 588) :

μέμφει τὸν ἔραστὴν κἀντροφᾶς πεπωκότι ;

In the fifth foot (l. 637) :

ἡμεῖς δὲ χωλοί γ' ἀρτίως γεγενήμεθα.

In the fifth foot (l. 646) :

ἀλλ' οἷδ' ἐπωδὴν Ὀρφέως ἀγαθὴν πάνυ.

In the second foot (l. 647) :

ὥς αὐτόματον τὸν δαλὸν ἐς τὸ κρανίον.

In the second foot (l. 684) :

παίσας κατέαγα. καί σε διαφεύγουσί γε.

These instances show unevenness of distribution, becoming more numerous in passages verging on comedy.

The *Fragment* of Euripides, spoken of above, which presents a comic anapaest, is *Fragment* 1013 among the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum*. The anapaest is in the fifth foot, and the line, which has been preserved without its context in a *scholium* on the *Troades* (l. 628), runs :

τὸ μὲν τέθνηκε σῶμα, τοῦτο δ' ἀναβλέπει.

If the reading be right, this line must come from a Satyric play. But the line in the *Troades* is

οὐ ταῦτόν, ὃ παῖ, τῷ βλέπειν τὸ κατθανεῖν.

This and the fact that the scholiast introduces the quotation with the words ἔθος ἐστὶ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ βλέπειν χρῆσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ (*here follows the Fragment*) induce me to incline to Cobet's emendation αὖ βλέπει for ἀναβλέπει. It is not likely that, with many instances of the simple verb to choose from, the scholiast selected for his illustration a compound example.

The corrupt instance in the *Syleus* is of an anapaest in the third foot (*Fr.* 687, l. 1). Artemidorus gives

ὅπτα (ὀπτὰς V), κατέσθιε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου.

Eusebius has the variation τέμνε (C and G omit τέμνε), κάταιθε σάρκας, which at least removes the anapaest. Philo however gives πίμπρα, κάταιθε σάρκας, which Pierson modified into the doubtless correct πίμπρη, κάταιθε σάρκας.

In addition to the twenty-two lines quoted there are four others in the *Cyclops* in which the mss. present a comic anapaest, but in all four cases by manifest error.

In the first case (l. 235) the mss. give :

κλωῶ τριπήχει κᾶτα (*sic*) τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν μέσον.

Canter restored κατὰ for κᾶτα, a step rendered necessary by the context. Scaliger went on to substitute ὀμφαλὸν for ὀφθαλμὸν, an emendation as to which editors differ.



In the second case (l. 329) the mss. give :

ὅταν δὲ βορέας χιόνα Θρηήκιος χέη.

Θρηήκιος is universally and necessarily read.

In the third case (l. 410) the mss. give :

ἀνέπεσε, φάρυγγος αἰθέρ' ἐξίεις βαρύν.

Scaliger restored φάρυγος, the only correct form in early times.

In the fourth case (l. 672) the mss. give :

Οὔτις μ' ἀπώλεσεν. οὐκ ἄρ' οὐδεὶς ἡδίκηει.

Matthiae emended to

Οὔτις μ' ἀπώλεσ'. οὐκ ἄρ' οὐδεὶς σ' ἡδίκηει,

and his emendation has been generally accepted.

To the example in Achaeus and the example in Euripides we must add an almost negligible, but ancient, variant reading in a *Fragment* of Aeschylus, an equally unauthoritative variant reading in the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles, a passage of doubtful metre in the *Hybris* of Sophocles, and a mistake of transcription in a *Fragment* of Sophocles.

The instance from Aeschylus is among the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* (Fr. 370). A *scholium* on Apollonius Rhodius (iv. l. 1348), dealing with the word στέρφεσι, informs us : παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἀξιοῦσι γράφειν

μελαστέρφων γένος,

οὐχ ὥς τινες μελανοστέρνων. μελανοστέρνων would certainly present an anapaest in the fourth foot. If such a reading could be proved correct, it would show first that the unidentified play in which it occurred was Satyric, and secondly that in a Satyric play Aeschylus could employ a comic anapaest. But it is evident from the *scholium* that these conclusions are, to say the least, unnecessary.

The first instance from Sophocles is a false reading interpolated by the second hand of the papyrus into Sophocles' *Ichneutae* (l. 120). The first hand rightly

reads, with a dactyl in the third foot and an iamb in the fourth :

[ῥ] τις πίθη[κο]ς κύβ' ἀποθυμαίνεις τινί.

It is sufficiently plain that the form κύβα, which does not occur elsewhere, but which stands to κύβδα as κρύφα stands to κρύβδα, is neither a *vox nihili* nor an invention of some copyist. The second hand wrongly alters the line, so as to give a spondee in the third foot and an anapaest in the fourth foot, thus :

[ῥ] τις πίθη[κο]ς κύβδ' ἀποθυμαίνεις τινί.

So inept a piece of botching need not delay us.

The second instance from Sophocles is in the *Hybris* (Fr. 671). Athenaeus (xiv. 657 A) there presents :

ἐσθίειν ἐθέλων τὸν δέλφακα.

Little can be built on such a scrap ; but for this and for the whole question of the *Hybris* see Chapter xiv.

The third instance from Sophocles is in *Fragment* 777. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. ἀπληγίς) quotes from Sophocles :

τρέχει καλυφθεὶς Θεσσαλικῆς ἀπληγίδος.

We have no clue to the name of the play : but it would be absurd to take it as Satyric merely because an unsupported quotation in a highly corrupt lexicon (though the corruption is far less desperate than is often assumed) gives an anapaest in the fifth foot. Dindorf rightly emends to Θεσσαλῆς.

We must also add, for the sake of completeness, an obviously false reading which presents itself in a fragment of Ion's *Omphale* (Fr. 18, l. 2). Strabo (i. 60) writes, at least according to his existing text : "Ἴων δὲ περὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας φησὶν ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ σατύροις·

Εὐβοῖδα μὲν γῆν λεπτοῦς Εὐρίπου κλύδων  
Βοιωτίας ἀκτῆς ἐχώρισεν ἐκτέμνων  
πρὸς κρητὰ πορθμόν.

Eustathius (on Dionysius Periegetes, l. 476) remarks : καὶ τὴν Εὐβοῖδα δὲ γῆν

λεπτοῦς Εὐρίπου κλύδων  
Βοιωτίας ἀκτῆς ἐχώρισε,

καθὰ τίς φησι ποιητής. Whatever Ion wrote, we may be certain that it was not ἐχώρισεν ἐκτέμνων, although in strict theory I know of no reason why the second syllable of ἐκτέμνων, in spite of such a licence being supported by extremely few examples, should not be scanned as short. It will be observed that the line, as presented, is destitute of a regular caesura or quasicaesura. I am inclined to conjecture that πορθμόν is the Eretrian port, Porthmos.

This is the point at which I must likewise mention *Fragment 547* of the Tragic *Adespota*, which, in the preceding section of this chapter, I have seen reason to take, with Nauck, as tragic with two interpolated couplets that exhibit comic metre. The second line of the former of these two couplets (l. 5) presents an anapaest in the second foot :

ἐπὰν ἐπ' ἄκρον τις τοῦ καλῶς πράττειν δράμῃ.

Taking together the comic anapaest in Achaeus and the comic anapaests in Euripides, we see that six of them (*Cyclops*, ll. 232, 242, 562, 581, 637, and 646) consist of trisyllabic words, and that eight of them (*Cyclops*, ll. 234, 260, 274, 327, 566, 582, 647, and 684) are wholly included in polysyllabic words that run to more than three syllables, although one of these instances (l. 260) has been altered (see above) to an iamb, and another (l. 327) might perhaps be scanned by synizesis as an iamb. Moreover two other instances, ὁ πατήρ μου (*Cyclops*, l. 272), and τὸν ἐραστὴν (*Cyclops*, l. 588), are instances, because of the article in both cases and of the enclitic also in the former case, of anapaests likewise presenting themselves so as to be wholly included in what are metrically polysyllabic words of more than three syllables. These fifteen examples therefore give occasion for no enquiry as regards caesura. Seven instances remain over. Of these seven, two only, μῆλα νεανίαι (*Cyclops*, l. 28) and τόνδε λέβητά γ' (*Cyclops*, l. 343), present what is commonly, and I am far from saying wrongly, regarded as the most regular and typical caesura in a comic anapaest, viz. between the two short syllables, and of these two instances the former, though I do not myself so scan it, might be scanned by synizesis



as an iamb. Three examples, οὐ μὰ Δί' ἄλλ' (*Cyclops*, l. 154), ναὶ μὰ Δί' οὐ (*Cyclops*, l. 558), and ναὶ μὰ Δί' ἄλλ' (*Cyclops*, l. 560), show a caesura between μὰ Δί', which is metrically one word, and the following ἄλλ' or οὐ. Such a caesura is in comedy justified by general consent when the two short syllables, as is here metrically the case, form a complete word, when, that is to say, they are not the termination of a trisyllabic or yet longer word. οὐ μὰ Δί' ἄλλ' in the fourth foot, as in these three passages, is Aristophanic : see the *Pax*, l. 1046, where the anapaest occurs in the fourth foot and cannot be altered as Blaydes wished to alter οὐ γὰρ μὰ Δί' ἄλλ' (an anapaest in the second foot) in the *Lysistrata*, l. 55. Instances of μὰ Δί' forming part of an anapaest in the first foot in comedy are more common. Of exactly the same class as these last two examples from Euripides' *Cyclops* is the instance from Achaëus (*Aethon*, *Fr.* 11, l. 2), ἦ που σφόδρα θυμοῖ; The caesura in this case is after a disyllable consisting of two short syllables. There remains one instance only, ἄγὼ οὔτινι θύω (*Cyclops*, l. 334). We have seen that the crasis in this passage is amply justified by the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles (l. 9), and indeed it is justified, though not in Satyric drama, by quite abundant authority so that there is no reason for regarding as corrupt the context in which the anapaest occurs. But, in spite of this and in spite of the excellent sense yielded by the mss. reading, the caesura of the anapaest has caused offence. Hermann emends οὔτινι to οὔτι, thus substituting an iamb for the anapaest. The objection, dating from Hermann and developed by various writers, to comic anapaests such as this, rests on a doctrine that, in the event of the first two syllables of an anapaest not constituting the whole of a disyllabic word, but being the final portion of a word of more than disyllabic length, it is necessary, in order that they should stand with a caesura after them as the first two syllables of an anapaest, either that at the point of caesura there should also be an elision, or else that the word of which the two short syllables form part should be so closely connected with the following word as in some way to coalesce with it in sense. I entirely disagree. For the condition requiring elision I can see no logical basis whatever, although

it is true that elision is frequently presented at the point in question. If it be thought, as has been strangely suggested, that elision produces a sort of coalescence, I would point out that (see Aristophanes, *Nub.* l. 849, *Eccl.* l. 1011) the elision is sometimes coincident with a full stop and a change of speakers, so that no sort of coalescence appears possible. The alternative condition, that of coalescence in sense, introduces in practice a merely Procrustean standard. One knows where one is, if one states, for example, that the definite article is for metrical purposes part of the noun substantive which it accompanies, or that an enclitic is for metrical purposes part of the word which it follows. I am not laying down either of these propositions as necessarily exact; but at any rate they are both scientific. When, on the other hand, one finds, as one does find, such combinations as ἐπίσκοπος ἦκω δεῦρο (Aristophanes, *Av.* l. 22) justified as regards anapaestic caesura on the ground of coalescence in sense, one feels that one is moving in a land of dreams. The real fact I take to be that comedy, influenced doubtless by the rule as to tribrachs, which however has no proper applicability to anapaests, regarded it as somewhat of a licence, to be used, but not to be abused, to divide an anapaest by caesura after its second syllable. An exception was made in favour of disyllabic words of pyrrhic scansion, after which the caesura in question is quite frequent. Of these words the beginning necessarily coincides with the beginning of the foot itself. This circumstance suggests almost irresistibly that the usage is a usage borrowed from anapaests in the first foot, in the case of which a physical impossibility prevents a word longer than a disyllable from standing before the caesura. It is almost certain that even in comedy, though we know next to nothing of its very early history, the use of anapaests must at one stage have been restricted to the first foot, as it is, except in the case of proper names, in tragedy. Owing to the tragic strictness which militates against any caesura whatever in an anapaest in the first foot, I am only able to produce from the tragedians seven instances (one of them probably Satyric) of an initial anapaest divided after the second syllable, and of these the first

two are doubtful. Sophocles is said to have written in his probably Satyric *Cedalion* (*Fr.* 308):

ὁ τι ἄν τι γίγνηται (mss. γίνηται and γίνεται), τὰ  
πάντ' ὄνου σκιά,

and in his *Lemniae* (*Fr.* 356):

ταχὺ δ' αὐτὸ δειῖξει τοῦργον ὥς ἐγὼ σαφῶς.

Euripides writes (*Alc.* 1. 375):

ἐπὶ τοῖσδε παῖδας χειρὸς ἐξ ἐμῆς δέχου,

(*Hel.* 1. 838):

ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοίνυν δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς θίγε,

(*Hel.* 1. 1234):

ἐπὶ τῷ; χάρις γὰρ ἀντὶ χάριτος ἐλθέτω,

(*Or.* 1. 898):

ἐπὶ τῷδε δ' ἠγόρευε Διομήδης ἄναξ,

and (*Phoen.* 1. 1240):

ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δ' ἐσπείσαντο κἂν μεταίχμιους.

Now ἐπί, a disyllabic preposition (I am laying down nothing about monosyllabic prepositions), does not, for the purposes of caesura in a trisyllabic foot, form metrically one word with τοῖσδε, with τῷ, or with τῷδε. This fact becomes plain, if we take, instead of the combination ἐπὶ τῷδε, the combination ἐπὶ τόδε. It will not be denied that a line beginning with ἐπὶ τόδε would violate the rule as to the caesura of tribrachs. If, for the purposes of the caesura of a trisyllabic foot, ἐπὶ τόδε does not form one word, neither does ἐπὶ τῷδε. What tradition Euripides was following, certainly neither that of Aeschylus nor the normal tradition of Sophocles, it is useless to speculate: the fact remains that he exhibits tragedy as permitting the use, at the beginning of an anapaest in the first place, of a pyrrhic disyllable sufficiently disjunct to create of necessity caesura in a trisyllabic foot at the point of its termination. The positive evidence supplied by Euripides' five examples is somewhat slight, and the *origines* of comedy itself are



not extant for us to consult. But I think that it stands to reason that when comedy was, as presumably it once was, in the stage of employing anapaests in the first foot only, and when consequently it was under no temptation to treat anapaests as though they were tribrachs (a temptation which afterwards arose when tribrachs and anapaests became universally convertible), comedy must, even if other influences were absent, have felt itself at liberty to apply to an anapaest in the first foot of a senarius the caesura permissible in the anapaests of that distinctively comic metre, the anapaestic tetrameter catalectic. Going back as far as I can, though it is not very far, I will compare the first foot of a senarius from Chionides' (*circa* 487 B.C.) *Ptochi* (*Fr.* 3),

ἐπὶ τῷ τὰρίχει τῷδε τοίνυν κόπτετον,

with the first foot of an anapaestic tetrameter catalectic from Cratinus' (*circa* 454 B.C.) *Thrattae* (*Fr.* 3),

ὅτι τοὺς κόρακας τὰξ Αἰγύπτου χρυσία κλέπτοντας ἔπαυσεν.

I take it that anapaests of the exact structure of that included in the words ὅτι τοὺς having established themselves in the first foot, the only anapaestic foot allowed, except in proper names, outside comedy, were copied freely by comedy both in the first foot and in other feet, retaining in the other feet the restriction of the first word to disyllabic length which the initial limit of the line had in the case of the first foot imposed by physical necessity. But in the case of the other feet this restriction, though general, was nothing like absolute. Anapaests that observed the restriction were, I consider, thought almost as normal as those without any caesura at all or as those with a caesura after the first syllable. But it was lawful, though, as I have said, by somewhat of a licence, to present anapaests, with a caesura after the second syllable, the first element of which consisted of the two last syllables of a word more than two syllables in length. It is a mere accident that a large number of the examples of this usage are also examples of elision; the requirement of coalescence of sense is a figment. Clear examples, where there is no elision, or, so far as I can see, coalescence of sense, and

where, an important point, the reading is not doubted, are not altogether infrequent in Aristophanes (*Aves*, ll. 1022, 1226, *Thesm.* l. 637, *Eccl.* l. 1027, *Lys.* l. 124). These examples are five in number, and others (*e.g.* *Ran.* l. 754), in which the reading has been impugned, might be added to them. I could also add three anapaests which end with the particle  $\delta\acute{\eta}$  (*Ach.* l. 733, *Pl.* l. 688, and *Fr.* 109, l. 1), were it not that I am inclined to think that in Aristophanes, at any rate,  $\delta\acute{\eta}$  really coalesces, like an enclitic, with the previous word. The examples which show elision are over 25 in number, though several of them are complicated by the fact that the elision is before an enclitic. I suggest that this disparity of figures is caused almost entirely by the convenient opportunity which this scansion offers of introducing common Attic words such as οὐδέποτε into the comic senarius. It must be remembered that every instance with elision necessarily involves a word not less than four syllables in length and ending in three shorts. Aristophanes is not over-fond of tribrachs, using, in certain passages, where I have counted them, an average of less than one to every five lines. The use in senarii of words of the length and terminal scansion which I have mentioned is greatly facilitated, granted that anapaests are preferable to tribrachs, by their introduction, with elision, into anapaests in the manner which we have seen. I may be permitted to say that I attach more than slight importance to this consideration. In comic poets other than Aristophanes the caesura in question, without elision, seems to occur some twenty times, and, with elision, some seven times: I do not aim at exact statement, as several readings are doubtful. Figures of this nature appear to me to bear out my contention that the large preponderance in Aristophanes of instances with elision is not due to any metrical law: in fact, when one looks at the actual examples in the other comedians, one might almost say that it is simply a proof of his superior dexterity in the handling of words.

This incursion into the realm of comedy has been rendered necessary by the nature of Satyric Drama. As a result of it, I refuse to condemn in any way the

anapaest in the second foot of l. 334 of Euripides' *Cyclops*.

Reserving for brief subsequent notice the comic anapaests and comic dactyls that present themselves in Satyric Drama after the Attic period, I will now pass to the comic dactyls exhibited in the Satyric Drama of Attic times. Timocles alone, so far as we can tell from the scanty evidence at our disposal, though it by no means follows that he really stood alone, permits the usage in question. Euripides, on the evidence of the *Cyclops*, does not permit it; but into the *Cyclops* itself (ll. 439-440) there has been foisted a couplet, of which the second line, in its present state impossible either to scan or to make sense of, is commonly emended so as to present a dactyl in the fifth foot, that is to say a comic dactyl. This is the couplet:

ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γε τὸν σίφωνα τὸν φίλον  
χηρεύομεν τὸν δ' οὐκ ἔχομεν καταφαγεῖν.

This couplet, which is put into the mouth of the Chorus, immediately follows another couplet, also in the mouth of the Chorus, which is the first of a series of five couplets in which the Chorus and Ulysses converse with one another. It has long been seen that the conversion of the original couplet into a quatrain is fatal to the balance of the passage. Further, the extra couplet constitutes, as is justly remarked by Paley, "a gratuitous piece of obscenity." Moreover the first syllable of σίφωνα is scanned as short, a false quantity which can hardly have been perpetrated until a period, not merely post-Attic, but later even than that of the first writers of *versus technici*, who lengthened short syllables, but, to speak generally, abstained from shortening long syllables. I think that this indication of date holds good, because I conceive that no one possessed of a smattering of learning, sufficient to enable him to interpolate the *Cyclops* at all, can have been ignorant of the quantity of the first syllable of σίφων, especially as *sipho* is used in Latin poetry (Lucan, vii. l. 156, Juvenal, vi. l. 308). I consider that the short quantity is not due to naked ignorance, but to "technical" licence in its more depraved form. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact



that the two verses, with only the most trivial alteration in the second of them, will scan as *versus technici*, thus :

ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γε τὸν σίφωνα τὸν φίλον  
 χηρεύομεν, τὸν δ' οὐκ ἔχομεν καταφεύγειν.

τὸν δ' means the Cyclops, whom the Chorus have just mentioned. The penult of καταφεύγειν (which, not καταφυγεῖν, is required in order to present the paroxytone accent necessary to the metre) can, I will show, be short in late Greek. It is obvious from the mss. of the classics that before medieval times many copyists had come to regard the second aorist ἔφυγον as merely another form of the imperfect ἔφευγον, but with a short penult. They actually wrote it ἔφευγον in places where the penult is so manifestly short that not even they can have imagined it to be long. To go no further afield than the mss. of Sophocles, in l. 263 of the *Antigone* every single ms. presents ἀλλ' ἔφευγε τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι, where ἔφευγε scans as a tribrach and represents, I do not doubt, an original ἔφυγε. Similarly in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, l. 1739, though there the metre is much less obvious, all mss. without exception give ἀπεφεύγετον where some form of ἀπεφυγ- (probably, I think, ἀπεφυγέτην) is required. In these circumstances it is clear that a copyist of the class in question wishing to form an infinitive with a short penult would have written φεύγειν, with the εὐ scanned short, and not φευγεῖν, with the same scansion, as obviously such men had no idea that they were dealing with a second aorist. It is by these special facts rather than by any licence of the "technical" metre that the scansion of the penult of καταφεύγειν as a short syllable is, in a certain sense, justified, as even the most hardened writer of *versus technici* would have shrunk from shortening that syllable without, as he conceived, the backing of literary tradition, seeing that the syllable was long in his time not by traditional vocalic quantity but by position, the word being pronounced *catafévvin*. We thus, if I am right, have a *versus technicus* without any trace of a dactyl about it, but with a quantitative comic anapaest in the fourth foot, inserted in imitation

of the comic anapaests in the play. But Dindorf presents the couplet thus :

ὥς διὰ μακροῦ γε τὸν σίφωνα τὸν φίλον  
χηρεύομεν, τόνδ' οὐκ ἔχοντες καταφυγεῖν.

There is thus created an artificial example of a comic dactyl. One of the most injurious of the numerous legacies that scholarship has received from the German school of criticism is the supercilious spirit of unreason which refuses to recognise that post-classical diction and post-classical metre are elements to be taken into serious consideration in cases of post-classical corruption of classical texts.

Having cleared the way, I can now deal with Timocles. In his Satyric play, the *Icarii*, he presents two trochaic tetrameters, in each of which the seventh foot is a tribrach. That is to say, if we remove the initial cretic, or its equivalent, from each of these trochaic tetrameters and scan the remainder as an iambic trimeter, we have two comic dactyls in the fifth senarian foot. The second example seems to be quite certain, but the first is apparently due to corruption. The first, and apparently corrupt, example is this (*Fr.* 4, l. 2) :

πρῶτα μὲν σκληρῶς καθεύδω, εἴτα Θούδιππος ὁ λέων.

For καθεύδω Jacobs proposed καθεῦδον, which, if spelt καθηῦδον, appears to be correct. As there is no known reason why Thudippus should be called "the lion," Jacobs also read φλέων for ὁ λέων. Bergk proposed εἶθ' ὁ Θουδίππου Κλέων. Meineke suggests βδέων for ὁ λέων and the change of the verb ἔπηξεν, which comes in the next verse, to ἔπνιξεν. The other example, which is uncontested, is this (*Fr.* 4, l. 6) :

Τηλέμαχον Ἀχαρνέα σωρόν τε κυάμων καταλαβών.

This second example, though it actually occurs in a trochaic tetrameter, not in a senarius, comes nevertheless very near to proving, if we consider the intimate relationship between trochaic tetrameters and senarii, the possibility in Timocles of the use of a comic dactyl in the fifth foot of a Satyric senarius. In the Attic period Timocles stands absolutely alone in this respect,

not even the possibly Satyric fragments of the other Attic comedians furnishing us with a single instance of a comic dactyl in the fifth foot of a senarius or of a tribrach in the seventh foot of a trochaic tetrameter, though in the post-Attic period, but not long after Timocles, Python, as we shall soon see, employs a dactyl in the fifth foot of a Satyric senarius.

But, before we come to Python, we must glance at the possibly Satyric fragments of the Attic comedians, as, though they supply no comic dactyls, they present comic anapaests.

Hermippus, in his possibly Satyric *Moerae*, has two comic anapaests, one in the second and the other in the fourth foot, in the same iambic trimeter. The line is this (*Fr.* 7, l. 2):

μύων ξυνέπλαττε Θεσσαλικὴν τὴν ἔνθεσιν.

Neither of these anapaests presents a caesura. The use of ξυνέπλαττε Θεσσαλικὴν instead of ξυνέπλασσε Θεσσαλικὴν shows that, if the *Moerae* was Satyric at all, it was, as compared with the Satyric Drama of the tragedians, Satyric with a vast difference. The text of the fragment rests on the authority of Athenaeus (x. 418 D).

Phrynichus the comedian, in his possibly Satyric *Satyri*, has a passage, preserved, though in a singularly corrupt condition, by Phrynichus the Atticist (Lobeck, p. 266), which more or less clearly appears to consist of iambic tetrameters catalectic. In the second line, or what seems to be the second line (*Fr.* 1, l. 2), which, if it is, is unmetrical towards the beginning and defective at the end, we have *prima facie* a comic anapaest in the fourth foot. The line, if it be a line, has reached us in the following condition:

ἀπαγγείλαντα εὐαγγέλιον πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

Hermann audaciously proposes:

εὐαγγελισάμενον πόλει πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸ πρῶτον.

It is impossible to say anything in such circumstances with regard to the *prima facie* anapaest. In the next



line (*Fr.* 1, 1. 3), which has more evident claims to be a line, there is a less dubious instance of an anapaest, this time in the third foot. The line runs :

ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέδραυ ἐκεῖνον δευρὶ ἄνθρωπον δῆ.

Hermann reads :

ῥκειν· ἐγὼ δ' ἀπέδραυ ἐκεῖνον δεῦρ' ἴοντα νῦν δῆ.

If we assume, as seems to be the case, that we really have here an anapaest in the third foot of an iambic tetrameter catalectic, the anapaest in question is, even if Phrynichus' *Satyri* is a Satyric play, comic and not tragic. It is necessary to make this observation because the third foot of an iambic tetrameter, even of an iambic tetrameter catalectic, corresponds in a real sense to the first foot of an iambic trimeter acatalectic, and in that foot tragedy of course permits an anapaest. But tragedy would not go on to permit the employment of an anapaest in the third foot of an iambic tetrameter, catalectic or otherwise (there are numerous iambic tetrameters acatalectic in Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, and they, though Satyric, are yet composed under the general influence of tragic law, so that one cannot say that tragedy refused to concern itself with iambic tetrameters). This seems to be proved by the fact that tragedy does not permit the use of an anapaest immediately after the initial cretic, or its equivalent, of a trochaic tetrameter in the place which corresponds to the first foot of a senarius. It will be seen that this anapaest, like the two in Hermippus' *Moerae*, is without caesura.

Very little light of any kind comes to us from the fragments of the possibly Satyric plays of the comedians. One does not know where one stands with regard to them. But it would be absurd, in a collection of instances of Satyric usage, to refuse to tabulate as possibly Satyric examples from a play entitled *Satyri*, and, if one goes as far as that, one is bound for the sake of completeness to go a little further.

We will now proceed to the post-Attic period.

Python, in the *Agon*, exhibits three comic anapaests, to which by probable emendation a fourth is added, and one comic dactyl.

The examples of anapaests are these :

In the fifth foot (*Fr.* 1, l. 6), in a line in which παγκάκως is Jacobs' emendation for παγκάλως :

ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν παγκάκως διακείμενον.

In the fourth foot (*Fr.* 1, l. 14) :

καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν "Ἀρπαλον.

In the second foot (*Fr.* 1, l. 16), where Athenaeus, quoting on p. 596 B (Book XIII), gives διαπέμψαι, but, quoting on p. 586 D (the same Book), gives παραπέμψαι :

σίτου διαπέμψαι καὶ πολίτην γεγόνειναι.

The example of an anapaest introduced by probable emendation is this :

In the third foot (*Fr.* 1, l. 10), where the mss. present καλοῦσιν, but Schweighaeuser corrects to κατέχουσιν :

τίνες τύχαι κατέχουσιν ἢ πράττουσι τί ;

This line is presented by Athenaeus (XIII. 596 A, only ; for he does not quote it at XIII. 586 D) with πράττουσι, not πράσσουσι. Meineke suggests πράσσουσι ; but I greatly hesitate. Python goes as far as to exhibit a comic dactyl. This reading, πράττουσι, raises the whole question of the possible existence of a line of Athenian writers of Satyric Drama in the language of comedy.

It will be observed that none of these anapaests present a caesura.

The example of a comic dactyl, necessarily in the fifth foot, is this (*Fr.* 1, l. 16), in a line already quoted as presenting a comic anapaest in the second foot and as at that point coming down to us with a variant reading :

σίτου διαπέμψαι καὶ πολίτην γεγόνειναι.

Lycophron, in his *Menedemus*, has one line (*Fr.* 2, l. 2) which exhibits a comic anapaest, namely in the third foot. The line is this :

ὑδαρὲς ὁ παῖς περιῆγε τοῦ πεντωβόλου.

This anapaest, like those found in Python's *Agen*, is without caesura.

Lycophron's contemporary, Sositheus, who, as we have seen in our discussion of trisyllabic feet other than comic anapaests and comic dactyls, reverted in Satyric Drama to something at least resembling the metre of Pratinas, not only employs in the two surviving fragments of his *Daphnis*, one of which is of considerable length, no trisyllabic feet whatever, but also writes in such a style that the introduction of comic anapaests or comic dactyls into it would seem quite incongruous. We may infer that Pratinas himself, though most probably he felt at liberty to make some sparse use of trisyllabic feet within the limitations of tragic law, seeing that his son, Aristias, did not altogether, at any rate, reject them, yet abstained wholly from the employment of such feet in places forbidden by the rules of tragedy, but allowed by those of comedy.

I have deferred to this point the consideration, as regards the use of feet permitted by comic law only, of the late *Fragment* of twelve lines, usually printed among the *Fragmenta Spuria* attributed to Aeschylus (*Fr.* 464), of which I spoke in the preceding section of this Chapter when I dealt with the *Fragmenta* of Aeschylus. The passage contains, so far as vocabulary and syntax are concerned, nothing that argues a date subsequent to that of Lycophron and Sositheus, though it is clearly post-Attic. But the strongly monotheistic character of the whole piece is of such a kind as by itself to suggest Judaic influence, and this suggestion is much reinforced by the use (l. 2) of the word σάρκινον, so as to contrast, as in the *Bible*, *flesh* with *spirit*, and by the occurrence (l. 12) of the expression δόξα δ' ὑψίστου θεοῦ. Yet I can scarcely imagine that the lines are Jewish in origin, seeing that the writer, speaking of God, says (l. 5):

καὶ θηρσὶν αὐτὸς γίνεται παρεμφερής.

I therefore am inclined to attribute the lines to some monotheistic author, not a Jew by religion, but well acquainted with Jewish literature. As Justin Martyr (*Monarch.* 2, 130) quotes the passage, and quotes it as from Aeschylus, it would seem natural to conclude that by the second century A.D. it was already of some



antiquity. But doubts have been cast on the text of St. Justin's *De Monarchia*, and in particular it has been alleged that some of the quotations contained therein are additions of an age subsequent to that of the saint. In these circumstances one is perhaps driven back on Clement of Alexandria, who (*Strom.* v. 727) also ascribes the passage to Aeschylus. As Clement wrote *circa* A.D. 200 and was by no means devoid of a literary education, it is reasonable to suppose that the lines in question are hardly assignable to a later date than that which, were we quite sure that the quotation in Justin Martyr is not an interpolation, we should set down as the latest possible. Taking this into account and taking into account also the very considerable knowledge of tragic diction possessed by the author of the *Fragment*, I am unable to rid myself of the impression that we may be dealing, not with a forgery falsely labelled with the name of Aeschylus, the Attic tragedian, but with a genuine, though distinctly corrupt, scrap of Aeschylus, the Alexandrian *littérateur*. The latter, whose date is not precisely known, composed not only an Epic, the *Messeniacæ*, but also a tragedy, the *Amphitryon*, and a treatise, apparently in prose, on proverbs. Two lines of the *Amphitryon* are preserved by Athenæus (XIII. 599 E), who calls him ἀνὴρ εὐπαίδευτος :

τίς δ' ἐστ' ἀνάγκη δυστυχεῖν ἐν πλείοσιν,  
ἐξὸν σιωπᾶν καὶ σκότῳ κρύπτειν τάδε;

This Aeschylus may well, like other Alexandrians, have in addition tried his hand at Satyric Drama. If these twelve lines are not Satyric Drama, I do not know what they are ; and I cannot understand any writer possessed of so respectable a knowledge of the tragic vocabulary mixing up the style of tragedy with the metre of comedy except in a Satyric composition. Of course a monotheistic declamation would naturally be looked for in some other setting ; but against this it must be remembered that Alexandria was not Athens and that a decadent art delights in purple patches of a nature no matter how incongruous.

The *Fragment* in question presents one certain example of a trisyllabic foot forbidden by tragic law, one other

example, on what seems to be the preferable reading, and yet another in one form of the quotation.

The certain example is one of an anapaest in the second foot (l. 6):

ἀνέμῳ νεφέλῃ τε κάστραπῇ, βροντῇ, βροχῇ.

The example according to the preferable reading is also one of an anapaest in the second foot (l. 11):

ἐπὶ ἐπιβλέψῃ γοργὸν ὄμμα δεσπότου.

This reading is presented by Clement and by Eustathius but St. Justin has ὅταν for ἐπὶ. The beginning of ὅταν ἐπιβλέψῃ will only scan as a tribrach with an improper caesura. On either reading a vowel wrongly, to judge by Attic rule, remains short before βλ. Such correptions became fairly frequent after the Attic period.

The remaining example is one likewise of an anapaest in the second foot (l. 2):

ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ σάρκινον καθεστάναι.

This is one of two discrepant readings in the mss. of St. Justin, and is the only reading in those of Clement. The other reading in St. Justin is ὅμοιον σαυτῷ. The mss. of Eustathius vary between this second reading and a third reading, σαυτῷ ὅμοιον. In the context ἑαυτῷ, if read (and neither of the other ms. readings will scan), must be of the second person. The application of the reflexive pronoun of the third person to the other two persons cannot be shown to have established itself as regards the singular until about the time of the *New Testament*, though in Polybius, whose date is not far off that which I am inclined to assign to these lines, it had already obtained undisputed dominion as regards the plural. Consequently, although one might banish the anapaest by simply reading ὅμοιον αὐτῷ, I accept Jortin's emendation ὅμοια σαυτῷ.

The results, as regards comic anapaests, of this inquiry, putting aside all question of doubtfully Satyric plays written by comedians, are that, until we come to the *Aethon* of Achaëus, we have no credible instance of the occurrence of these feet in Satyric Drama, that Euripides in his *Cyclops* makes free use of them, not

however equably throughout the play, but chiefly in the passages which approach comedy, though one instance in the mouth of Ulysses is probably sound, and that after Euripides the employment of them remains unattested by evidence until we come to Python and Lycophron, both of whom admit the use. Concerning anapaestic caesura we have found that the instance in Achaëus is one presenting caesura after the second short, the two short syllables constituting the whole of a pyrrhic word, while the considerable majority of Euripidean examples are without caesura, but several of them with a caesura metrically identical with that employed by Achaëus, though one, apparently free from corruption, presents a caesura after the second short where the two short syllables do not constitute a complete pyrrhic word, but are the latter portion of a dactylic trisyllable: in the post-Attic instances caesura is absent. As regards comic dactyls, we find no actual Satyric instance of them except in Python; but, in the Attic period, there is one clear Satyric instance in Timocles of a dactyl in that place of a trochaic tetrameter which corresponds to the fifth foot of a senarius. Of the style of Pratinas we can form from that of his imitator, Sositheus of Alexandria, a sufficiently clear idea, to be able to assert with some confidence that he can have employed neither comic anapaests nor comic dactyls. From this it would appear to follow, as regards comic anapaests, that their non-occurrence, except as a result of obvious corruption, in the Satyric remains of Aeschylus and Sophocles is not accidental, while, as regards comic dactyls, it seems highly probable on the general evidence that they did not find their way into Satyric Drama until after the time of Euripides.

## C

The tragic rules governing the pause before the final cretic are universally observed in the extant remains of Satyric Drama, known to be such, except in the *Cyclops* of Euripides, in the *Icarii* of Timocles, in the *Agen* of Python, and in the *Menedemus* of Lycophron (as to a breach conjecturally introduced by Dindorf into *Fragment* 735 of Sophocles, which is reputedly Satyric,



see Chapter XIII.), while, as regards the possibly Satyric fragments of comic authors, which however are in any case too exiguous to build upon, we find an example of their violation in the *Moerae* of Hermippus only. That is to say, the case is on all fours with that of comic anapaests. In the Satyric Drama, known to be such, of authors that do not employ comic anapaests neither is there employed the comic pause, and *vice versa* : in the Satyric Drama, known to be such, of authors that do employ comic anapaests there is employed also the comic pause. There is one exception. Achaëus supplies an example of a comic anapaest, but none of a comic pause. The sufficient explanation is that the extant remains of Achaëus, known to be Satyric, present only 32 ends of lines written in metre capable of presenting the pause. We shall see in a moment from Euripides' *Cyclops* that even in that play a comic pause does not occur more than once, on an approximate average, in every 147 lines of appropriate metre.

There is also an alleged exception in the opposite direction. In the Eleventh Book, as in some other Books, of Athenaeus gaps in the text are repaired with patches from the Epitome. In such a patch (496 E) we read : ῥέοντα οὕτως ποτήριά τινα ἐκαλεῖτο. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Ἀστυδάμας ἐν Ἑρμῇ, λέγων οὕτως·

κρατῆρε μὲν πρώτιστον ἀργυρῶ (*lege* ἀργυρῶ) δύο,  
φιάλας δὲ πεντήκοντα, δέκα δὲ κυμβία,  
ῥέοντα δώδεχ', ὧν τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἀργυρᾶ  
ῆν, δύο δὲ χρυσᾶ γρυψί, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Πήγασος.

Astydamas is Astydamas the elder : Suidas gives a list of the plays of the younger, and no *Hermes* is among them. We cannot take Athenaeus as quoting from a play unknown to the real and genuine Suidas. In the last line, as presented, though the line itself is unmetrical, there is a breach of the tragic law of the pause. This breach comes to concern us here, because Friebel, followed by Nauck, pronounces the *Fragment* to be Satyric (I neither assent nor dissent). Casaubon long ago saw that line 4 was corrupt and, admirably up to a point, emended γρυψί to γρύψ, reading :

ῆν, δύο δὲ χρυσᾶ, γρύψ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Πήγασος.

But we cannot accept Casaubon's emendation as complete. So far as the line by itself goes, γρύψ in the context, in order to conform to Greek usage, requires the support of τὸ μὲν, or of some similar expression, and moreover the superfluous ι, in a passage such as this, suggests δέκα. But the line cannot be taken by itself. A most important variation of the couplet which it concludes is exhibited by *Codex C* of Athenaeus :

ρέοντα δώδεκα, τόσα ἀργυρᾶ,  
 δύο δὲ χρυσᾶ γρυψί, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Πήγασος.

This variation is repeated word for word (the two lines being quoted by themselves and without assignment of origin) by Eustathius (*Iliad*, p. 1286), except that for δώδεκα he substitutes δέδωκα. The τόσα is crucial. It seems to show that the original text did not present two separate numerals in l. 3, but a single numeral, that numeral, either literally or in effect, occurring twice over. Bearing in mind the indication of the ι in l. 4 and departing as slightly as possible from the *ductus* of the vulgate version of l. 3, I arrive at the result :

ρέοντα δ' ἑνδεχ', ὦν πανένδεκ' ἀργυρᾶ,  
 πλὴν δύο γε χρυσᾶ, γρύψ δέκατον, ἐν θάτερον  
 Πήγασος.

τόσα is a gloss on ὦν πανένδεκ', and δύο δὲ is a gloss on πλὴν δύο γε. These glosses must have been taken into the text because of some utter collapse of the metre in the non-vulgate version, a collapse doubtless due in origin to the writing of all the numerals in their alphabetic forms, and perhaps more extensive than now appears, as the latter part of l. 4 is probably a contamination from the vulgate. In l. 4 δέκατον was misread as δέκα τὸν and consequently the end of the line was written as ιτοναθατερον or ιτονατοστερον. Out of this mess γρυψί, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Πήγασος, though hypermetrical, provided the only easy means of escape. In l. 3 πανένδεκ' is so clearly indicated by the *ductus* of the vulgate plus the τόσα of the non-vulgate, that, although I know of no corroborative analogy, I cannot hesitate. Whatever may be thought of my treatment, at least it is plain that the alleged breach of the tragic

law of the pause occurs in such circumstances that it remains a mere allegation.

The coincidence of evidence as to comic anapaests and as to the comic pause, two features with a strong and obvious element in common, is mutually confirmative and greatly corroborates the conclusion that comic anapaests were unknown to the Satyric Drama of Sophocles and his predecessors.

We will now examine the extant instances in the Satyric plays of Euripides: they are confined to the *Cyclops*. They appear to be seven in number.

The first is in l. 120, which runs:

νομάδες· ἀκούει δ' οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδενός.

Spelt thus, οὐδεὶς οὐδενός manifestly violates the tragic rule of the pause. But we are confronted with the fact that in tragedy the mss. of Euripides present (*Alcestis*, l. 671):

ἦν δ' ἐγγὺς ἔλθῃ θάνατος, οὐδεὶς βούλεται,

and (*Phoen.* l. 747):

ἀμρότερον· ἀπολειφθὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν θάτερον.

I follow the guidance of Porson in considering that οὐδ' εἰς βούλεται and οὐδ' ἐν θάτερον ought to be read. This is not merely an alteration of orthography. Though neither in the masculine nor in the neuter does it involve a change of pronunciation as regards the breathing, seeing that the early Attic inscriptions testify to the practice of interaspiration, nevertheless it involves in the masculine nominative a change of accentuation. I am unable to agree with the opinion of various editors later than Porson that οὐδ' εἰς βούλεται and οὐδ' ἐν θάτερον themselves violate tragic metre. No doubt they violate it, as it was understood by Aeschylus and by Sophocles; but Euripides in these places is content to keep the rule to the eye, placing a long monosyllable before the final cretic, irrespective of its connexion with the previous word. Elsewhere he seems to go much further in the same direction, actually employing, if the reading be correct, an enclitic (*Phoen.* l. 403):

εὖ προᾴσσε· τὰ φίλων δ' οὐδὲν, ἦν τις δυστυχῇ.



Similarly Euripides in tragedy, when it is a case not of the first but of the second syllable of the fifth foot being a monosyllable, attracts that syllable to the previous word, so as to prevent a cretic from presenting itself, so to speak, to the eye, utterly without regard to the connexion between that monosyllable and the word following it (*Heracld.* l. 529):

καὶ στεμματοῦτε καὶ κατάρχεσθ', εἰ δοκεῖ.

But in this latter respect he is only following the example of Sophocles, who goes to great lengths on two occasions (*El.* l. 376):

φερ' εἰπὲ δὴ τὸ δεινόν. εἰ γὰρ τῶνδ' ἐμοί,

and (*Phil.* l. 22):

ἂ μοι προσελθὼν σῖγα σήμαιν' εἴτ' ἔχει.

Indeed the innovation of Euripides lies simply in extending to a monosyllable at the beginning of the fifth foot the treatment that Sophocles had already applied to a monosyllable at the end of that foot.

Hence I am distinctly of opinion that in the *Cyclops* ἀκούει δ' οὐδ' ἐν οὐδ' εἰς οὐδ' ἐνός would not violate tragic law as understood by Euripides: but, as I have already pointed out, there is a material, though small, difference between οὐδεῖς and οὐδ' εἰς. As the line with its repetition of the same word in the accusative, in the nominative, and in the dative, certainly verges on comedy, I prefer, with some hesitation, to make no alteration in the text. Yet I imagine that Euripides purposely presented in his script (ΟΥΔΕΙΣΟΥΔΕΝΟΣ)\* a combination just capable of tragic defence. It is to be noted that precisely the same question with regard to οὐδεῖς arises on the fifth instance (l. 672).

The second instance is in l. 210, which runs:

τί φατε; τί λέγετε; τάχα τις ὑμῶν τῷ ξύλῳ.

This example, together with which go the sixth instance (l. 681) and the seventh instance (l. 682), presents the

\* Euripides, Agathon, and Callias used the Ionic alphabet (*Eur. Theseus*, Fr. 382, ll. 5-6; *Agathon, Telephus*, Fr. 4, l. 2; *Callias, Grammatica Tragoedia*, Fr. *passim*).

precise pause forbidden by tragic law, unless we detach the article τῷ from ξύλῳ and attach it, for the purposes of the eye, to ὕμῳ. The problem is identical with that raised by the first instance, except for the important fact that the article is bound much more closely to its substantive than is οὐδ' to ἐνός. I am able to conceive that Euripides might have developed his own tendencies to the extent even of writing ὕμῳ τῷ ξύλῳ in a tragedy : but on the extant evidence we have no knowledge that he ever went so far. Therefore I count this as an instance of the non-tragic pause ; but, as in the case of οὐδεὶς οὐδενός, I suspect that Euripides deliberately left himself a possible loophole of technical escape.

The third instance, unlike every one of the other six, is, if authentic, an entirely unambiguous example of the comic pause. It occurs in l. 304, which runs :

ἄλλις δὲ Πριάμου γαῖ' ἐχέρῳσ' Ἑλλάδα.

This example, unlike the six others, is in the mouth of Ulysses. We have seen that in this play one comic anapaest, but one only, is given to Ulysses, an anapaest which, except for the fact that Ulysses is the speaker, no editor would ever have dreamed of altering. Its authority is much confirmed by this comic pause, also in the mouth of Ulysses. In fact, the two peculiarities corroborate each other. It looks as though Euripides had deliberately assigned to Ulysses one comic anapaest, and no more, and one comic pause, and no more, in order technically to avoid the irregularity of subjecting one of his characters, as distinguished from the rest, to the strict laws of tragedy. Unquestionably he came next door to doing so : one can see that formally to have done so would have meant exposing himself to the charge of violating a unity not less fundamental than the three unities of the Drama. But we must face the further fact that this comic pause is the one and only pause in the *Cyclops* that is uncompromising in its violation of tragic law. For each of its six companions some sort of palliation may be alleged. I suggest that Euripides was unwilling to assert unmistakably his complete Satyric emancipation from the tragic law of the pause more than once—to do so once was necessary,

if the assertion was to be made at all—in the same play, but that he deliberately asserted it in a place selected in order to signify that the emancipation was universal and not confined within the limits of the speeches of particular characters. The alternative is to impute corruption to the line. Of this there are no signs, unless the pause itself be taken as such a one; nor would it appear possible to emend except with violence.

The fourth instance is the weakest of the seven. It comes in l. 639 :

ἔστῳτες ἐσπᾶσθημεν οὐκ οἷδ' ἐξ ὅτου.

If this were a case simply of οἷδ' ἐξ ὅτου, not of οὐκ οἷδ' ἐξ ὅτου, there would of course be nothing unusual even under the strictest tragic rule: but οὐκ οἷδ' ἐξ ὅτου so obviously divides itself into a spondaic quasi-disyllable and a cretic quasi-trisyllable as to stand on an entirely different footing. Yet the οὐδ' εἰς βούλεται and οὐδ' ἐν θάτερον quoted under the first instance distinctly justify οὐκ οἷδ' ἐξ ὅτου as possible in the laxer tragic style of Euripides, and indeed it is a little less violent than those examples, seeing that the whole expression οὐκ οἷδ' ἐξ ὅτου admits theoretically of being taken as almost as fully a single composite word as does *nescio unde* in Latin or *je ne sais d'où* in French (compare Cicero, *Orat.* 24: "Sententiae nescio unde ex abdito erutae"). But, however much the pause in question may be legitimised as within the bounds of certain developments of tragic licence, it is in this particular Satyric play to be counted rather as a comic pause, although Euripides, as I conceive, has refused to present it in a form wholly devoid of tragic justification.

The fifth instance raises precisely the same point as does the first. It occurs in l. 672, where the mss. read :

Οὐτίς μ' ἀπώλεσεν. οὐκ ἄρ' οὐδεὶς ἠδίκηει.

Matthiae rightly corrects to

Οὐτίς μ' ἀπώλεσ'; οὐκ ἄρ' οὐδεὶς σ' ἠδίκηει.

As in the first instance, one might divide into οὐδ' εἰς. But I am content, as in that case, to represent the original



Euripidean ΟΥΔΕΙΣ by οὐδεῖς, and to suggest a certain ambiguity of metre.

The sixth instance is almost exactly like the second. It comes in l. 681 :

λαβόντες ἐστήκασι. ποτέρας τῆς χερός;

The only relevant difference is that ποτέρας is more closely connected with τῆς χερός than is ὑμῶν with τῷ ξύλῳ.

The seventh instance is similar. It occurs in l. 682, which runs :

ἐν δεξιᾷ σου. ποῦ; πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ.

But in this case the inherent meaning of αὐτῇ binds the word much more closely to τῇ πέτρᾳ than ποτέρας is bound to τῆς χερός, and, in addition, the prefixing of the preposition πρὸς tends to gather up everything after the preposition into a sort of unity. I cannot parallel πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ from tragedy; but it is clearly far from presenting so unequivocal an example of a pause forbidden by tragic law that no technical argument could be advanced in its defence.

From these seven instances we seem to see that in the *Cyclops*, in every case but one, Euripides displays a certain amount of hedging in his introduction of the comic pause. I am disposed to conclude, as indeed I should infer independently from the other, though scanty, evidence, that in the time of Euripides the violation of the law of the tragic pause was somewhat of a novelty in Satyric Drama.

Although no other play of Euripides, known to be Satyric, presents us with an example of the comic pause, nevertheless among the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* of this tragedian there are two which exhibit one *prima facie* instance apiece, and which therefore, if the readings were correct, would be stamped as Satyric.

In *Fragment* 1040 we have one such *prima facie* instance (l. 4) :

τούτου ταχεῖαν νέμεσιν εὐθὺς προσδόκα.

The *Fragment* comes to us through four separate channels. The above reading is that of the present text of Stobaeus.

The other forms in which the words appear are :  
 τούτου τάχιον νέμεσιν (and nothing more), so *Menandri  
 et Philisti Comp.* ;

τούτου ταχεῖαν μεταβολὴν προσδόκα, so Maximus Confessor ;  
 and

τούτου ταχεῖαν τὴν μεταβολὴν προσδόκα, so Apostolius.

It is fairly evident that, though προσδόκα quite possibly stood at the end of the original line, the comic pause has been produced by conjectural restoration of a missing complement.

In *Fragment* 1080 we have another *prima facie* instance (l. 3) :

λαβὼν δὲ πεῖραν, μεταμέλειαν λαμβάνει.

The occurrence of λαμβάνει so soon after λαβὼν is condemnatory of this reading, unless we suppose it to be a case of rhetorical repetition. πεῖραν λαβεῖν is a quite common expression, and in it λαβεῖν is employed in a somewhat idiomatic sense. On the other hand, I am not sure that μεταμέλειαν λαμβάνει, standing, as here, by itself, is much better as Greek than *takes repentance* would be as English. It is true that Thucydides writes (I. 34) : ὁ ἐλαχίστας τὰς μεταμελείας ἐκ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις λαμβάνων, ἀσφαλέστατος ἂν διατελοίη. There however the context is quite special. If Thucydides' use justifies μεταμέλειαν λαμβάνει here, which I doubt, it at any rate only justifies it on the basis of assigning to λαμβάνει a flavour, I will not say a meaning, distinct from that of the λαβὼν in λαβὼν δὲ πεῖραν. In these circumstances I question the propriety of a rhetorical repetition. I accept Heimsoeth's elegant emendation, μεταμέλειαν ἀλφάνει, as carrying conviction.

We must here glance for an instant at *Fragment* 547 of the *Tragic Adespota*, of which set of lines I have spoken in both of the previous sections of this chapter. I, following Nauck, regard it, as I have said, as tragic with two interpolated couplets that exhibit comic metre. The first line of the second of these couplets (l. 7) presents a comic pause :

τὸ μήτε λίαν ἐν ταπεινῷ τῆς τύχης.

Before proceeding to consider the usage of Python and Lycophron, we will look for a moment at the *Moerae* of Hermippus, though the *genre* of that play is quite uncertain. It presents one comic pause only, *viz.* in a trochaic tetrameter (*Fr.* 6, l. 1), which runs

ἄν ἐγὼ πάθω τι τήνδε τὴν λεπαστὴν ἐκπιών.

We now come to Python. He in his *Agen* presents, in the short space of only eighteen extant lines, three examples of the comic pause, *viz.* (l. 3):

πόρνης ὁ κλεινὸς ναός, ὃν δὴ Παλλίδης,

(l. 13):

καὶ τὸν μάραθον ἔσθουσι, πυροὺς δ' οὐ μάλα,

and (l. 18):

αὐτοῖσιν ὀλέθρου κοῦχ ἑταίρας ἄρῶράβων.

The first instance might, in case of necessity, conceivably be reconciled with tragic rule, if, contrary to the usage of tragedy at large, though not contrary to certain analogies in Euripides, δὴ could be separated from the word preceding it: the second even could at a pinch have a technical plea presented for it: the third is entirely unequivocal, and ἄρῶράβων exhibits the -ῶρ- of comedy.

Lycophron is next in order. In his *Menedemus* he presents two instances, both quite clear, though in the second case the precise verbal reading, as distinguished from the metrical arrangement, is in doubt, of the comic pause.

The first example is this (*Fr.* 1, l. 2):

ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν, ὡς ὀρᾶτε, στρηνιῶ.

The second is in a line (*Fr.* 2, l. 5) which is twice quoted by Athenaeus (II. 55 and x. 420), the mss. of whom exhibit one reading in one place, another in the other. On the first occasion the line is given as

θέρμος, πενήτων καὶ τρικλίνων συμπότης.



On the other occasion τρικλίνους is substituted for τρικλίνων. Nauck reads καὶ τρικλίνου συμπότης, Methner κοῦ τρικλίνων συμπότης.

In the remains of Sositheus there is not only no violation of the tragic rule of the pause, but in addition the style and metre are such that the admission of a violation would be most surprising. It may be concluded with considerable probability that Pratinas, Sositheus' *exemplar*, conformed in this respect to the rules of tragedy.

There remains over the late *Fragment* 464 among the *Fragmenta Spuria* of Aeschylus, the combination in which of tragic diction and semi-comic metre seems to argue a Satyric origin, and which in the second section of this chapter I have suggested may possibly be a genuine, but corrupt, passage from a Satyric play by Aeschylus of Alexandria. The lines in question do not present, except once, any departure from even the strictest tragic practice as to the pause. The exception is in the line (l. 3):

οὐκ οἶσθα δ' αὐτόν· ποτὲ μὲν ὥς πῦρ φαίνεται.

The words ὥς πῦρ go so closely together that this ending to a verse would have been inadmissible, as violating the rule of the pause, in tragedy as ordinarily written: but Euripides occasionally went to similar lengths, so that I cannot class the instance as one of absolute breach of tragic law.

Having now followed in detail, so far as the extant evidence permits, the history of the comic pause in Satyric Drama, I think that we may venture to conclude, not indeed with certainty, but with a reasonable degree of confidence, that it was unknown to the earlier exponents of this branch of the Drama, that it was first introduced either by Euripides himself or else by some other Satyric poet at a date not long anterior to that at which Euripides wrote his *Cyclops*, and that it was only after the time of Euripides that it became very common. Of course these conclusions have nothing to do with Satyric plays written by comedians in the full style of comedy, if it be a fact that such Satyric plays ever existed.

Before I conclude this section and pass to the consideration of what I believe to be a genuine fragment of Pratinas, I wish to call attention to the criterion afforded by the relative frequency of the use of the tragic pause itself in tragic and Satyric plays. The application of this criterion will be seen to place the *Ichneutae* in a somewhat special position, a fact of considerable importance, seeing that, so far as other evidence goes, it is extremely difficult to determine whether, apart from the introduction of trochaic tetrameters, Sophocles did or did not differentiate the metrical composition of his Satyric plays from the metrical composition of his tragedies.

I have compiled tables showing the average distribution of the tragic pause in extant tragedies and Satyric dramas. I wish expressly to emphasise the point that the averages, though I am satisfied with their accuracy in the general sense, must be taken as purely approximate. As a consequence, occasionally, of uncertainties of reading, but, far more often, of the difficulty of deciding with what word a monosyllable ought to be taken, most, if not all, of the averages which follow could easily be presented with a slight difference. Consequently when, for example, I set down one play as presenting one tragic pause to every eleven tragic lines, and another play as presenting one tragic pause to every ten tragic lines, it must be borne in mind that the margin of error in the two cases is sufficiently wide to render such small differences absolutely uncertain. But no uncertainty attaches to the broad results.

The following is the tragic table :—

#### Aeschylus

<i>Septem</i>	Approximately one tragic pause to every 29 tragic lines					
<i>Supplices</i>	“	“	“	“	23	“ “
<i>Agamemnon</i>	“	“	“	“	21	“ “
<i>Eumenides</i>	“	“	“	“	20	“ “
<i>Prometheus</i>	“	“	“	“	17	“ “
<i>Choephoroe</i> }	“	“	“	“	16	“ “
<i>Persae</i>						

Throughout Aeschylus tragic pauses occur in the approximate proportion of one to every nineteen tragic lines.

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## Sophocles

<i>Antigone</i>	}	Approximately one tragic pause to every 11 tragic lines					
<i>Philoctetes</i>							
<i>Ajax</i>		"	"	"	"	10	"
<i>Electra</i>	}						
<i>Oed. Col.</i>		"	"	"	"	9	"
<i>Oed. Tyr.</i>	}						
<i>Trachiniae</i>		"	"	"	"	7	"

Throughout the tragic plays of Sophocles tragic pauses occur in the approximate proportion of one to every nine tragic lines.

## Euripides

<i>Hecuba</i>	}	Approximately one tragic pause to every 14 tragic lines					
<i>Supplices</i>							
<i>Medea</i>							
<i>Rhesus</i>							
<i>Andromache</i>	}						
<i>Heraclidae</i>							
<i>Hippolytus</i>		13	”				
<i>Phoenissae</i>							
<i>Electra</i>	}	”	”	”	”	12	”
<i>Alceste</i>							
<i>Bacchae</i>		11	”				
<i>Orestes</i>							
<i>Helen</i>	}						
<i>Iph. in Aul.</i>							
(Portions accepted by Nauck)		10	”				
<i>Herc. Fur.</i>							
<i>Iph. in Taur.</i>	}	”	”	”	”	9	”
<i>Ion</i>							
<i>Troades</i>	}	”	”	”	”	8	”

Throughout the tragic plays of Euripides, excluding the portions of the *Iphigenia in Aulide* rejected by Nauck, tragic pauses occur in the approximate proportion of one to every ten tragic lines.

The Satyric table is this :

## Sophocles

*Ichneutae*.—Approximately one tragic pause to every 15 non-choric lines (iambic trimeters and iambic tetrameters), counting those lines only which are sufficiently intact to show whether they do or do not exhibit the pause in question.

## Euripides

*Cyclops*.—Approximately one tragic pause to every 12 non-choric lines (iambic trimeters and trochaic tetrameters).



## Anonymous

*Pap. Ox.* 1083.—Approximately one tragic pause to every 3 non-choric lines (iambic trimeters), counting those lines only which are sufficiently intact to show whether they do or do not exhibit the pause in question.

It will be seen from a comparison of these two tables that, while the *Cyclops* of Euripides falls well into line with the tragedies of the same dramatist, the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles on the other hand departs widely from the Sophoclean norm and approaches the tragic standard of Aeschylus. From this fact we may reasonably infer that the somewhat copious use of trisyllabic endings in Sophocles and other tragedians junior to Aeschylus was at first confined to tragedy and not extended to Satyric Drama also.

It seems almost necessarily to follow that the Satyric Drama, as originated by Pratinas, presented the same sort of proportion of trisyllabic endings as do the plays of Aeschylus, not the much greater proportion which is exhibited by Sophocles in tragedy and by Euripides both in tragedy and in the *Cyclops*. The ratio of such endings in *Pap. Ox.* 1083 is extraordinarily high and appears to show that in the hands of some writers of Satyric Drama a positive revolution of practice was effected: but only 26 senarii in that document are sufficiently intact to be included in my calculation, and it may be, though it seems improbable, by mere accident that these particular lines present so many examples.

## D.

In the course of the three previous sections of this chapter we have arrived at five probable conclusions with regard to the practice of Pratinas in the dialogue of his Satyric plays. The first is that, if he employed trisyllabic feet at all, he employed them in moderation only. The second is that, if he employed trisyllabic feet at all, at any rate he did not tolerate two trisyllabic feet in the same line. The third is that, if he employed trisyllabic feet at all, he at least did not employ them in cases where, though allowed by the laws of Attic comedy, they are forbidden by the laws of Attic tragedy. The fourth is that, when he made use of a pause before the

final cretic, he conformed to the tragic rule as to that pause. The fifth is that he did not present a pause before the final cretic oftener than in the average proportion of once to somewhere about twenty lines.

We will proceed to put these inferences to the test.

A Laurentian *scholium* on Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* (l. 1375), in illustration of the quarrel between Oedipus and his sons and the curses which he invoked upon them, runs as follows :

Τοιάσδ' ἄράς. τοῦτο ἅπαξ ἅπαντες οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παρα-  
λελοίπασιν· ἔχει δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας οὕτως· οἱ περὶ  
'Ετεοκλέα καὶ Πολυνείκην δι' ἔθους ἔχοντες τῷ πατρὶ  
Οἰδίποδι πέμπειν ἐξ ἐκάστου ἱερείου μοῖραν τὸν ὄμον,  
ἐκλαθόμενοι ποτὲ εἴτε κατὰ ῥαστώνην εἴτε ἐξότου οὖν,  
ἰσχίον αὐτῷ ἐπεμψαν· ὁ δὲ μικροψύχως καὶ τελέως ἀγεννῶς  
ὅμως γοῦν ἄράς ἔθετο κατ' αὐτῶν, δόξας κατολιγωρεῖσθαι·  
ταῦτα ὁ τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαΐδα ποιήσας ἱστορεῖ οὕτως·

ἰσχίον ὥς ἐνόησε χαμαὶ βάλεν ἔϊπέ τε μῦθον·  
ὦμοι ἐγὼ· παῖδες μὲν ὄνειδέιοντες ἐπεμψαν·  
εὖκτο Διὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι  
χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καταβῆναι Ἄιδος εἴσω·

τὰ δὲ παραπλήσια τῷ ἐποποιῷ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν τοῖς Ἑπτὰ  
ἐπὶ Θήβαις· καὶ εἰσὶν τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἦκειν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς·  
ὥς καὶ παρα τίνι αὐτὰ κεκτῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ γελοιότερον διὰ  
τούτων·

αἰεὶ δ' ὀρώντι τ' ὀξὺ καὶ τυφλὸς ἦν·  
θυσίας γὰρ ἅπαρ γέρας ἐπέμπομεν πατρὶ  
περισσὸν ὄμον ἔκκριτον γέρας·  
τὸ δὴ γέ συγκόψαντες οὐ μεμνημένοι  
λήσειν δοκοῦντες, ἀντὶ τοῦ κεκομμένον  
ἐπέμψαμεν βόειον· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν χερὶ,  
ἔγνω ἐπαφήσας, εἶπέ τ' ἐκ θυμοῦ τάδε·  
τίς μοι τόδ' ἀντόμοιον μισητὸν κρέας  
πέμπων γέλῳ δὴ με ποιοῦνται κόροι  
θύοντες ὕβρει· τυφλὸς οὗτοι γινώσεται·  
οὕτω λέγοντες· ὦ θεοὶ μαρτύρομαι  
ἐγὼ τάδ' ὑμᾶς καὶ κατεύχομαι κακά·  
αὐτοῖσιν αὐτοὺς τῶνδε δις τόσσα σχέθειν·  
χαλκῷ δὲ μαρμαίροντες ἀλλήλων χροά  
σφάζοιεν ἀμφὶ κτήμασι βασιλικοῖς·

καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Ναυκλήροις·

ὁ τε Πολυνείκης πῶς ἀπώλετ' οὐχ ὀρᾶς.

Then comes, but deleted: καὶ Εὐφοριῶν· προπρο δέ μιν δασπλῆτες ὀφειλομ (part of *Fr.* 52 of Euphorion, quoted at length in *Schol. Laur.* on *O.C.* l. 681).

The above, from the margin of the Laurentian *codex*, is written continuously, as though it were prose throughout. In the margin of the margin opposite each of two of the lines presented in this continuous writing stands a symbol—like a figure 2 with a dot on each side of its tail—indicatory of error. The two lines in question are (a) ὀνειδέιοντες ἔπεμψαν· εὖκτο Διτ and (b) πὶ πολλούς· ὥς καὶ παρα τίνι αὐτὰ κε. The meaning is (a) that εὖκτο Διτ βασιλεῖ, with its asyndeton and strange scansion (read: εὖκτο δὲ Δι βασιλῆι) is wrong, and (b) that παρα τίνι is wrong. In the latter case it is not only the accentuation that is attacked: the tick over the ν of τίνι, as near to the middle of the word as may be, shows that the word itself is suspected.

Over the second α of ἀπαρ in the second line of the second metrical quotation appears a minute χ. Nauck, on the strength of this χ, reads ἀπαρχᾶς. But the χ is not meant as part of the text: it is, like the tick over the ν of τίνι, a sign indicating suspicion, though, unlike that tick, it is not accompanied by the marginal symbol. The meaning both of the χ and of that symbol is illustrated by the Laurentian presentation of l. 1283 of Sophocles' *Electra*. In the text of that line comes the word ὀργάν, which perplexes editors, and which Blomfield, followed by Jebb, emends to ὀρμάν. Over and partly in front of the ρ stands a χ indistinguishable from that over ἀπαρ: in the margin comes the symbol. As Blaydes and Jebb record neither χ nor symbol, both must have mistaken the former for an acute accent deleted by a cross-line\* and the latter for a pendant to a *scholium* which it adjoins. Really the symbol points to something wrong with the line, and the χ fixes the fault in one word. The χ occurs, perhaps, elsewhere also.

\* Over the first α in μαρτύρομ (l. 11 *ai supra*) a different and smaller χ is really the result of the deletion of a misplaced acute accent by a cross-line.



As for the symbol, it is set opposite a clipped quotation from Menander (*Fab. Incert. Fr.* 183) in a Laurentian *scholium* on l. 136 of the *Antigone*, thus : ὥς τὸ Μενάνδρου ἄλλα καὶ πν (the context postulates a form of πνεῖν). Here the symbol marks the mistake of stopping short at πν. The symbol recurs opposite the third line of a Laurentian *scholium* on l. 122 of the *Trachiniae* : here it censures a failure in legibility due to erasure and alteration. The symbol again comes in L opposite l. 379 of the same play : in that line κατ' ὄμμα (*sic*) stands where the sense demands, not κατ' ὄμμα, but κατ' ὄνομα (suggested by Hartung and now accepted) : neither Blaydes nor Jebb records that L queries κατ' ὄμμα. We also find the symbol in L opposite the eighth line of the *scholium* on l. 698 of the *Oedipus Coloneus* : this *scholium* states that, according to Androtion, the Spartans spared the Morian olive-trees, Ἀθηναὺς θησαντες : it is to θησαντες that the symbol refers : read Ἀθηναῖς θύσαντες. Moreover in L the symbol calls attention to the imperfect erasure of what looks like πω between εὐκερων and ἄγραν in l. 64 of the *Ajax*. These instances—all I find in the *codex*—prove the meaning of the symbol.

The meaning conveyed by ἐπὶ πολλούς is puerile, and παρὰ τινι αὐτὰ κεκτῆσθαι (although παρὰ τινι is good late Greek for *apud auctorem nescioquem*) is unintelligible. I propose, closely following the *ductus literarum* : καὶ ἔοικεν τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἤκειν ἐπ' αἰπόλους, ὥς καὶ Πρατίναν τεκτῆνασθαι πρὸς τὸ γελοιότερον διὰ τούτων. Bergk indeed emended to Πρατίναν, but he spoiled his emendation by continuing with the words αὐτὰ ἐκτίθεσθαι, which do not suit the *ductus*. Πρατίναν is represented in the text by παρα τινι αὐ-, so that there is left only -τὰ κεκτῆσθαι. This will yield τεκτῆνασθαι, but certainly not αὐτὰ ἐκτίθεσθαι. Moreover Bergk failed to see that ἐπὶ πολλούς is a miswriting of ἐπ' αἰπόλους. It is the conjunction of the ease with which ἐπ' αἰπόλους may be read and of the ease with which Πρατίναν τεκτῆνασθαι may be read that gives me my main confidence. I hardly wonder that Bergk's treatment failed to convince scholars that his reading Πρατίναν was right.

Dindorf introduced an element of confusion by asserting that the quotation is a composition of the

fifth or sixth century of the Christian era. That view has been rejected by general consent. Elmsley long ago pointed out that the lines come from some Satyric drama.

That they are really by Pratinas I infer from the fact that, though they now appear in Attic guise, it is only by assuming that they are a distortion of a Doric original that I am able to cure certain patent corruptions.

I will now give the reconstruction which I propose, together with a translation, and will add certain reasons and remarks.

I propose to read :

ἀεὶ δ' ὄρων τις ὀξύ, καὶ κα τυφλός, ἦν.  
 θύπτας γὰρ ἄπαρ ἱερᾶς ἐπέμπομεν  
 πατέρι, περισσὸν ὦνον, ἔκκριτον γέρας·  
 τὸ δ' ἦτες οὖν κόψαντες ὄνον, ἐκμηνον οὔ,  
 λάσειν δοκοῦντες, ἀντὶ τοῦ κεκομμένου 5  
 ἐπέμψαμεν βόειον. ὃ δὲ λαβὼν χερὶ  
 ἔγνω 'παφάσας εἶπέ τ' ἐκ θυμοῦ τάδε·  
 τίς μοι τόδ' ἀντ' ὄνοιο μισητὸν κρέας  
 πέμπων; γέλωα δὴ με ποιοῦνται κόροι  
 θύοντες ὕβρει· τυφλὸς οὐ τὸ γνῶσεται,  
 οὕτω λέγοντες. ὦ θεοί, μαρτύρομαι 10  
 ἐγὼ τάδ' ὕμᾶς καὶ κατεύχομαι κακὰ  
 αὐτοῖσιν ἀντ' οὖν τῶνδε δις τόσσα σχεθεῖν.  
 χαλκῶ δὲ μαρμαίροντες ἀλλάλων χροά  
 σφάζοιεν ἀμφὶ κτάμασιν βίᾳ δίκας. 15

I translate thus :

“ But he was a man of clear vision always, notwithstanding his blindness.

For the liver of an holy she-dolt were we wont to send  
 To our father, a mighty parcel, yea, a chosen portion :  
 Howbeit this year we cut up an ass not six months old  
 And, thinking to escape his observation, instead of the  
 liver of our cutting 5

We sent him that of an ox. But he took the same in  
 his hand,

And when he had felt it he knew it ; and thus he spake  
 in his anger :

Who is he that for ass' flesh sendeth me this flesh that  
 my soul loatheth ?

Verily the young men, my sons, do laugh me to scorn,  
Waxing wanton in the pride of their hearts. The blind  
man will not perceive it. 10

Lo, after this manner do they speak. O ye gods, I call  
upon you

That ye be witnesses of this, and thus with a curse do  
I pray,

That they get for themselves in sure recompense a double  
portion of evil.

And glistening in brazen harness may they hew each  
the other's flesh,

Striving for the possession of lucre in contempt of equity."

The unmetrical ἀντόμοιον given by the scholiast in l. 8 supplies the clue to the restoration of the whole passage. Dindorf wrongly proposes ἀντ' ὤμοιο. It is quite plain, as was perceived by Nauck, that, in view of ll. 5-6, the version of the story adopted by the Satyric writer dealt with the substitution of the flesh of an ox for that of some other animal, not with the substitution of another joint for a shoulder. Yet according to the scholiast himself, the ordinary version dealt with the substitution of a thigh for a shoulder. Almost immediately before the words in which he introduces the Satyric quotation he tells us that Eteocles and Polynices were accustomed to send their father a shoulder of each victim that they sacrificed, but that on one occasion they forgot and sent a thigh. As we have seen, he goes on to state that "Pratinas worked the story up into a more ludicrous form." The distinctively ludicrous element consists, as is manifest from a comparison of ll. 5-6 with l. 8, in the variation of representing Eteocles and Polynices as ordinarily sending ass-flesh to Oedipus but on one occasion sending beef instead. It is absolutely impossible, when once we have ruled ἀντ' ὤμοιο out of court, to read ἀντόμοιον otherwise than as ἀντ' ὄνοιο.

Bearing this fact in mind, I am able to approach ll. 2-3 with some degree of confidence. These two lines resist, or rather defy, all attempts at scientific emendation, unless one adopts the *a priori* highly probable preliminary hypothesis that the lacuna at the beginning of the latter of them ought to be filled with the word πατέρι, which,



in its Attic form πατρί, now stands at the end of the former of them, and that consequently

θυσίας γὰρ ἅπαρ γέρας ἐπέμπομεν

represents a complete senarius. That senarius can at once be restored to partial integrity if we read provisionally :

θυσίας γὰρ ἄπαρ ἱερᾶς ἐπέμπομεν.

That the first syllable of ἱερᾶς should in Doric be scanned as long causes no difficulty (see Euripides, *Bacch.* l. 160). ἄπαρ instead of ἡπαρ, if correct, adds to our knowledge of early Doric and shows, apparently, that the *e* of *jecur* is a modification of an original *a*.

But the line, as provisionally thus restored, presents one serious flaw. Instead of θυσίας we imperatively require a genitive substantive (feminine, if ἱερᾶς be right) meaning *of an ass*. Nowhere else in either of these two lines is the slightest loophole offered for the introduction of any known word of that meaning : it would be the height of unscientific arbitrariness to pitchfork ὄνου into the *lacuna* which I have filled with πατέρι. But the introduction of such a word is necessarily demanded by the sense. On these grounds I emend θυσίας to θύπτας. I imagine θύπτα, or in Attic θύπτῃ, to be a name, perhaps Delphic in origin, for a *she-ass*. In origin it is a verbal from τύφω, meaning *struck stupid*. I take the word from l. 3 of the well-known 4th *Fragment* attributed to Thespis. That *Fragment*, this word included, I discuss in a separate chapter (Chapter ix). I will here only say that it seems to me to possess greater authority than was attributed to it by Bentley.

In l. 1 ὀρῶν τις appears to me to be the obvious reading for ὀρῶντί τ' and καί κα for καί : καί κα is Doric for καὶ, and for illogical ἄν after καί, οὐδέ, μηδέ, ὥς see the dictionaries (the limits of the use are none too clear).

In l. 4 I think that τὸ δὴ γε συγκόψαντες points quite plainly to τὸ δ' ἦτες οὖν κόψαντες, in spite of the fact that there is no other known instance of τὸ δ' ἦτες instead of τῆτες δέ. τᾶτες is indeed alleged to be the Doric form ; but, in view of the *ε* of ἔτος, I am inclined to doubt its antiquity. In the latter half of this line οὐ μεμνημένοι is quite inconsistent with the λήσειν

δοκοῦντες at the beginning of the next line. It seems to me that my ὄνον ἔκμηνον οὓ is both eminently consistent with the *ductus* and in accordance with the sense required.

In l. 9 Elmsley emends γέλω to γέλωτα : I prefer γέλωα.

In l. 10 we have our choice between the reading of the scholiast, οὓ τοι (he writes it οὔτοι) γνώσεται, which involves a breach of the tragic law of the pause, and my οὐ τὸ γνώσεται, which does not. Brunck emends to οὔτι. I do not see that οὓ τι is any better than οὓ τοι, and in such cases I am inclined to doubt certain emenders' knowledge of metrical laws. That the demonstrative τό was in use in the Doric on which the lyrics of tragedy are based is sufficiently shown by various lines in tragic choruses, *e.g.* (Aeschylus, *Suppl.* l. 1047) :

ὃ τί τοι μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, τὸ γένοιτ' ἄν.

οὐ τὸ γνώσεται would naturally be corrupted into οὓ τοι γνώσεται, whereas it is difficult to see why Brunck's hypothetical οὔτι γνώσεται should ever have been altered.

In l. 13 for the already wrong αὐτόν of the *scholium* Nauck substitutes ἀντί : but I consider that ἀντ' οὖν is well-nigh necessary in order to account for the corruption. In the same line the editors have altered τόσσα to τόσα, very rashly, I think, unless indeed they one and all perused these fifteen lines so negligently that they entertained no kind of suspicion that they were dealing with an originally non-Attic passage.

In l. 15 the ending ἀμφὶ κτήμασι βασιλικοῖς was manifestly scanned by the copyists according to the rules of *versus technici*, so that not only is the second syllable of βασιλικοῖς treated as if it were long, but in addition there is no need, under those rules, to supply κτήμασι with an epheleystic ν. I propose ἀμφὶ κτάμασιν βία δίκας as the most probable restoration on the basis of the *ductus*. Elmsley altered to ἀμφὶ κτήμασιν τυραννικοῖς. In his day it had not yet been established that corruptions that altogether ignore the original *ductus literarum*, or which, in other words, themselves afford no *ductus literarum* to guide one back to the true reading, are, to say the least, of extremely rare occurrence, and that, when they occur, they are almost invariably

glosses which, not at haphazard but owing to some special circumstance, have been substituted for some portion of the text. I do not wonder at Elmsley's suggestion: I should wonder at the fact—for it is a fact—of its acceptance by much later editors, were it not that scarcely anything in the way of the acceptance or of the rejection of emendations is, now that I am somewhat conversant with the subject, any longer able to surprise me.

It will be seen that in dealing with these fifteen lines I have presented them, as far as Doric vocalisation goes (I am not speaking of vocabulary, *e.g.*  $\alpha\alpha$ ) precisely in the traditional form familiar to us in the lyrics of tragedy. For this I find considerable warrant in the actual text of the *scholium*. Twice, for example, on the strength of what seems to me to be a strong *ductus*, I have written  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  (ll. 4, 13), not  $\tilde{\omicron}\nu$ . This course is, I consider, more than justified by the consideration that the Doric of tragic choruses must have had some historical origin or other, and that the historical origin, as I argue in Chapter XI, was the literary modification of strict Doric by the anti-Doric Aegialeis of Sicyon. This modified Doric, I suggest, Pratinas, himself a Dorian, but of Phlius, which is close to Sicyon, found useful as a more or less cosmopolitan medium.

Before I turn to the metrical features of these lines, I would ask the reader to compare them with the very considerable extant remains of Simonides of Amorgos (*circa* 690 B.C.). Simonides wrote in Ionic: these lines are, unless I am entirely wrong, technically and formally Doric. But I find it hard to draw any such distinction between Simonides of Amorgos and Pratinas (if these verses be really his) as would lead me to class the latter as of a different school from the former. In fact, I am next door to convinced that in this *Fragment* we have a genuine relic of the earlier age. We possess numerous other such relics, but none of that particular phase which, acting upon the nascent genius of Athens, supplied the stimulus to which, as a matter of history, is due, I will not say Attic Tragedy, but at least the form with which Attic Tragedy invested itself. I believe these lines to be by Pratinas and of unique value.



We laid down at the beginning of this section, basing ourselves on the evidence of the remains of Satyric Drama at large, five probable propositions with regard to Pratinas.

The first is that, if he employed trisyllabic feet at all, he employed them in moderation only. In the *Fragment*, as presented in the *scholium*, he employs trisyllabic feet, but only three of them (two in l. 2 and one in l. 6): in it, as read by me, he also employs three trisyllabic feet (but identical in one case only with those of the *scholium*), viz. one in l. 3, one in l. 4, and one in l. 6. The use of an average of one trisyllabic foot to every five lines is distinctly moderate. It is by no means indeed so moderate as the use which we find in the tragedies of Aeschylus and of Sophocles; but, as compared with the practice of various other authors, it is markedly restrained, the first fifteen lines of Euripides' *Hecuba*, for example, exhibiting no less than seven trisyllabic feet.

The second proposition is that, if he employed trisyllabic feet at all, at any rate he did not tolerate two trisyllabic feet in the same line. In the *Fragment*, as presented in the *scholium*, he once and once only (l. 2), and not even then, unless we expand ἀπα<sup>x</sup>ρ into ἀπαρχᾶς, is made to employ two trisyllabic feet in the same line: but there the text is manifestly corrupt, and in the reading suggested to me by the *ductus* there is no trisyllabic foot whatever.

The third proposition is that, if he employed trisyllabic feet at all, he at least did not employ them in cases where, though allowed by the laws of Attic comedy, they are forbidden by the laws of Attic tragedy. In the *Fragment*, as presented in the *scholium*, unless in l. 3 we expand ἀπα<sup>x</sup>ρ into ἀπαρχᾶς, there is no instance of a trisyllabic foot forbidden by the laws of Attic tragedy: as to l. 3 see what I have just said on the subject of the second proposition.

The fourth proposition is that, when he made use of a pause before the final cretic, he conformed to the tragic rule as to that pause. In the *Fragment*, as presented in the *scholium*, this proposition is contradicted by l. 10: but the omission of an ι is sufficient to convert

the line into one in which before the final cretic no spondaic pause is exhibited.

The fifth proposition is that he did not present a pause before the final cretic oftener than in the average proportion of once to somewhere about twenty lines. In the fifteen lines of the *Fragment*, as presented in the *scholium*, except for the pause, just mentioned in connexion with the fourth proposition, in l. 10, which violates tragic law, but which disappears altogether on the removal of an ι, there is no example whatsoever of a pause before the final cretic.

We have now, I think, gained a certain amount of useful information with regard to the handling by Pratinas of the senarian metre. As to many points however we are still in the dark. I should like, for instance, to know definitely whether Pratinas and other Dorians of his date admitted, either with or without restrictions, a trochee as the first foot of a senarius. The legitimacy of this use in Attic tragedy in the case of a line beginning with a quinquesyllabic word, coupled with the exceptional εἰεν ἀκούω not only of Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* (l. 627) but also, with no sense of parody, of Aristophanes' *Pax* (l. 663), leads me to suppose that this licence has its roots in antiquity. As there appears to be no example of the usage quoted from any of the Ionic *iambographi*, and as some such example would surely have been quoted, had any existed, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the scansion in question had its origin in the practice of Dorian *iambographi* less well known and less likely to be cited than their Ionic predecessors or contemporaries. On such points as this a hundred more lines of Pratinas might throw a flood of light.

Apart from *Fragment* 458 of the Tragic *Adespota*, all we know of the plays of Pratinas, except such information as we may gather by inference from Sositheus or elsewhere, is confined to three statements. The argument to the *Septem* of Aeschylus says, in its present form, that on the occasion (467 B.C.) when Aeschylus won the first prize with the tetralogy of which the *Septem* formed part, Aristion (clearly a mistake for Aristias) won the second prize with the *Perseus*, the *Tantalus*, and his father Pratinas' Satyric drama, the *Palaestae*. That only

three plays are mentioned is remarkable and perhaps indicates corruption: but we may take it as a fact that Pratinas wrote a *Palaestae* and that the drama was Satyric. The second statement is a strangely corrupt passage in Athenaeus (ix. 392 F). Athenaeus, according to his existing text, expresses himself as follows: Πρατίνας δ' ἐν δυμαίναις ἢ καριάτισιν ἀδύφωνον ἰδίως καλεῖ τὸν ὄρτυγα, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι παρὰ τοῖς Φλειασίοις ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσι φωνήεντες, ὥς καὶ οἱ πέρδικες. Dindorf rightly reads Δυμαίναις and Dalechamps Καρυάτισιν, but the latter part of the sentence has remained hopelessly ungrammatical and not, except in defiance of every possible meaning of πλὴν εἰ μὴ, intelligible. I confidently propose: Πρατίνας δ' ἐν Δυμαίναις ἢ Καρυάτισιν ἀδύφωνον ἰδίως καλεῖ τὸν ὄρτυγ', ἀπλῆν, εἰ μὴ τι παρὰ τοῖς Φλειασίοις ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσι, φωνὴν ἰέντ' ἴσως καὶ οἱ πέρδικες. I imagine that the *Dymaenae* or *Caryatides* must take its name from the Chorus. If so, it is not a Satyric play, at least in the later sense of the word. Whatever case of ἀδύφωνος Pratinas employed, he clearly from Athenaeus used the Doric form as regards the first syllable. From what we have seen above the word may as well come from a senarius as from a chorus. The third statement is made by Suidas, who (s.v. Πρατίνας) informs us that Pratinas wrote 32 Satyric dramas and eighteen other plays, but does not mention any of their names. As we have already seen, one of the 32 Satyric dramas was entitled the *Palaestae*. Of the plot of this play we know nothing. It was presented by Aristias as in some sense a sequel to his own tragedies, the *Perseus* and the *Tantalus*: but, as we cannot now discover what unity, if any, existed between those two tragedies, they in no way help us with regard to their Satyric complement. But it is pertinent to remark that in the remains of an anonymous Satyric drama found at Oxyrrhynchus (*Pap. Ox.* 1083) *wrestling* is (*Fr.* 1, l. 10) included in a list of the accomplishments of the Satyrs. We have also seen that, unless I mistake, a play by Pratinas dealt, at least in some measure, with the quarrel between Oedipus and his sons. The character of the extant fragment and the words πρὸς τὸ γελοιότερον in the Laurentian *scholium* lead me to class this play also as



Satyric: I imagine that the inventor of the Satyric Drama surely must have banished from his tragedies the element of the ludicrous, though he need not necessarily have deprived them of a rustic flavour. We do not know that Pratinas ever employed, in addition to the *choragus*, more than one actor, and, even if he did, he can only, in view of the date of the innovation, have done so towards the end of his career. It is therefore much more probable than not that any given play of his was a one-actor play. In the case of a Satyric drama this consideration is peculiarly restrictive. In a tragedy the Chorus could be such that the *choragus* was a personage. I suggest (Chapter IX) that Thespis made Theseus *choragus* of the "Ἡθιοί. But in a Satyric drama the *choragus* was necessarily either Silenus or, perhaps, some Satyr. This circumstance, though the one actor could indeed sustain several parts, precludes any approach to complication. Bearing this fact in mind, and considering also that it would be indecent to introduce Satyrs into the centre and heart, so to speak, either of the story of Oedipus, or of that of the Seven against Thebes, and further taking into account the incongruity of Satyrs appearing in the city of Thebes, where Eteocles remained, I conclude that the speaker (who is clearly either Eteocles or Polynices) is Polynices, and that he fell in with the Satyrs in his wanderings while recruiting fellow-captains to form the Seven. Of the events immediately preceding their expedition the most notable and exciting are furnished by the almost romantic story of Tydeus' embassy to Thebes: but to that story Satyrs would be alien and from it Polynices in person would be absent. Therefore, though part of its action would be in the open country, I rule it out of court. Of matters connected with the other chiefs I can think of none so well fitted to a Satyric play as the fetching of the young Parthenopaeus from Arcady. I suggest that Polynices went thither in quest of him, but that Atalanta objected to her boy going to the wars, and perhaps even hid him, so that Polynices enlisted the services of the Satyrs in order to obtain him. In that case the drama would be markedly similar to Sophocles' *Ichneutae* and also, though in a different way, to his *Ulysses Furens*. Such a play

might well be entitled Παρθενοπαίου Μετάλλασις. This is the most probable conjecture that I can offer.

As for the *Dymaenae sive Caryatides*, I have already remarked that, as the Dymaenae apparently constituted the Chorus, it seems not to have been Satyric: but it may well have been unlike Attic tragedy. Καρυάτιδες signifies literally *women of Caryae*, but the term was applied more specifically to certain among them who were employed in the service of Artemis Caryatis. The *locus classicus* concerning these is in Pausanias (III. 10, 7): τὸ γὰρ χωρίον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ νυμφῶν ἐστὶν αἱ Κάρυαι, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Καρυάτιδος· χοροὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων παρθένοι κατὰ ἔτος ἱστᾷσι καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὄρχησις. Notice the expression ἐπιχώριος ὄρχησις: its importance will be seen shortly. Δύμαιναι is the feminine of Δυμᾶνες and means *the Lasses o' Clan Dyman*. This feminine is quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium from the *Chiliads* of Euphorion:

δαίμων [— ∪ ]σαιτο φιλοπλοκάμοισι Δυμαίναις.

Stephanus himself uses the singular (s.v. Ἀλικαρνασσός) in the expression Δύμαιναν φυλήν, where however the inferior manuscripts present Δύμαναν, just as the manuscripts of Athenaeus omit the ι in the title of the play of Pratinas. There is perhaps some confusion with an equally well authenticated feminine Δυμανίς. In later writers we come across a form Δύσμαιναι. Not understanding Δύμαιναι, they seem to have imagined that the word described the dancing Caryatides as *Maenads*, with the derogatory prefix δυσ-. The formation is impossible. Philargyrius (on Virgil, *Georg.* II. ll. 487–488, *Virginibus bacchata Lacaenis Taygeta*) speaks of Δύσμαιναι, and so does Hesychius in an entry now running in the mss.: Δύσμαιναι· αἱ ἐν σπάρταις χωρίτιδες κάκχαι. Read: Δύσμαιναι· αἱ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ Καρύαις χωρίτιδες Βάκχαι. W. Dindorf altered σπάρταις to Σπάρτῃ, Meineke to Καρύαις. I consider it a sort of haplography of Σπάρτῃ καὶ Καρύαις: the confusion between TAIC and YAIC is uncial.\* W. Dindorf also replaced κάκχαι by Βάκχαι. He further changed χωρίτιδες into χορίτιδες. But

\* Hesychius may be quoting from some earlier dictionary.

Hesychius is adapting the words ἐπιχώριος ὄρχησις of Pausanias, to which I have called attention above. In fact, this entry in Hesychius, reminiscent, as regards ἐπιχώριος, of Pausanias, but, as regards Βάκχαι, of the *bacchata* of Virgil as interpreted by Philargyrius, exhibits a sort of object-lesson of the manner in which Hesychius and, much earlier, Philargyrius himself came to accept Δύσμαιναι in lieu of Δύμναιναι. We may take it then that the subject-matter of Pratinas' play was some incident in the history of the Caryatides, a Chorus of Artemis Caryatis, composed of maidens of the Dorian tribe, the Dymanes, and that the incident in question was of a tragic nature. One such incident, and one only, is on record. Pausanias (iv. 16, 5) tells us that in the second year of the second Messenian war (*i.e. circa* 684 B.C.) the Messenian hero, Aristomenes, carried off the Caryatides while they were dancing in honour of Artemis, took them to Messenia, personally protected them from his followers, and ultimately restored them at a ransom. This is manifestly the theme of Pratinas' *Caryatides*. It will be observed how excellently the leading part taken in actual history by the Chorus suits the requirements of a one-actor drama. I should lay the scene in Messenia, after the removal of the maidens thither. The protection and the negotiations as to ransom would doubtless be features. The reference to a "sweet-voiced quail" suggests some ode sung by the Caryatides to Artemis *Ortygia*: but, if it was the nominative case in which ἀδύφωνος ὄρνυζ was read by Athenaeus, I should suspect a misreading of ἡ δῖφωτος ὄρνυζ. Athenaeus, on the right treatment of his text, says that the quail has only one note. But in fact,\* though its ordinary chirrup is in monotone, it has several notes for use at need, and two notes may have been distinguished for purposes of augury. It should be borne in mind that the whole legend of Aristomenes was tinged with the supernatural (as witness his rescue by an eagle from the pit Ceadas), so that he is a fit personage to introduce into tragedy. His adventures were a main theme of the epic *Messeniacæ* of Rhianus (*circa* 220 B.C.), who spent a considerable time in Messenia, doubtless in order to

\* I have quails in my own aviary.



collect materials. Though his work has perished, he is clearly Pausanias' chief authority on the subject, although Aeschylus of Alexandria also wrote an epic *Messenica*, perhaps a few decades earlier. It is somewhat peculiar that Pratinas should have had recourse to a plot which, on the one side, belonged to the Messenian cycle—a cycle that, until Rhianus, seems to have found hardly any echo in literature—and, on the other side, concerned only the quite unimportant town of Caryae. This consideration directly raises the thorny question whether in Pratinas' life-time Caryae emerged for a while into topical importance. It is certain that after Salamis (what had been the case before we cannot tell) temples were erected in Athens and elsewhere with female statues serving as external pillars, and that these female statues were, and are, called *Caryatides*. Vitruvius alone gives any reason for the statues being thus designated. His explanation is that an event occurred just after the Persian war, and therefore well within the possible limits of Pratinas' life and literary activity, which must have necessarily put Caryae in a position of great momentary prominence, and would amply account for Pratinas' choice of subject. The words of Vitruvius are these (i. 1): "*Carya enim, civitas Peloponnesi, cum Persis contra Graeciam consensit. Graeci bello Persico per victoriam liberati communi consilio Caryatibus bellum indixerunt. Urbe capta et deleta, viris interfectis, matronas eorum in servitutem abduxerunt, nec sunt passi ornatus matronales deponere, ut aeterno servitutis exemplo, gravi contumelia pressae, poenas penderent pro civitate: denique voluerunt ut earum imagines ad ignominiam sempiternam in publicis aedificiis oneri ferendo collocarentur.*" Meineke discredits this statement from beginning to end. It is true that nothing like it is to be found in any other writer: but the argument from silence is always precarious. I am not at all sure that the defection and destruction of Caryae, if facts, are facts of sufficient historical importance for us to expect them to be often mentioned. The alleged details, indeed, strike the fancy, and we should look for popular reference to them, if a contemporary popular literature existed—which it does not. Pratinas' choice

of subject however would be next door to such a reference. Herodotus would no doubt tell the tale with gusto. But is not the picturesque part of the episode just outside the limits of his history? On the whole, in view of the nature of the extant works of Greek writers who were living at the time in question, I am not much impressed by their silence. As to later writers, I certainly conceive that Vitruvius did not invent the account himself, but took it from some source which he deemed trustworthy. After all, it is not astonishing that an event of mainly architectural interest should have been preserved on permanent record in an architectural treatise only. Therefore I am disposed, though with all due reserve, to incline towards the acceptance of the substance of Vitruvius' statement. If that statement be substantially true, we have, especially in view of the fact that both in the legend of Aristomenes and in the account in question Caryatides are led into captivity, ground for supposing that Pratinas survived the Persian war and that he produced his *Dymaenae sive Caryatides* in or about the year 478 B.C.

So far we seem to have accounted for two of Pratinas' 32 Satyric dramas and for one tragedy out of his other eighteen plays: we can now proceed with considerable probability to fix a second tragedy.

A recently discovered passage of Menander (*Epitir.* ll. 108–116) seems to need, and even to invite, such emendation of a patent corruption as to exhibit a mention, and more than a mention, of a tragedy, called the *Neleus*, by Pratinas. The passage, as it stands, runs:

τεθέασαι τραγωδούς, οἷδ' ὅτι,  
καὶ ταῦτα κατέχεις πάντα. Νηλέα τινά  
Πελίαν τ' ἐκείνους εὔρε πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ, 110  
αἰπόλος, ἔχων οἶαν ἐγὼ νῦν διφθέραν·  
ὥς δ' ἤσθητ' αὐτοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ κρείττονας,  
λέγει τὸ πρᾶγμ', ὥς εὔρεν, ὥς ἀνείλετο·  
ἔδωκε δ' αὐτοῖς πηρίδιον γνωρισμάτων,  
ἐξ οὗ μαθόντες πάντα τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς σαφῶς 115  
ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς οἱ τότε ὄντες αἰπόλοι.

The corruption lies somewhere in the words (ll. 109–110)

Νηλέα τινά

Πελίαν τ' ἐκείνους.

τινά would be strange, even if it stood alone: the combination of τινά and ἐκείνους is impossible. Now it is important to observe that the tragedy dealt with by Menander directly contradicts the current legend by making (l. 111) the foster-father of the children a goat-herd. Apollodorus (I. 90-92) makes him a herdsman of horses, and this is confirmed by the statements of a scholiast on the *Iliad* (x. 34) and of Eustathius (*Odyssey*, p. 1681), which statement Apollodorus also makes, that Pelias, while exposed, was kicked by a mare, so that part of his flesh became πελιδνός, whence his name. Goat-herds are not suggestive of Attic tragedy, and the variation sets one at once thinking of the Phliasian school. In these circumstances I read, not without some confidence:

Νηλέα Πρατίνα  
Πελίαν τ' ἐκείνους εὔρε πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ,  
αἰπόλος,

"The Neleus of Pratinas and Pelias, those famous characters, were found by an old man, a goatherd." The scansion is Νηλέᾱ Πρατίνα. The synzesis of the two last syllables of Νηλέᾱ need cause no surprise either in tragedy or in comedy: that the first syllable of Πρατίνα is probably long follows from the fact that Πρατίνας is probably very broad Doric either for Πρασίναιος, Πρασίνεως, *shrine-seller*, or for Πρασίναιος, *ship-seller*. If I am right, it results that Pratinas' play was the *Neleus*, not the *Pelias*. Pelias was only a secondary character in it. That is why Pratinas was at liberty to disregard the πελιδνός derivation and to turn the herdsman of horses into a herdsman of goats.

Assuming this basis, let us examine the plot of the drama as it may be gathered from the indications in Menander. In Sophocles' *Tyro* there was an *anagnorisis* by Tyro, which is spoken of by Aristotle (*Poet.* 16): but Menander substitutes (ll. 114-115) an *anagnorisis* by Neleus and Pelias of their own identity. Indeed, it would have been impossible for Pratinas to have brought the young men into the presence of Tyro without introducing the slaying of Sidero by Pelias, which introduction would have thrown Neleus altogether into the background



and caused the play to cease to be the *Neleus*. I suggest that the drama is a one-actor play, and that the αἰπόλος is *choragus* of a band of αἰπόλοι. My apprehension of the development of the plot is as follows. In the first act Neleus and Pelias appear, successively, as ordinary young goatherds, and, I think, an Amaryllis and a Neaera. In the second act the *anagnorisis* is effected, and at the end of it the two lads set forth to seek their fortunes. In the third act Amaryllis and Neaera discourse, successively, with the *choragus* on the subject of the possible doings of their absent swains. In the fourth act there arrives first a messenger from Pelias, now king of Thessaly, to announce the accession of his master: but, on his departure, King Neleus of Pylos makes his entry in person, full of gratitude to the guardian of his boyhood, and, after giving an account of his adventures (and in these the real tragedy must have come in), retires, declaring his intention of taking his Amaryllis back with him to share his splendour. Some such reconstruction as this seems to follow almost necessarily from the words of Menander.

It should be mentioned that the *Neleus* of Pratinas, or at any rate the trilogy, or the like, to which it may have belonged, supplies a possible *locus* for a half-senarius,

Πελίου τε Μάγνησσαν κόραν,

cited in Cramer's *Anecdota* (III. 261, 31), which, on account of the Doric κόραν, Nauck (*Praefatio* to *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. xv) refuses to recognise as tragic. Pratinas, if the half-line be his, appears to employ, like the Attic tragedians, an anapaest, outside the first foot (seemingly in the third foot), in a proper name.

A third tragedy by Pratinas seems to have survived in a single short fragment. The fragment, however, on no more solid ground than the fact that it is in Doric, has been assigned to the lyric writings of the poet, among which it now stands as *Fr.* 3. It is preserved in Athenaeus (XI. 461 E). It is desirable to look somewhat closely at Athenaeus' language, as he evidently modifies for the sake of his own meaning the latter part of the quotation, but at the same time appears indirectly to indicate the nature of the alteration he has made.

Athenaeus writes : καὶ κατακλιθέντων, ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔφη, κατὰ τὸν Φλιάσιον ποιητὴν Πρατίναν,

οὐ γὰρ ἀύλακισμέναν ἄρῶν,

ἀλλὰ

σκῦρον ματεύων, κυλικηγορήσων ἔρχομαι,

οὐ τῶν Κυλικράνων εἰς ὑπάρχων, οὐς χλευάζων Ἑρμιππος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις φησὶν

εἰς τὸ Κυλικράνων βαδίζων σπληνόπεδον ἀφικόμεν·

εἶδον οὖν τὴν Ἡράκλειαν καὶ μάλ' ὠραίαν πόλιν.

For σπληνόπεδον I suggest that we ought to read σμηνόπεδον. The speaker then proceeds, citing Nicander of Thyatira, Scythinus of Teos, and Polemo, to explain that the Cylicrianians were descendants of a Lydian called Cylix, were settled at Heraclea under Mount Oeta, and had cups tattooed on their shoulders. Now, it is fairly evident that the quotation from Pratinas extends beyond the word ἄρῶν: not only does the phrase beginning with σκῦρον and ending with ἔρχομαι approximate to the rhythm of an iambic trimeter, but in addition ματεύων is distinctively a verse word. Moreover, it would be absurd in the context to introduce, with a parade, so to speak, of the author's name, a quotation that stopped short at ἄρῶν and therefore was irrelevant to the subject of drinking vessels under discussion. It is equally clear that the unmetrical κυλικηγορήσων, not only because it is unmetrical, but also on account of its meaning, is a modification due to Athenaeus. It seems scarcely less evident that κυλικηγορήσων is substituted for some mention of the Cylicrianians, as otherwise the words οὐ τῶν Κυλικράνων εἰς ὑπάρχων are without justification in point either of style or of sense, and the subsequent quotation from Hermippus is dragged in offensively. The bare fact that Κυλικράνων begins with Κυλικ- is far from a sufficient connexion. The passage in Athenaeus, taken as a whole, suggests very strongly that the original words of Pratinas were :

οὐ γὰρ ἀύλακισμέναν ἄρῶν,

σκῦρον ματεύων δ', εἰς Κυλικράν ὦν, ἔρχομαι.

I write σκῦρον, not σκῦρον, because the evidence tends to show that the masculine form is more regularly

properispomenon. The restoration exhibits a text to which Athenaeus adhered as far as sense would permit. But for εἰς Κυλικράν ὦν he substituted the word κυλικηγόρῃσων, thereby changing the meaning, though preserving a good deal of the sound. Yet he did not make the alteration without a sort of explanation or apology. He added : οὐ τῶν Κυλικράνων εἰς ὑπάρχων. It will be observed that the initial consonant of κυλικηγόρῃσων necessitates the employment of some conjunction other than the elided δ'. Athenaeus might have written δέ at full length : but when it came to the point of altering the original at all, he naturally preferred, in a line half modified into prose, an ἀλλά at the beginning to a δέ third in its clause. I hardly expect that at first sight the reader will agree with my restoration : but, if he will take the time and trouble to weigh in his own mind the problem presented by Athenaeus, I imagine that he will come to see that there is strong reason to suppose that Pratinas wrote as I have suggested.

On the assumption that the second of the two lines in question is rightly reconstituted, what are we to say as to the source from which the quotation comes ? In what kind of setting ought we to place the words *I go not forth ploughing land already furrowed, but seeking a cup, being a simple Cylicranian* ? To my mind, the implication is strong that the speaker was found actually driving a plough through a previously ploughed field, and that he explained his apparent folly by the statement that he was not engaged in agriculture, but was looking for buried treasure, to wit a cup, it being natural for him, *qua* Cylicranian and in view of the etymology of that name, to go searching for buried cups. Such an explanation is the explanation either of a buffoon, or else of a lunatic, real or pretended. I know of no legend connected with ploughing to which the incident can be referred except one. When Ulysses endeavoured, at the outbreak of the Trojan war, to play the part of a Cuthbert, he feigned madness, and was found by Palamedes, who acted as Recruiting Sergeant, driving a plough to which an ox and an ass\* were harnessed. The story of the ploughing comes to us through several channels, but

\* Or a horse.



Isaac Tzetzes (on Lycophron l. 818) perhaps puts the matter in the form most convenient for us. According to him, Ulysses sowed salt, and the fraud was exposed by the fact that he stopped ploughing when Palamedes laid the infant Telemachus in the path of the plough. Pratinas may well have represented Ulysses as ploughing a ploughed field, and saying he was a Cylicranian searching for a buried goblet. If this conjectural identification be correct, it follows that Pratinas composed a play on the pretended madness of Ulysses. That play would, I conceive, take its name, not from Ulysses, but from Palamedes. We have seen no reason to suppose that Pratinas introduced more than one actor on the stage, and the action seems to have consisted of dialogues between the single actor and the leader of the Chorus. As Ulysses, pretending madness, and driving a plough, cannot have been *choragus*, it appears that Palamedes must have been *choragus* and that the rest of the Chorus must have consisted of his companions. This consideration shows that the drama was not Satyric. I therefore conclude, with all due reservations, that there exists *prima facie* ground for supposing that Pratinas wrote a tragedy entitled the *Palamedes*, and that the quotation in Athenaeus is taken from that tragedy.

It should be noticed that, as in a line, mentioned above, possibly to be assigned to the *Neleus*, we find an anapaest in the third foot in a proper name, so in the second of the two lines which I give to the *Palamedes*, the third foot, as reconstituted by me on what I consider strong evidence, is an anapaest and consists of a variety of proper name, that is to say, a substantive designatory of race or nationality.

So much for Pratinas. Like the silly Cylicranian, I have driven my random plough through fields already ploughed; but unlike him I seem really to have found some cups, and one or two of them—who knows?—may turn out to be of gold.

## CHAPTER IX

## THESPIIS

Ignotum tragicae genus invenisse camenae  
 Dicitur et plaustis vexisse poemata Thespis  
 Quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.

HORACE

IN the last section of the preceding chapter I have argued that we possess a genuine and substantial fragment of a Satyric drama by Pratinas. My argument has led me to a point in the discussion of the diction and metre of early Satyric drama at which it would be unreasonable for me abruptly to stop. Accordingly in this chapter I propose to inquire whether there survives any evidence, earlier than that of the fragment which I attribute to Pratinas, as to the language and rhythm of the school of writers from whose tradition that of developed Attic tragedy and of Attic Satyric drama immediately derives.

## A

Pratinas established Satyric drama side by side with tragedy. For a considerable number of years before Pratinas began to compose the Attic stage had known tragedy proper as distinguished from the lyric performance which was the parent of tragedy. Yet this archaic tragedy, before Pratinas marked off the Satyric drama as a separate institution, must have laboured under peculiar difficulties. I argue elsewhere (Chapter XI) that on the evidence it does not seem that the Satyrs ever constituted the Chorus, strictly so called, either in the pre-tragic dithyramb or in the tragedy which sprang, not indeed, so I conceive, from that dithyramb, but from another Dionysiac source. But, however all this may be, at any rate the dithyramb was tinged with a strong Satyric element, and it must have been an uphill

fight to purge newly invented tragedy of coarseness and buffoonery before either the safety-valve of the Satyric drama had been thought of, or the more effective safety-valve of comedy had become a familiar institution. Hence I am inclined to imagine that the earliest tragedians were the forerunners not only of Aeschylus and Sophocles in their capacity of tragic poets, but also, in some sort and against their will, of Pratinas himself and of Aeschylus and Sophocles in their capacity of Satyric playwrights.

This probability is in itself sufficient to render it proper for me, though I am dealing with the Satyric drama, not to leave these earliest tragedians out of account. Still less can I ignore them when I consider that after all Satyric drama is in the main nothing more than a bypath of tragedy. Moreover I seem to perceive, as will be seen as I continue, a somewhat close connexion between the technique of the fragment which I assign to Pratinas and that of a fragment traditionally attributed to Thespis.

It is to the four fragments which pass under the name of Thespis, if anywhere, that we must look for evidence anterior to the date of Pratinas. The remains of Phrynichus, the tragedian, are just too late, both in date and in style, to be of service. Not one identified scrap of other writing, except Choerilus' γῆς ὀστέοισιν ἐρχομευθεῖς πόδα and γῆς φλέβες, survives to help us. A good notion indeed of early iambography may be got from the remains of Simonides of Amorgos and those of Archilochus, which prove the extraordinary conservatism of Attic tragedy in many respects: but both those writers are of so ancient a date that they throw no light on the more immediate provenances of the technique of Aeschylus or of Sophocles, and in addition one must bear in mind the difference between didactic—to use the term in a wide sense—and dramatic poetry. We are therefore driven to scrutinise minutely the alleged fragments of Thespis. It would seem antecedently improbable that every word written by the father of Attic tragedy should have utterly perished. It was apparently in 535 B.C. that Thespis began to produce (I pay little attention to Plutarch's story about Solon



seeing him act). This date was still so recent at the time when Aeschylus and Sophocles were at the height of their glory that it appears impossible that those tragedians themselves should not have been in a position to obtain and study some at least of his plays, and that they did so, if they were able, is, in view of the way in which tragedy lived on tradition, a foregone conclusion. Moreover we have Suidas' statement (see Chapter x.) that Sophocles composed some sort of discourse or dialogue on the subject of the Chorus, in which he disputed with Thespiis and Choerilus. This statement implies that Sophocles had some knowledge of Thespiis' writings. But that part at least of the works of Thespiis survived until at any rate 422 B.C. is not a matter of inference, as in the *Vespae* (ll. 1478-1479) produced in that year, Aristophanes speaks of choruses of his as still existent. Horace offers yet more important evidence, speaking (*Epist.* II. 1, ll. 162-163) of Thespiis as an authority or model to whom Romans had recourse after the Punic Wars. He does not use the name Thespiis in any generic manner: on the contrary he brings it in as that of an individual between those of Sophocles and Aeschylus. The irresistible inference is that some substantial part of the works of Thespiis was thought by Horace to have survived into Roman times. Here are Horace's words (*Epist.* II. 1, ll. 157-163):

"Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes  
 Intulit agresti Latio: sic horridus ille  
 Defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus  
 Munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum  
 Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris. 160  
 Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina cartis,  
 Et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit  
 Quid Sophocles et Thespiis et Aeschylus utile ferrent."

Even if the assertion in Suidas be rejected (though I for one am inclined to accept it), it is clear that, so far as we have gone at present, there is no impediment in the way of any alleged fragments of Thespiis being as genuine as the works of Sophocles himself. But we now come to two objections. In the first place, Diogenes Laertius, who lived about A.D. 200, informs us (v. 92)

that Aristoxenus the musician recorded that Heraclides Ponticus composed certain tragedies and passed them off under the name of Thespis. On this ground, and on no other, *Fragments* 1-3 of the alleged remains of Thespis are rejected by editors as forgeries. From the proposition that *some* plays that once passed under the name of Thespis were forgeries it does not follow in logic that *all* fragments now passing under the name of Thespis are forgeries: it does not even follow that *any* fragment now passing under the name of Thespis is a forgery. It only follows that in the case of every fragment attributed to Thespis there arises a *possibility*, unless in the particular case there be evidence to disprove the possibility, that the fragment is a forgery by Heraclides. Obviously these three fragments must be considered on their individual merits. In the second place the fourth *Fragment* presents, in its existing form, such extraordinary features that Bentley in one of his most brilliant discussions pronounced the features in question to be impossibilities in an early classical work, so that Nauck expresses the view of scholars in general when he says of the fragment "Non dubito quin alteri post Christum saeculo debeatur." But we have to consider whether those features are inherent in the fragment itself. Bentley denounced the fragment as late; but he did so *obiter*. In the case of the *Epistles* attributed to Phalaris his root-contention was that they were a forgery, and that contention he proved. But in the case of this fragment his root-contention was that certain features presented in the text of it were impossible at the date of Thespis: that contention also he seemed to prove. He took for granted that those features were part and parcel of the fragment in its original state, and on that assumption—for it is a mere assumption—he condemned the fragment. That assumption I shall shortly traverse.

The first *Fragment* attributed to Thespis is preserved by Pollux (VII. 45), who expressly assigns it to the *Pentheus*. It runs:—

ἔργῳ νόμιζε νεβρίδ' ἔχειν ἐπενδύτην.

I suggest that for ἔργῳ, as ἐπενδύτης signifies a garment worn over another garment, we should read ἐρίῳ: ἔριον

does not occur in tragedy, but is common in Epic and in comedy. This, if my conjecture be sound, points perhaps rather to such a writer as Thespis than to Heraclides, who lived *circa* 390 B.C., when the later tragic tradition was at its height. But I attach more importance to the consideration that Pollux, an antiquary of wide learning who probably knew all about the forgeries of Heraclides, is unlikely to have cited the line as from the *Pentheus* of Thespis without being fairly sure of his ground.

The second *Fragment* comes to us through an anonymous writer in Letronne's *Les papyrus grecs* (p. 102), who states : Θέσπις ὁ ποιητῆς οὕτως ἀπέφασκεν·

οὐκ ἐξαθρήσας οἶδ', ἰδὼν δέ σοι λέγω.

In the papyrus οἶδ' is written οἰ δα : the absence of graphic elision probably indicates a date similar to that of the papyrus of the *Mimes* of Herodes. As it is difficult to suppose that the somewhat forced antithesis between ἐξαθρήσας and ἰδὼν is original, Methner proposes ἐξακούσας in lieu of the former. Such emendation condemns itself. The only natural correction that I can suggest is ἐξαφῆσας. Neither in the simple nor in its compounds is ἀφάω particularly common, and ἐξαφάω does not occur. Possibly, if my emendation were accepted, it would lead one to think rather of Thespis than of Heraclides. Apart from this the line might have been written by anyone conversant with the diction and the metre of tragedy or, for that matter, of Ionic iambs.

The third *Fragment* occurs in Plutarch (*Audiend. Poet.* 14, 36 B), who writes : τὰ δὲ τοῦ Θέσπιδος ταυτί·

ὁρᾷς ὅτι Ζεὺς τῷδε πρωτεύει θεῶν,  
οὐ ψευδὸς οὐδὲ κόμπων, οὐ μῶρον γέλων  
ἄσκῶν, τὸ δ' ἡδὺ μοῦνος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

I by no means pin my faith to Plutarch, but I am disposed to think that the use of the verb πρωτεύω, elsewhere in Attic peculiar to prose, makes against the authorship of Heraclides. The very similar verb ἀριστεύω is common to Homer, Herodotus, Pindar, and Plato, but in tragedy is confined to Aeschylus and Sophocles.



In the five trimeters which together make up the above three *Fragments* there is only one resolved foot. The number of the lines is so small that this may be due to mere accident, but, for what it is worth, it does not point to an author later than Euripides : in the first five lines of Euripides' *Hecuba* there are four trisyllabic feet.

Taking everything together, I can see no positive reason for assigning any one of these three *Fragments* to Heraclides rather than to Thespis, and in all three cases I seem to find some slight indication tending towards the conclusion that, of the two, Thespis is the more likely to have written them. I am defending no thesis and have no desire to do more than direct the attention of scholars to the actual evidence.

If these five lines, or if the first and last, or either the first or the last, be genuine and uncorrupted as regards the distinction between Doric and Ionic, or Attic, vocalisation, it follows that Thespis wrote his senarii either in Attic or in Ionic, not, like Pratinas, in Doric. The vocabulary also is free from Doricism, a fact which goes a long way towards showing that ἐπενδύτην is not a corruption of ἐπενδύταν, nor ἡδὺ μοῦνος of ἀδὺ μῶνος.

We now come to the far more important fourth *Fragment* attributed to Thespis, that which Bentley has discussed at length. It is preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. pp. 674 *et seq.*), who writes : Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κερκυραῖος τοὺς στίχους τούτους ὑπὸ Βράγχου ἀναφωνηθῆναι τοῦ μάντεως λέγει, Μιλησίους καθαίροντος ἀπὸ λοιμοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβραίνων τὸ πλῆθος δάφνης κλάδοις προκατήρχετο τοῦ ὕμνου ὧδέ πως :

μέλπετε, ὦ παῖδες, Ἐκάεργον καὶ Ἐκαέργαν,

ἐπέψαλλεν δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ὁ λαός :

βέδου, ζάψ, χθών, πλῆκτρον, σφίγξ,  
κναζζιβί, χθύπτῃς, φλεγμός, δρώψ.

μέμνηται τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἰάμβοις. κναζζιβί δὲ κατὰ παραγωγὴν ἢ νόσος παρὰ τὸ κναίειν καὶ διαφέρειν, θρύψαι τε τὸ κεραυνῶ φλέξαι. Θέσπης μέντοι ὁ τραγικός διὰ τούτων ἄλλο τι σημαίνεσθαι φησὶν ὧδέ πως γράφων :

ἴδε σοὶ σπένδω κναῖζβι τὸ λευκὸν  
 ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλίψας κνακῶν·  
 ἴδε σοι χθύπτῃν τυρὸν μίξας  
 ἐρυθρῷ μέλιτι κατὰ τῶν σῶν παν-  
 -δικαίρως τίθεται βωμῶν ἀγίων.  
 ἴδε σοι βρωμίου αἶθοπα φλογμὸν  
 λείβω.

αἰνίσσεται, οἶμαι, τὴν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι στοιχείων ψυχῆς γαλακτώδη πρῶκτῃν τροφήν, μεθ' ἣν ἤδη πεπηγὸς γάλα τὸ βρῶμα, τελευταῖον δὲ αἶμα ἀμπέλου τοῦ λόγου τὸν αἶθοπα οἶνον τὴν τελειοῦσαν τῆς ἀγωγῆς εὐφροσύνην διδάσκει. Clement also states that school-children were taught by means of such groups of words.

It is apparent that a certain amount of corruption exists both in the quotation ascribed to Thespis and in the rest of the passage from Clement, but before dealing with that it will be well to glance at the general bearing. I will not recapitulate Bentley's treatment in detail, as it is sufficiently well known and accepted to be considered in a true sense classical.

The whole passage deals with the fact that there existed a practice of framing groups of words so constructed that each group exhibited all the four and twenty letters of the Greek alphabet and no letter more than once. Such groups were used in two connexions, *viz.* for religious or mystic purposes and also in the teaching of children. This latter employment of them Clement dismisses with a mere mention, but of the former he speaks in some detail. It appears that the story went that when Branchus the seer was purifying Miletus from a pestilence, the populace almost with one voice, on being invited by him to hymn Apollo and Artemis, replied with two groups of words of the kind in question. The former of those two groups seems partly at least to consist of names of elements: the latter relates, on Clement's showing, as regards its first two constituents, to *disease* and to *blasting by lightning*, while the two remaining words in it look as though they indicated *fever* and *dropsy*. Clement then goes on to say that Thespis the tragedian employed the first two words of the second group in another sense. He proceeds to

quote Thespis, and in the quotation we find not only those two words but also the third word, though the fourth is entirely absent. Nevertheless Clement, continuing, interprets Thespis as "out of the four and twenty letters of the alphabet" enigmatically propounding three species of nutriment, in a sort of progression, viz. milk, cheese, and finally wine. The word *finally* is important, as it shows that it is not by any oversight that the fourth word has been omitted. Yet the first three words between them present twenty letters only. Consequently the anagram, if I may so call it, is, if viewed as a mere anagram, hopelessly defective. We seem driven to the conclusion that it is not a mere anagram, but an anagram with an intentionally missing keyword. The word absent in the fragment assigned to Thespis, but present in the second of the groups said to have been chanted at Miletus, is δρώψ (I am not concerned at this point with details of spelling). Hesychius tells us that δρώψ means ἄνθρωπος. This sense renders intelligible both the anagram and Clement's explanation of it. The missing word is *man*. *Milk*, *cheese*, and *wine*, expressed in the jargon of the framer of the anagram, only use up twenty letters of the Greek alphabet. If you only know the mystic fourth word, meaning *man*, you not merely can complete the anagram, but you also give expression to the sublime verity that milk, cheese, and wine constitute the nutriment of man. This is indeed sad rubbish. I do not wonder that Clement, finding it labelled with the name of Thespis, supposed that it must convey some deeper meaning. Of the passage in Callimachus nothing whatever is known.

We will now look at corruptions that have crept in. In the first place Bentley points out that the words τοὺς στίχους τούτους ὑπὸ Βράγχου ἀναφωνηθῆναι do not suit the context, as the στίχοι, cited almost immediately afterwards, were uttered by the Milesians and not by Branchus. Consequently he proposes τοὺς στίχους τούτους ὑπὸ Βράγχου ἀνευρεθέντας ἀναφωνηθῆναι. This correction, though by no means certain, is attractive, and some correction is necessary.

In the first group of words said to have been uttered by the Milesians there is no  $\mu$ , but  $\nu$  occurs twice. Bentley



remedies this defect by reading ζάμψ and χθώ for ζάψ and χθών, while Nauck prefers to leave ζάψ unaltered and to change χθών to χθώμ. A final μ is so inelegant that Bentley's treatment appears a little the better.

In the remarks of Clement himself, after the mention of the *Iambi* of Callimachus, κναῖζβί is a mistake for κναῖζβί, διαφέρειν for διαφθείρειν, and θρύψαι τε for θύψαι τε: the three corrections are due to Sylburg.

To pass over for the moment the fragment ascribed to Thespis, in Clement's subsequent comment πρώκτην, as Potter pointed out, must stand either for πρώτην or for τρωκτὴν: πρώτην is to-day universally read.

We come now to the fragment itself. We will take first the words that form the anagram. These have not escaped corruption. But to determine the corruption we must look at the full set of four words (the second group) reputed to have been chanted by the Milesians, as otherwise we should be in doubt as to the right spelling of the last of them and consequently in doubt also as to the letters available for the other three. κναῖζβί, χθύπτῃς, φλεγμός, δρώψ, as they stand, exhibit σ twice. The only way to get rid of this defect, without producing another defect of the same kind, is to take from Porphyry (*Fr.* cited by Bentley from an Oxford ms.) the words φλεγμώ and δρόψ instead of φλεγμός and δρώψ: the reading φλεγμώ banishes the redundant σ, and Porphyry's other reading, δρόψ, prevents the iteration of ω. We must do the same in the fragment. But in the fragment we must go a little further. In it the accusative χθύπτῃν is in any case impossible because it introduces a ν in addition to the ν in κναῖζβί: it is intolerable that a declensional variation should be permitted to destroy an anagram. If we kept φλεγμόν, it would actually give us a third ν. Moreover the redundant ν of χθύπτῃν leaves us without a σ. Consequently it is necessary to read χθύπτῃς, apparently meant by the anagrammatist as an indeclinable word in apposition with τυρόν. One need not wonder that the copyists boggled at such a monstrosity. κναῖζβί, indeed, is worse; but χθύπτῃς can be altered with a stroke of the pen, whereas κναῖζβί cannot.

In ll. 4-5 πανδικαίρως is manifestly, as was seen by Sylburg, a corruption of Πάν δικερως.

At this point I altogether part company with Bentley. His central contention that Thespis, who used the old alphabet of fewer letters, cannot have been the author of an anagram employing the new alphabet of twenty-four letters, is so self-evident that once the nature of the anagram is proved, no one can say a word against it.\* But I am now about to suggest considerations which will, I think, at least show that it is in a high degree doubtful whether the fragment in its original state included any anagram at all.

In the first place, with a view to clearing the composition from discredit, I desire to point out that two particular examples of faulty metre are best explained on the hypothesis of trivial corruption.

In l. 4,

έρυθρῷ μέλιτι κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πάν,

the second foot is in reality a tribrach, which only an ignoramus could have written, if we suppose it to be original, instead of the anapaest demanded by the metre. This tribrach is commonly left to stand in its naked ugliness, although indeed Nauck resorts to an impossible transposition, printing ll. 3-4 as

ἴδε σοὶ μέλιτι χθύπτην τυρὸν  
μίξας έρύθρῳ κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πάν.

I do not personally believe, as will shortly be seen, that the word before τυρὸν originally began with a double consonant, so that, even apart from the question of transposition, I doubt whether Nauck really mends matters: but I will not go into that point at present. Editors have not noticed, or else, I suppose, have tolerated as part of the supposed general barbarity of the composition, the strangeness of the epithet έρύθρῳ as applied to μέλιτι. Various adjectives of colour have in Greek curiously indeterminate meanings, but έρύθρός is not of their number, always signifying, as it does, a markedly red hue. No doubt some exceptional kinds of honey have

\* If, that is, we grant the premise about the old alphabet: but the entirely pre-Euclidean Euripides (*Theseus*, Fr. 382, ll. 5, 6) and the almost entirely pre-Euclidean Agathon (*Telephus*, Fr. 4, l. 2), as well as the post-Euclidean Theodectes (*Fr. Incert.* 6, ll. 2, 3), represent the Ionic alphabet as in use in the days of Theseus: there are fields in which purely inscriptional evidence cannot be decisive.

a slightly reddish appearance; but that fact no more justifies the expression ἐρυθρῷ μέλιτι in Greek than it would justify the expression *red honey* in English, when no special μέλι or *honey* of a peculiar kind is in question. In Greek the regular epithet of honey is χλωρόν (*e.g. Iliad*, XII. 631), an adjective almost diametrically opposite to ἐρυθρός. On the other hand certain articles compounded with honey are extremely red, not because of the honey, but on account of other ingredients. For example ἐριθάκη (it is doubtful whether this word is from the root of ἐρυθρός) or *bee-bread* was so positively scarlet that it was also called σανδαράκη. Now in Hesychius we find the word μέλιτον, for which Plutarch uses the expressions μελίτειον (*e.g. Coriol.* 3) and οἶνος μελίτειος (*Mor.* II. 672 B). It is obvious that a combination of honey with red wine would be quite red in colour. It is also obvious that it could easily be made of a consistency such that it could readily be mixed with cream-cheese. On these grounds I do not hesitate to read l. 4 as

ἐρυθρῷ μελίτῳ κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πάν.

In l. 6 there is presented an even more outrageous scansion. The line runs :

ἴδε σοὶ Βρομίου (so Sylburg for Βρωμίου) αἴθοπα φλεγμὸν  
(or φλεγμῶ).

The hiatus after Βρομίου is inexcusable even in the composition of a schoolboy. It is generally left to stand; but here again Nauck attempts emendation by cutting out αἴθοπα bodily, an utterly uncritical proceeding. We have seen that in the fragment which I confidently assign to Pratinas the genitive ὄνοιο is, beyond possibility of substantial doubt, employed in an iambic trimeter. A termination which Pratinas could use in a senarius Thespis could surely use in anapaests. Read (at least provisionally) :

ἴδε σοὶ Βρομίοι' αἴθοπα φλεγμῶ.

We now see that it is not necessary to assume that the writer of the fragment quoted by Clement was ignorant of ordinary metrical rules. Consequently we are entitled to view with the gravest suspicion the breach



of synapheia which presents itself at the end of the first anapaestic dimeter. The last syllable of λευκὸν ought to be long. It is difficult to see how it can be made long, unless we read the feminine, either λευκὰν or λευκὴν, instead of the neuter. But if we read the feminine, the whole case for the preposterous word κναῖζβι goes by the board. Yet we can see how κναῖζβι came into being. Thespis, if it was Thespis, wrote :

ἴδε σοὶ σπένδω, 'ναῖ, λίβα λευκὰν (or λευκὴν).

ΝΑΞΙΒΑ was taken to be a single mysterious word, and by an easy mistake was corrupted into ΝΑΞΙΒΙΑ. νὰξβίλα offered a splendid opening to the interpolators of the anagram. One of them altered νὰξβίλα λευκὰν (or λευκὴν) to νὰξβι τὸ λευκὸν, which for the purpose of the anagram he expanded into κναῖζβι τὸ λευκὸν, while another of them, as we shall soon see, seems to have taken the Λ of νὰξβίλα as a Χ and to have produced κναῖζβιχ λευκὸν. For two reasons I think that we ought to prefer the Doric λευκὰν to the Ionic or Attic λευκὴν. In the first place κνακῶν, not κνηκῶν, comes in the next line : in the second place the alteration of λευκὰν into λευκὸν involves a graphic difference considerably less than does that of λευκὴν in almost any variety of ancient script. I need hardly say that the occurrence of κνακῶν must have encouraged the anagrammatists to interpolate a κ before νὰξβι : it would only be natural for κνακῶν γάλα to be called by a name beginning with κναῖ-.

From κναῖζβι in l. 1 we will pass to χθύπτῃς. We have seen that the σ is necessary to the anagram. It appears also to be next door to necessary for the sense. Although χθύπτῃς seems to be a *vox nihili*, θύπτῃς, the genitive of θύπτῃ, would suit the context admirably. She-goats have just been mentioned as the source of milk offered to Pan. Now in turn cheese is offered to Pan, and it is natural that it should be ass' cheese, seeing that, after goats, the asses of Arcady were likely to be regarded as, more perhaps than any other animal, under the protection of that deity. The sense requires the feminine θύπτῃς or θύπτῃς, not the masculine θύπτου. θύπτῃ is simply the feminine of θύπτος, the verbal in -τος of τῶφω. It can very well mean *struck silly* or the like.

θύπη, *dolt*, is quite a good name for the she-ass,\* and I suggest that it was one of the picturesque and expressive terms used at Delphi to denote various animals connected with the worship of Apollo. That the Hyperboreans were supposed to sacrifice asses to Apollo is shown by Pindar (*Pyth.* x. l. 33). It is to be observed that, though τυφώδης means *delirious*, yet τυφεδάνος, τυφογέρων, and τυφώνιος denote, not lunacy, but stupidity or silliness. I desire to make it plain that I here read θύπη or θύπτας, and in the *Fragment* assigned by me to Pratinas θύπτας, chiefly on the ground of the combined evidence furnished by the two passages. In the other passage θυσίας appears to conceal some word meaning *of a she-ass*: in this passage, if for χθύπη (required by the anagram instead of χθύπητην) we read θύπη or θύπτας, *of a she-ass*, we cut a Gordian knot. I believe that the two passages throw great light each on the other.

This is the most convenient place at which to consider a variation of the anagram, which variation I have mentioned, but only mentioned, when speaking of κναξζβί. The variation has an important bearing on the text. Hesychius, in three separate places in his lexicon, presents the three following entries: (1) ζαβίχ· λευκόν, (2) θύπη· ὁ τυρός, and (3) κνάξ· γάλα λευκόν. The first entry, in which ζαβίχ is read, comes out of its alphabetical order and in the place appropriate to ζβίχ, which in consequence we may read with safety. It follows from these three entries that Hesychius, instead of κναξζβί and χθύπη, either only knew, or at least preferred, κναξζβίχ (which he took as two words, κνάξ and ζβίχ) and θύπη. Now, although it may at first sight seem that Hesychius is basing himself on the group of words quoted by Clement from Apollodorus, in which case we should have simply another division into words of the letters constituting κναξζβί χθύπη, nevertheless it becomes evident upon consideration that he is actually dealing with the passage which Clement quotes as from Thespis, seeing that otherwise he could not have assigned either to ζβίχ, or to θύπη, or to κνάξ the signification which he does assign to each of them. Indeed, apart from

\* τύφος (*ass*) was a word used in Egypt (Timothy of Gaza, quoted in Cram., *Anec.* iv. 266): the termination at least is Greek. Is *Dobbin* cognate?

this evident fact, it would be strange to find Hesychius ignorant of the Clementine passage. We may therefore postulate that there was a reading in the fragment attributed to Thespis which, in lieu of  $\kappa\nu\alpha\zeta\zeta\beta\iota$  τὸ λευκὸν and  $\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\eta\varsigma$ , presented  $\kappa\nu\alpha\zeta\zeta\beta\iota\chi$  λευκὸν, or  $\kappa\nu\alpha\zeta$   $\zeta\beta\iota\chi$  λευκὸν and  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\eta\varsigma$ . The natural inference is that interpolators were adding letters of the alphabet to an original text in order to exhibit the employment of twenty distinct characters in the words affected, but were unable to agree among themselves at which point to introduce a particular interpolation. This evidence greatly strengthens my argument.

We have seen that in l. 6 Porphyry's  $\phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\omega}$ , instead of  $\phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , the accusative of  $\phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  presented in the text of Clement as chanted by the Milesians, is necessary for the anagram. It is another question whether the fragment, before it was corrupted for anagrammatical purposes, exhibited either  $\phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$  or  $\phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\omega}$ . Indeed at this point Clement's version of the fragment attributed to Thespis does not seem to have been corrupted at all, giving in utter defiance of anagrammatical requirements, the reasonable and, as far as I can see, original reading  $\phi\lambda\omicron\gamma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ .

I am now enabled to present *Fragment* 4 of the *Fragments* ascribed to Thespis in the form in which I consider that it stood before any anagram was foisted into it. Mainly, but not quite entirely, on the strength of  $\kappa\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\omega}\nu$ , I exhibit it as Doric. Doric anapaests are unexpected; but one must not be governed by preconceptions. Here the *Fragment* is :

ἴδε σοὶ σπένδω, ὕναξ, λίβα λευκὰν  
ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλίψας  $\kappa\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\omega}\nu$ .  
ἴδε σοὶ  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\alpha\varsigma$  τυρὸν μείζας  
ἐρυθρῷ μελίτῳ κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πάν  
δίκερως, τίθεμαι βωμῶν ἁγίων.  
ἴδε σοὶ Βρομίοι' αἴθοπα  $\phi\lambda\omicron\gamma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$   
λείβω.

If this line of treatment be correct, it follows that except for the word  $\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\psi$ , which was presumably a stock key-word for the completion of anagrams of a like character, the anagram here interpolated was made up of words



invented or modified *ad hoc*. There is too much distinct indication of the anagram being an interpolation to allow me to regard it as an open question whether the anagram may not be part and parcel of the original composition. Consequently I dismiss as a fable not only the obviously impossible statement about the Milesians in the time of Branchus (who, if he be an historical personage at all, cannot have at the outside been of later date than the seventh century B.C.), but also the whole implication that Thespis, or whoever was the author of the *Fragment*, borrowed three words from a pre-existing formula. What he did was merely to employ, in the case of λίβα, sacrificial language of perhaps a somewhat technical character and, in the case of θύπτας, language which, so at least I suppose, was distinctly of that character: about φλογμὸν I can see no suspicion of anything technical. I conceive it as highly improbable that anyone would have taken the trouble, whether for religious or for educational purposes, to have worked the anagram into the text of any author not reputed to be a leading classic. I therefore incline to suppose that the originator of the anagram thought at any rate that he was dealing with Thespis. It being sufficiently evident that the second group of words mentioned by Clement as having been quoted by Apollodorus of Corcyra is based on this fragment, and not *vice versa*, it follows that the fragment, and the fragment with the anagram already in it, was in existence at the date of Apollodorus. Moreover, seeing that the anagram would not be introduced into a brand-new composition, and seeing more particularly that Apollodorus regarded the collocation of strange words in question as extremely ancient, it results first that the anagram was interpolated a very considerable time before the days of Apollodorus, and secondly that the fragment itself is of still earlier origin. What then is the date of Apollodorus of Corcyra? No Apollodorus of Corcyra is known to us, apart from the statement in Clement, except that an inscription (*C.I.G.* 1855) shows that at some period or other a man of that name was a *prytanis* in the island. But from the subject-matter of the quotation we may be fairly sure that the work cited is Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*, a long collection of

mythological and similar information, which is still partially extant, and which, though not with complete certainty, is attributed to Apollodorus the grammarian, who taught at Athens *circa* 140 B.C. In any case the *Bibliotheca* dates from a period long anterior to that of Clement, containing, as it does, a wealth of *recherch* learning that could never have been brought together in Roman times. We may therefore conclude that in the second century B.C. the *Fragment* already possessed the support of a long tradition. This conclusion is to some extent confirmed by Clement's statement as to Callimachus: the natural meaning of Clement's words is that Callimachus mentioned in his *Iambi* both of the lines reputed to have been recited by the Milesians, and, as I think I have shown, the second of them presupposes the *Fragment*.

I have pointed out that no reason in the nature of things exists why genuine remains of Thespis should not have come down to us, so that it now, if there is anything in my line of argument, becomes a question whether the *Fragment* is the work of Thespis himself or of some forger, such as Heraclides, of the classical period. It would be strange indeed to find such a forger introducing the linguistic characteristics which confront us in it: but I would rather direct attention to another feature. Throughout the piece the element of colour is, if we take into account the usual Greek practice in this respect, extraordinarily prominent. In the first two lines we have milk expressly termed *white*, and the she-goats, which yield it, designated *the tawny-ones*, so that there is not only a mention of two colours but also a colour-contrast. I take  $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\kappa\omega\tilde{\nu}$  as the feminine genitive plural of the adjective  $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ , not as the genitive plural of the doubtful substantive  $\kappa\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\xi$ : I suggest that the presentation of  $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\kappa\omega\tilde{\nu}$ , instead of  $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ , is due to the lines being written in the presumably artificial dialect which objects to the iteration in one word of the Doric  $\tilde{\alpha}$ . But, even if  $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\kappa\omega\tilde{\nu}$  come from  $\kappa\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\xi$ , my statement as to colour still holds good. In the third and fourth lines we have first a mention of cheese, no doubt white cream-cheese, though the colour is not expressed in words, and then a statement that the cheese is mixed

with a *red* (or perhaps *pink* would be a closer translation) combination of wine and honey : we thus have an explicit mention of one colour and an implicit contrast of that colour with another. In the sixth line we have the unmixed juice of the grape set forth in words ablaze with colour as *the wine-god's fire-eyed glow*. Such a consistent and continued harping on the string of colour is found but seldom in Greek literature. The effect is one at which tragedy does not aim and is utterly foreign to the literary atmosphere breathed by Heraclides and his contemporaries. It strikes me rather as similar to the colour-effects of which Theocritus was a master, though crude indeed in comparison with them. It is in short the sort of thing that we should expect to find in Greek pastoral poetry at an early stage of its development. To say this is almost the same as to say that it is the sort of thing that we should expect to find in Thespis.

It appears, if this *Fragment* be rightly attributable to Thespis, that, although it runs only to the length of six lines and one word, it presents more than one point of contact with the not much longer *Fragment* which I ascribe to Pratinas. First, it cannot be reasonably disputed but that both *Fragments* employ a genitive in -οιο, a fact which demarcates both of them from the iambs and anapaests of ordinary tragedy and ordinary Satyric drama. Secondly, it is certain that this *Fragment* uses one picturesque and non-proper animal-name (κνακῶν for αἰγῶν), and I have maintained that it also uses another (θύπτας for ὄνου) : it is, I think, clear that in the other *Fragment* a *she-ass* is designated substantively by a word which has been corrupted into θυσίας. Even if that word be not θύπτας, though I argue that it is, and even if θύπτας ought not to be read in the *Fragment* ascribed to Thespis, yet at any rate the word concealed in θυσίας, as it certainly is not ὄνου, must be justly comparable with the κνακῶν of this *Fragment*. In any case there is a resemblance in this respect between the two *Fragments* ; but, if I am right in reading θύπτας in both, that resemblance becomes extremely close. Thirdly, the insistence on colour for colour's sake, and not because of any dramatic or other relevance, observable in this *Fragment* is curiously paralleled by the use of



μαρμαίροντες in the other *Fragment*. In the vivid phrase,

χαλκῷ δὲ μαρμαίροντες ἀλλάλων χροῖα  
σφάζουσιν,

the words χαλκῷ μαρμαίροντες are brought in simply and solely for a picturesque purpose, and the picturesqueness lies in the colour. Now from any kind of Greek style one can produce analogous expressions when it is a case, for example, of a description of a battle by an eye-witness, but one would have to search long and far before finding such a picturesque touch of colour thrown for colour's sake into an imprecation or into anything other than a narrative of past or passing events. In a case like this the ordinary Greek would have contented himself with some such neutral word as ἔνοπλοι. Fourthly it looks as though this *Fragment*, which is anapaestic, were written in Doric, as the other *Fragment* certainly is, unless I am absolutely deceived as to the copious indications it affords. Here κνακῶν, instead of κνηκῶν, and the relative facility of changing λευκὸν to λευκὴν rather than λευκὴν may not seem much of a foundation on which to build; but it is in the highest degree improbable that κνακῶν is a depravation of κνηκῶν, corruption almost invariably moving in the opposite direction. If Thespis or the author, whoever he was, wrote his anapaests in Doric, he must clearly have been under extremely strong Doric influence.

The employment of κνακῶν, of (as I suggest) θύπτας, and of the expression Βρομίῳ αἴθοπα φλογμόν, all three of which, and especially the last, exhibit a catachrestic turn of language without, it should be noted, the alleviation of explanatory words, leads me, passing from Pratinas, to bring Choerilus into the comparison. At an early point in this chapter I mentioned the fact that of the *origines* of Attic tragedy, earlier than Pratinas, not one identified scrap has been handed down to us, if we except the alleged remains of Thespis and two morsels from Choerilus, viz. :

γῆς ὀστέοισιν ἐγχριμφθεὶς πόδα,

and :

γῆς φλέβες.

These two expressions present catachresis without explanation in just the same way as it is presented in the *Fragment* attributed to Thespis. Nauck indeed, in a footnote to the first page on which he deals with Choerilus, treating of this point, but arguing for the moment from a line of Chaeremon (*Fr.* 17, l. 2):

ὕδωρ τε ποταμοῦ σῶμα διεπεράσαμεν,

says: "Omissum fingas ὕδωρ nomen, et merum habebis aenigma." Consequently he adds to the former of the *Fragments* of Choerilus the explanatory word λίθοισι, reading:

λίθοισι γῆς ὀστοῖσιν ἐγχριμφθεῖς πόδα.

I agree with him as to the *aenigma*, though I should not go so far as to call it *merum*. In fact, when I set side by side the exiguous remains of Choerilus and the fourth *Fragment* attributed to Thespis, I am inclined to think that he has lit upon a characteristic of Attic tragedy in its earliest stage. The former of the two *Fragments* of Choerilus is preserved by Eustathius (*Iliad*, p. 309), whose language seems to me to be such as to exclude the reasonable possibility of the addition of λίθοισι. Eustathius writes, not mentioning the name of Choerilus: τετόλμηται (impersonal passive) δὲ καὶ γῆς ὀστᾶ τοὺς λίθους εἰπεῖν, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ

γῆς ὀστέοισιν ἐγχριμφθεῖς πόδα.

Tzetzes (*Rhet.* iii. p. 650) fixes Choerilus as the author of this *Fragment* and also supplies us with the accompanying *Fragment*, saying in the political metre:

ὥσπερ ποιεῖ Χοιρίλλος

καλῶν τοὺς λίθους γῆς ὀστᾶ, τοὺς ποταμούς γῆς φλέβας.

In the first place I see little or no τόλμα in the expression if λίθοισι be added: in the second place it would be unworthy of the scholarship of Eustathius to quote the line with an omission vitally material to the τόλμα. I therefore reject Nauck's λίθοισι. I also think that, in the case of a writer of the date of Choerilus, he is most rash in changing the ὀστέοισιν of the text of Eustathius to ὀστοῖσιν, especially when, speaking

in his own person, Eustathius himself has just used ὁστᾶ, not ὁστέα. As to the latter of the two *Fragments*, Tzetzes leaves it altogether uncertain what case of φλέβες was employed by Choerilus. That is all I have to say of these two pieces of jetsam. I think it has been worth the saying: even the merest scraps sometimes serve as clues.

As the result of these arguments, protracted, but perhaps not uninteresting, I by no means claim that I have proved the fourth *Fragment* to be authentic. To prove the authenticity of any scrap of five to ten lines ascribed to any author is usually a matter of impossibility. Disproof of authenticity is on the other hand relatively facile. A piece may contain, and often does contain, features inseparable from its framework that patently proclaim it to be not the production of some particular writer to whom it has in error or in fraud been assigned. In this *Fragment*, as presented by Clement, there exist features glaringly inconsistent\* with Thespian authorship. I have however shown that these features are not inseparable from the framework. I have further shown that, if one sets about the task of separation with due deference to the *ductus literarum* and the general conditions of the case, there emerges at once a text of a character indeed somewhat peculiar, but in which there is apparently nothing that Thespis could not have written, though in it there are several features most improbable in a composition by Heraclides. I have also, I believe, pointed out important resemblances not only to the *Fragment*, which personally I ascribe to Pratinas, but also to the two scraps of Choerilus that are still extant, the authorship of which is undoubted. In addition, though by a somewhat complicated process, I consider that I have rendered it at least highly probable that in the second century B.C. the lines, already corrupted, were already of considerable antiquity. By establishing these points, so far as I may have established them, and I think that I have established them, I seem to myself to have put the *Fragment* in the same position as any other fragment that has come down to us labelled by

\* Quite apart from alphabetical considerations.



tradition with the name of a particular author, containing nothing inconsistent with its reputed authorship, and further presenting special features favourable to that authorship. That is not proof of authenticity, but it is evidence of authenticity such as to throw upon its impugnors the burden of disproof. I repeat that I am not attacking any considered judgement of Bentley's\*: I am disputing *obiter dicta* of his which went beyond the evidence before him and which had nothing to do with the real point that he was discussing, namely, not the authenticity of the *Fragment*, but the authenticity of the anagram. Were Bentley alive and a sharer in the advance of that scholarship of which he was the founder, I am by no means sure that he would not himself have undertaken the task which I have essayed, and so secured for the contentions now left to my feeble advocacy a triumphant and a lasting vindication.

## B

On the assumption that all four of the *Fragments* attributed to Thespis are authentic, or even on the assumption, to my mind less probable, that they include forgeries by Heraclides, it is worth our while to endeavour to assign them to their respective plays. Suidas, or whatever author is responsible for the account of Thespis in Suidas' lexicon, writes: Θέσπις Ἰκαρίου πόλεως Ἀττικῆς, τραγικὸς ἐκκαιδέκατος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γενομένου τραγωδιοποιοῦ Ἐπιγένους τοῦ Σικυωνίου τιθέμενος, ὡς δέ τινες, δεύτερος μετὰ Ἐπιγένην ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτον τραγικὸν γενέσθαι φασί. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν χρίσας τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμυθίῳ ἐτραγώδησεν, εἶτα ἀνδράχνη ἐσκέπασεν ἐν τῷ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσήνεγκε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσωπείων χρῆσιν ἐν μόνῃ ὁθόνῃ κατασκευάσας. ἐδίδαξε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ξ' Ὀλυμπιάδος. μνημονεύεται δὲ τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ Ἀθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας, Ἱερεῖς, Ἥιθεοι, Πενθεύς.

I cannot insist too strongly on the paramount value of Suidas' lexicon, when the Drama is in question. A measure of the extent of the information embodied therein is furnished by the fact that in it no less than

\* Though my personal opinion, irrelevant to this discussion, is that he argues from a doubtful premise.

89 tragedies, of the very existence of which we should otherwise be ignorant, are mentioned by name, with the name of the author in every case added. This entry gives proof of detailed acquaintance with facts, or at least with records; and attention must be paid to it. The writer was acquainted, *inter alia*, with at any rate the names (*μνημονεύεται*, *are recorded*, is somewhat indefinite) of four plays reputed in his day to be by Thespis, and he betrays no knowledge of a dispute as to the authorship of any of them, or of the existence of any further plays, attributed to Thespis, but of which the authorship was disputed. Seeing therefore that the fourth *Fragment*, being quoted by Clement, was both before and after Clement's time accessible to lexicographers, and seeing also that the name of the play, genuine or forged, from which that *Fragment* was taken, is unlikely until a late date to have passed into oblivion, I take it as probable that the fourth *Fragment* comes from one or other of the four plays. That there are four plays and also four *Fragments* is a mere coincidence: Suidas is likely to have known far ampler remains than the fragments that have come down to us.

The first *Fragment* is assigned by Pollux to Thespis' *Pentheus*, beyond reasonable doubt the same *Pentheus* as that mentioned in Suidas. The second and third *Fragments* are not cited from named plays, but the latter, with its statements as to Zeus not being addicted to foolish laughter and alone of the gods not knowing voluptuousness, looks as if it came from the *Ἡθεοί*. From the *Ἡθεοί* (*Ode* XVI) of Bacchylides we see that an Attic play entitled *Ἡθεοί* would naturally relate to the tribute of boys and maidens sent to the Minotaur. From the same ode of Bacchylides (ll. 8-129, and especially ll. 20-23) we see that the coarse behaviour of Minos towards one of the maidens, followed by the chivalrous intervention of Theseus on her behalf and the altercation between Minos, who boasts himself a son of Zeus, and Theseus, who proclaims himself a son of Poseidon, gives every opportunity for the utterance by Theseus, in reproof of Minos, of the lines which constitute the third *Fragment*. I go a little further. In view of the fact that Thespis certainly employed only one actor, the episode in question

affords the sole kind of opportunity of which Thespis was at liberty to avail himself for the purposes of tragic dialogue. Theseus, it must be remembered, was actually one of the ἤθροι, that is to say, one of the Chorus : in other words he was *choragus*. By no possible means, except by the employment of a *choragus* who was almost indistinguishable from a *dramatis persona*, can Thespis, restricted as he was to one ὑποκριτής, have introduced dramatic action.

The second *Fragment* may doubtfully, but not unreasonably, if my conjecture, ἐξαφήςας, instead of the awkward ἐξαθρήσας, is adopted, be assigned to the *anagnorisis* in the Ἀθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας (or, rather, Φορβάς). The chief "labour" of Pelias was the slaying of Sidero, the second wife of Salmoneus, because she had illtreated Pelias' mother, Tyro, who was daughter of Salmoneus by his first wife, Alcidence. Pelias, whose father was Poseidon, had been exposed by his mother in his infancy. Consequently an *anagnorisis* was necessary. In the *Tyro* of Sophocles a σκάφη, in which it seems that the exposition took place, serves as the identifying factor. But it is to be observed that the alternative title of the Thespian play is the *Phorbas*. None of the personages of the name of Phorbas appear to have any connexion with the story of Pelias. On the other hand Pelias is reputed to have been so called (see Eustathius, *Od.* p. 1682) from the fact that he was blackened (πελιώω), while exposed, by a kick from a mare. The word φορβάς is frequently applied as an epithet of animals, chiefly horses, *out at grass*, and is in one place (Oppian, *Cyn.* i. l. 386) extant as a substantive meaning a mare. It seems clear that that is the signification of Φορβάς (written Φόρβας, the proper name, in the text of Suidas) in the sub-title. But, if so, it cannot be imagined that the mare was only incidentally mentioned in the play. To account for the importance assigned to her by the very existence of the sub-title, I suggest that Pelias bore her hoof-mark, and that she was produced (I do not mean actually on the stage) for purposes of identification. That assumption would amply justify the sub-title. It would be quite natural, at an intermediate stage of the *anagnorisis*, for the ὑποκριτής, in answer to a question



by the *choragus*, whether the mark on Pelias corresponded with the hoof of the particular mare, to answer: "I do not know from handling it, but I declare to thee what I have seen." It should be observed that such an assumption need not preclude the subsequent appearance of Pelias in person: the single ὑποκριτής may have sustained several parts. While there is nothing even remotely demonstrative about the placing of this second *Fragment*, yet the possibility which I have indicated is not, I think, destitute of interest.

The fourth *Fragment* demands special consideration. We may say at once that neither the *Pentheus* nor the *Etheoe* appears to offer any opportunity for a sacrifice to Pan. We are thus put to our election between the *Athla Peliae* and the *Hieres* (for of course Ἱερῆς, not Ἱερεῖς, is the old form). If I am right in maintaining that the actual shape taken by the individual words which, minus δρόψ, go to make up the anagram, shows that those words are based on words originally in the *Fragment*, and are not pre-existent words employed by the author, it becomes necessary to search for some reason why a tradition, already firmly established some two or three centuries before the Christian era, should have ascribed to the words a Milesian origin, and have connected them with Branchus' purification of Miletus from a pestilence. It is true that there exists the complication that another and similar group of words is identically dealt with by the same tradition; but, even so, the most natural explanation is that the play from which the fourth *Fragment* is taken concerned itself with the purification of Miletus by Branchus. That play was certainly not the *Athla Peliae sive Phorbas*: I suggest that it was the *Hieres*. It must be remembered that the Ionic revolt took place in the lifetime of Thespis: it must also be remembered that his successor, Phrynichus, got himself into trouble by writing his Μιλήτου Ἀλωσις. If the Chorus of the *Hieres* consisted of a band of priests who, under the direction of Branchus, offered sacrifice to Pan in order to remove a pestilence sent by him upon the city, everything would dovetail in. Moreover we should be able, with, I think, an appreciable addition to the vivacity of the passage,

to divide the fourth *Fragment* between three speakers, thus :

- Ἱερεὺς α'. ἴδε σοὶ σπένδω, 'ναῖ, λίβα λευκὰν  
ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλίψας κνακῶν.  
Ἱερεὺς β'. ἴδε σοὶ θύπτας τυρὸν μείξας  
ἐρυθρῷ μελίτῳ κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πάν  
δίκερως, τίθεμαι βωμῶν ἁγίων.  
Ἱερεὺς γ'. ἴδε σοὶ Βρομίῳ' αἴθοπα φλογμὸν  
λείβω.

## C

Suidas' entry, quoted in full at the beginning of the previous section, informs us of the existence of three conflicting opinions with regard to Thespiis. On one view he was the sixteenth in a line of tragedians headed by Epigenes of Sicyon ; on another he stood second in a line likewise so headed ; on yet another he himself held first place. I reserve for discussion in Chapter XI. the bearings of the uncertainty among ancient scholars whether Epigenes, with or without fourteen other writers anterior to Thespiis, ought or ought not to be regarded as truly tragic : in this place I propose only to show that there exists a possibility that remnants of the dramatic, or quasi-dramatic, work of one of the fourteen still survive.

One of the fourteen we can identify with confidence, Alcaeus of Athens. It might be suggested to add to the name of Alcaeus that of Arion ; but, though Arion is said by Suidas to have been credited with the invention of the "tragic style" (*i.e.*, I suppose, the style afterwards adopted by tragedy), no ancient writer alleges that he composed tragedy, and, besides, he seems to have been slightly anterior to Epigenes (see Chapter x.).

Of Alcaeus of Athens we read in an entry of Suidas (*s.v.* Ἀλκαῖος Ἀθηναῖος). This entry, embodying a fourth view, runs thus : Ἀλκαῖος Ἀθηναῖος τραγικός, ὃν τινες θέλουσι πρῶτον τραγικὸν γεγονέναι. I need not labour the point that he must have been anterior to Thespiis and therefore one of the fourteen : no one can ever have attributed the discovery of tragedy to a writer later than Thespiis. This Alcaeus must be distinguished from another Alcaeus, not indeed the lyric poet of

Mytilene, with whom he can scarcely be confused, but Alcaeus, the Attic comedian, himself also, according to Suidas, a native of Mytilene, and perhaps therefore of the same family as the lyric poet. Of him Suidas writes (s.v. Ἀλκαῖος Μυτιληναῖος): Ἀλκαῖος Μυτιληναῖος, εἴτα Ἀθηναῖος· κωμικὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας πέμπτος, υἱὸς δὲ Μίρκου· ἔγραψε δράματα δέκα. Both these entries in Suidas have annoyed scholars of repute. There is a disposition to hold that no tragedian called Alcaeus ever existed, that Μυτιληναῖος is an outrageous error due to a confusion with the lyric poet, and that, as Alcaeus the comedian is stated to have competed with Aristophanes on the occasion of the production of the extant *Plutus* (some think this to be a mistake for Πλοῦτος α'), πέμπτος is unintelligible. I can see no shadow of a reason to dispute the existence of the tragedian. As for Μυτιληναῖος, I will only observe that Μίρκος, the name of Alcaeus the comedian's father, is not Attic. πέμπτος to my mind is quite intelligible, referring probably to some metrical list, not strictly chronological in order, but influenced by considerations of the relative importance of the various comedians and also, it may be, by the exigencies of scansion: in

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae  
Atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est

chronology would indeed demand the transposition of Eupolis and Cratinus, but still there is nothing to offend; so that I can well imagine a Greek list beginning with

Εὐπολὶς ἡδὲ Κρατῖνος Ἀριστοφάνης τε ποιηταί,  
Φρόνιχος, Ἀλκαῖός τε.

I usually seem to find that in matters connected with the drama Suidas is a trustworthy authority.

Now it is among the *Fragments* commonly assigned to Alcaeus the comedian that, if anywhere, we must look for remains of Alcaeus the tragedian. Those *Fragments* come (a) from the *Adelphae Moecheuomenae*, (b) from the *Ganymedes*, (c) from the *Endymion*, (d) from the *Hieros Gamos*, (e) from the *Callisto*, (f) from the *Comoedotragedia*, (g) from the *Palaestra*, (h) from the *Pasiphae*, and (i) from *Incertae Fabulae*. It was doubted



by Fabricius whether the *Comoedotragedia*, the title of which is at first sight suggestive, ought not to be ascribed to Alcaeus the tragedian. Neither of the two *Fragments* from it is cited with a more precise assignment than to Alcaeus. It has since Fabricius' day been observed that *Fr.* 1 of that play consists of *paratragedia* based on Euripides' *Orestes*, ll. 866 *et seq.*, so that no question of its authorship can be raised any longer (I would here warn such readers as may wish, with regard to Alcaeus, to refer to Meineke, that they must consult, in addition to the first and second volumes, not only the *Addenda et Corrigenda*, but also the *Supplementa Addendorum*). But the closing of this particular question does not settle the matter. With one exception, all the other plays indeed are more or less clearly—in some cases to complete demonstration—from the pen of the comedian, and, again with one exception, all the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* are reasonably attributable to that pen. The *Ganymedes* is expressly ascribed to Alcaeus the comedian by Herodian (*Dict. Solit.* p. 24), and so is the *Endymion* by Pollux (ix. 53). The *Callisto* is shown to be a comedy by the metre of *Fr.* 1, l. 1, as is also the *Pasiphae* by the metre of *Fr.* 2. The title of the *Adelphae Moecheuomenae* is in itself sufficient evidence, while the *Hieros Gamos* seems to be a comedy in which, seeing that in *Fr.* 1 the numeral πέμπε is apparently employed, one of the characters speaks Aeolic.

But the two exceptions are of primary importance. They consist of the *Palaestra* and of *Fr.* 1 of the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum*.

Four *Fragments* of the *Palaestra* survive.

The first is presented by Athenaeus (ix. 396 c), in a patch taken from the Epitome, thus : Ἀλκαῖος Παλαίστρα :

ὁδεῖ γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν, εἴ τι γρύξομαι  
ὦν σοι λέγω πλέον τι γαλαθηνοῦ μῦθος.

For μῦθος the early printed editions give ὕος, which may very likely be taken from some ms. of the whole Epitome. The mss. of the Epitome, as distinct from portions of it incorporated in the actual text to fill up gaps, are said to be numerous and seem never to have been properly collated. ὕος appears necessary in view

of γρύξομαι—the word γρῦ was traditionally connected with swine (see the *scholium* on Aristophanes' *Plutus*, l. 17, and compare γρῦλος)—and of the independent fact that the epithet γαλαθηνός is more commonly applied to sucking-pigs than to other animals. Porson proposed γαλαθηνῆς ὕός. This is too violent. συός, which might be suggested, is almost impossible. The word, if the passage be tragic, is indeed admissible; but, when used, it would scarcely have been corrupted, being absolutely familiar from its constant employment in Homer. It is, on the other hand, confined, it would seem, in comedy to epic and anapaestic passages. The only reasonable solution left is γαλαθηνοῦ ὕός, which at once reminds one of Thespis' Βρομίον' αἴθοπα φλογμόν and of Pratinas' ἄντ' ὄνοιο. I propose:

ὄλεϊ γὰρ αὐτός, ἔς τιν' εἴ τι γρύξομαι  
ὣν σοι λέγω πλέον τι γαλαθηνοῦ ὕός.

The second *Fragment* of the *Palaestra* is presented by Athenaeus (xv. 691 B) thus: τὸ δὲ χρίσασθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ ἀλείμματα μυρίσασθαι εἴρηκεν Ἀλκαῖος ἐν Παλαίστραις διὰ τούτων·

μυρίσας συγκατέκλεισεν ἄνθ' αὐτῆς λάθρα.

The masculine μυρίσας is clearly impossible in the context, and moreover it does not scan. One cannot replace it by μυρίσασα, as it is plain from the words of Athenaeus that the middle, not the active, is in question. As μυρισαμένη will not fit in, it is, I think, evident that, for μυρίσας συγ-, we should read ἐμυρίσατ' οὔν. This involves the presentation of the whole line as

ἐμυρίσατ' οὔν κάπεκλυσε πάνθ' αὐτῆς λάθρα.

This restoration, I take leave to say, is strictly scientific and at the same time extremely simple: I regard it as next door to certain. But the result is alien to normal Attic tradition. Nowhere in classical Greek (if we except this passage) does any form occur that enables us to decide as between λύθρος, masculine, and λύθρον, neuter. The masculine first appears as such, *circa* 100 B.C., in Antipater the Epigrammatist (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 323 l. 7), recurring in still later writers, while

the neuter as such—though it is important to observe that Zonaras, who in his *Lexicon* tabulates substantives according to their genders, has, under the heading τὸ Ἀ μετὰ τοῦ Υ and under the sub-heading οὐδέτερον, the entry λύθρον· τὸ μετὰ κόνεως αἶμα—presents itself once only in actual literature, viz. in an anonymous epigram on a statue of Philoctetes (*App. Plan.* 112, l. 3), of the date of which composition one can only say that it appears to be later (because of fairly obvious imitation) than another epigram on the same subject (*App. Plan.* 111) ascribed to Glaucus, whose identity and period are uncertain. Further the plural of the word in question seems not to be found outside Hippocrates, who (1284, 40) uses λύθρων. If then λύθρα be right, this *Fragment* can scarcely pertain to Attic comedy. ἐν Παλαίστραις διὰ τούτων is probably a mere miswriting of ἐνπαλαίστραις κτλ., i.e. ἐν Παλαίστρᾳ εἰς διὰ τούτων, *speaking thus in the Palaestra*. In late Greek ἔημι is so used (e.g. Plutarch, *Mor.* II. 973).

The third *Fragment* of the *Palaestra* is presented by Athenaeus (IX. 370 F), in a patch taken from the Epitome, thus : Ἀλκαῖος Παλαίστρα·

ἤδη δ' ἤψε χύτραν ῥαφάνων.

It is plain that this is minutely descriptive narrative. It is not merely *he* (or *she*) *was boiling a pot of cabbages*, but *he* (or *she*) *was already boiling a pot of cabbages*. Consequently it is as good as certain that the metre is no variety of the anapaestic. The *Fragment* might conceivably be the end of a pentameter: but elegiacs are so exceptional in the drama that it is far more likely to be the beginning of a hexameter. Now the use of hexameters for the purposes for which senarii are ordinarily employed is indeed a feature of Old Comedy, but only of Old Comedy in its primitive stage. Of the extant *Fragments* of Cratinus, reckoned as 450 in number (one need not haggle over the precision of this figure), nineteen certainly, and two more possibly, are hexametrical: of the extant *Fragments* of Eupolis, reckoned as 436 in number (this figure too is near enough), none are hexametrical, though on the basis of Cratinus we should expect to find eighteen ( $450 : 436 :: 19 : 18\frac{92}{225}$ ).



The nineteen certain instances in Cratinus are in the *Archilochi* (Fr. 3, 4, and 5), in the *Cleobulinae* (Fr. 3), in the *Nomi* (Fr. 3 and 4), in the *Odyssees* (Fr. 4 and 5), in the *Panoptae* (Fr. 2 and 3), in the *Seriphii* (Fr. 1 and 2), in the *Cheirones* (Fr. 9 and 22), in the *Horae* (Fr. 3), and in the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* (Fr. 10, 14, 78, and 143): the two doubtful examples are in the *Archilochi* (Fr. 6) and in the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* (Fr. 31). It will be observed that

ἤδη δ' ἤψε χύτραν ῥαφάνων

presents a lilt distinctly unusual. For this lilt compare Cratinus (*Archilochi*, Fr. 3):

εἶδες τὴν Θασίαν ἄλμην οἷ' ἄττα βαῦζει;  
ὥς εὖ καὶ ταχέως ἀπετίσατο καὶ παραχρῆμα.  
οὐ μέντοι παρὰ κωφὸν ὁ τυφλὸς εἶοικε λαλῆσαι.

For more or less culinary references, like that in this *Fragment* of Alcaeus, in the hexameters of Cratinus, see the *Nomi* (Fr. 4), the *Odyssees* (Fr. 4 and 5), and the *Fragmenta Incertarum Fabularum* (Fr. 10, 14, 143). The former of the two just-mentioned *Fragments* from the *Odyssees* (Fr. 4) is valuable as exhibiting a morsel of descriptive narrative—in the form of a statement of the past action of the persons addressed—in hexametrical metre, and the latter (Fr. 5) as offering an indubitable (as the former a probable) example of the employment of that metre by a character, other than the *choragus*, as a medium of dialogue. This second feature is only a little less certainly also to be observed in the *Seriphii* (Fr. 1 and 2). On the figures mentioned above, one extant *Fragment* of Cratinus in every  $23\frac{13}{19}$  is hexametrical. If this ratio fairly represents his practice, then, taking the length of a drama of the Old Comedy as  $1407\frac{1}{2}$  lines (the Aristophanic average, excluding the *Plutus*), we find that a play of Cratinus must have contained, on an average, between fifty-nine and sixty hexameters. In other words, the Old Comedy, as handled by him, made a prominent feature of hexameters, and, as we have seen, employed them, sometimes at least, as the vehicle of non-choric speeches. It is into this kind of atmosphere, surely as remote from that of Alcaeus the comedian as

from that of Aristophanes himself, that the third *Fragment* of the *Palaestra* seems to lead us.

The fourth *Fragment* of the *Palaestra* is presented by Athenaeus (III. 107 F) thus : ἡπάτιον δ' εἶρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν Παλαίστρᾳ Εὐβουλός τ' ἐν Δευκαλίωνι. This *Fragment* need not long delay us. No man of sense, in the absence of specific evidence, would suggest that a predecessor of Thespis was bound to eschew diminutives. That Athenaeus mentions Alcaeus, the author of the *Palaestra*, between Aristophanes and Eubulus may indicate that he identifies him with Alcaeus the comedian, or it may not : it is possible that Aristophanes heads the list simply on the ground of his superior eminence.

Together with the four *Fragments* of the *Palaestra* we must consider the first *Fragment* of the *Incertae Fabulae* attributed to Alcaeus, a *Fragment* difficult in much the same sense as that in which the first three *Fragments* of the *Palaestra* are difficult, and coming perhaps from that or a kindred play. It is presented in the existing text of Athenaeus (VII. 316 c), in a patch from the *Epitome*, thus : Ἀλκαῖος·

ἔδω δ' ἐμαυτὸν ὥς πολύπους.

This quotation is not due to Athenaeus, who is discussing only the correct forms of the oblique cases of πολύπους. He, starting with the occurrence of πολύποδος in Homer, first gives Attic quotations exhibiting the accusative singular πολύπουν, the accusative plural πολύπους, the genitive singular πολύπου, and the genitive plural πολύπων. He then proceeds to remark that πολύποδα is also possible, and cites in support of it the genitive singular πολύποδος, from, be it observed, the *Adelphae* of Alcaeus, and the accusative plural πολύποδας. He then passes from the grammatical topic. But the epitomiser has removed out of its place the remark of Athenaeus to the effect that πολύποδα, as well as πολύπουν, is a lawful form and has dumped it at the foot of the whole series of quotations, and moreover has jumbled up together the two portions of the series, i.e. the portion that supports πολύπουν and the like and the portion that supports πολύποδα and the like. To make matters

worse, at the extreme end of the series so jumbled up, and not in immediate sequence to the passage from Alcaeus' *Adelphae*, the busybody has added the irrelevant quotation which is our present concern : 'Αλκαῖος·

ἔδω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ὥς πουλύπους.

To crown all, immediately after the transferred remark of Athenaeus as to πουλύποδα, he has inserted a no less irrelevant interpolation, standing all by itself : Εὐπολις Δήμοις·

ἀνὴρ πολίτης πουλύπους εἰς τοὺς τρόπους.

As nothing is known *aliunde* either of the *Fragment* from Alcaeus or of that from Eupolis, we should perhaps be grateful to the epitomiser for inverting his functions ; but both quotations (the latter as regards πολίτης) appear to be corrupt. One would suppose that the epitomiser dug them up out of some lexicon or anthology. That he found the former attributed to an Alcaeus so described as to be supposed by him to be a comedian, not to Alcaeus the lyric poet, seems to be indicated by the three facts that he added it to a series of quotations taken exclusively from comedy, that the other quotation added by him is from comedy, and that, had he wanted non-comic examples of πουλύπους, better known ones were ready to his hand. In drama the words

ἔδω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ὥς πουλύπους

will scan, in a way, if divided between two trochaic tetrameters, thus :

ἔδω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ὥς  
πουλύπους.

But trochaic tetrameters are stilted things, and the (may I say ?) inverted enjambement involved in such an occurrence of ὥς at the end of a line is most unlikely. Or one could have recourse to catalectic iambs :

ἔδω δ' ἑμαυτὸν  
ὥς πουλύπους.

Yet both these possibilities vanish the moment we disturb the hopelessly unattic, or rather the militantly anti-Attic, ἔδω, which is the most manifest token of corruption. Substitute ἔδομαι, or anything else in reason,



and you are left in a metrical impasse, unless you go on to alter *πουλύπους*. In other words, *ἔδω* and *πουλύπους* both give trouble. Now the *Fragment* is manifestly based on Hesiod's (*Op.* 522)

ἀνόστεος ὃν πόδα τένδει.

From Hesiod each of the two offending words can be corrected. I propose reading, as the first five feet of a senarius :

τένδω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ὥς ἀνόστεος.

I put it that two explanations, *ἔδω* and *πουλύπους*, have supplanted *τένδω* and *ἀνόστεος*. I regard *ἔδω* as an etymological explanation, not as in any sense a translation into any kind of Attic or vernacular. *τένδω* was thought to be formed from *ἔδω*, as appears from Eustathius, who writes (*Il.* p. 773) : ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἔδειν τὸ τένδειν παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ. My suggestion is that the epitomist, not, as we have seen, a very intelligent man, being on the lookout for comic instances of the use of *πουλύπους* and finding in some lexicon or the like *τένδω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ὥς ἀνόστεος*· Ἀλκαῖος Ἀθηναῖος· *ἔδω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ὥς πουλύπους*, transferred the *ἔδω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ὥς πουλύπους* to the pages of the Epitome, assigning it to Alcaeus, meaning Alcaeus the comedian. I cannot establish my theory by even an approach to positive proof ; but at least I can commend it by the consideration that on no other hypothesis equally simple does it seem possible to account for the monstrous *ἔδω*, which is not, like *τένδω* or *λύθρα*, a mere exotic, but a form that sins against the deepest instincts of Attic. Now *τένδω* and *ἀνόστεος* go in one sense together ; but *ἀνόστεος* is to my mind the more important of the two. If you admit it to the *Fragment*, you exhibit the author as adopting a mode of expression which recalls the *κνακῶν*, *θύπτας*, and *Βρομίοι' αἴθοπα φλογμόν* of Thespis, the *θύπτας* of Pratinas, and the *γῆς ὀστέοισιν*, and *γῆς φλέβες* of Choerilus.

We see then that there are serious difficulties in the way of ascribing the *Palaestra* to Alcaeus the comedian. If we assign it and the sister *Fragment* to the earlier Alcaeus of Athens, whose date we may perhaps put roughly at 550 B.C., all difficulties disappear. That Alcaeus would, on this view, seem to have written, like

the very early Attic comedians, senarii with an infusion of sometimes strangely lilting hexameters, and, also like them and like the Satyric dramatists, to have dealt in part with homely topics, although, in order to account for what Suidas tells us, we must take it that his main treatment was serious and even tragic. Agreeably with this conclusion, we find from *Fr. 3* that in all probability Palaestra is not, as some have supposed, the name of a courtesan, but means *the Wrestling School*, and, equally agreeably therewith, we notice that, although a diminutive occurs in the play, none of the extent senarii of the play and *Fragment* admit, so far as can be judged, any variations of scansion other than those that the tragedians, properly so called, were accustomed to employ, a legacy, no doubt, from a remote antiquity. Yet in the remains which constitute *Fr. 2* of the *Palaestra* we encounter two trisyllabic feet (*cf.* Thespis, *Fr. 1*), a combination forbidden in early Satyric drama. On the other hand, if I have rightly restored the outlying *Fragment*, we have in it a turn of speech suggestive not only of Thespis and of Choerilus, but also of Pratinas; and other language seems to be borrowed, like some of that of Satyric drama, from the Epic fringe. Thus, though as in a glass darkly, we see, or appear to see, evidence, not of the sporadic emergence, before the time of Thespis, of an accidental anticipation of tragedy, but—a very different thing—of the existence of an embryonic tragic tradition. Yet I do not venture to suggest that the play was a drama proper. A Chorus there must have been, and a *choragus*, perhaps also (see Chapter XI.) some Satyrs who cracked jokes. I take it that the *choragus* told a tragic tale. Perhaps the innovation of Alcaeus was that he was the first Athenian to introduce an ἄγγελος. That would have been a great stride forward in the direction of dramatic action.

But my real contention is simply this—that it is reasonably possible that we possess some remnants of the work of Alcaeus of Athens.

In Chapter XI. I show that on a survey of the particular circumstances one would almost necessarily expect the first “tragedy” of Epigenes to deal, from an anti-Argive point of view, with the legend of Adrastus, and

that by far the most obvious title for it would be the *Melanippus*. Now, although not a scrap of Epigenes' work is known to survive, yet among the Latin tragedies, at least twenty-three in number, that are clearly based on lost Greek plays, but of which the originals are of unrecorded authorship, stands the *Melanippus* of Attius. As in the last Chapter I pointed out that the Latin *Nelei Carmen* may be founded on a *Neleus* by Pratinas, so here I suggest that Attius' *Melanippus* is perhaps an imitation of a *Melanippus* by Epigenes. At any rate there is, so far as I am aware, no evidence even tending in the direction of establishing the existence of any Greek *Melanippus* other than the *Melanippus* postulated by me. That being so, I will round off this discussion by presenting the one extant *Fragment* of the Latin play. It is given in two forms. Cicero writes (*Tusc. Disp.* III. 9, 20): "Ut est in *Melanippo*,

"Quisnam florem liberum invidit meum?"

Male Latine videtur, sed praeclare Attius." But Nonius (500, 13) quotes the *Fragment* as :

"Unde aut quis mortalis florem liberum invidit meum?"

One seems to be dealing with a trochaic tetrameter, and that is all that can be said.

NOTE.—I must briefly mention a late account (John Malalas, pp. 61 and 142; *Anecd. Par.* p. 227) which speaks of three ancient tragedians, (1) *Θέμις* (masculine), inventor of tragic melodies and the first producer of plays, (2) *Μίνως*, and (3) after *Μίνως* one *Αὔλέας*, both of them composers of "tragic chori of plays." It is added that from the works of these three Euripides derived numerous plots. I agree with the view that *Θέμις* is a transformation of *Θέσπις*. I suggest that by *Μίνως* is meant *Μύλλος*, one of the trio that refounded Attic comedy: only one letter really varies, as in late Greek *Μύλλος* can without change of pronunciation be spelt *Μίλως*. *Αὔλέας* must, I fear, stand (such is fame!) for *Αἰσχύλος*.



## CHAPTER X

## DE CHORO :

AN ALLEGED DIALOGUE BY SOPHOCLES, IN WHICH THE  
DISPUTANTS ARE THESPIS, CHOERILUS, AND HIMSELF.

Sermones deorum. HORACE.

## A

IN the biographical account of Sophocles contained in Suidas' lexicon occurs a statement which is almost universally ignored, and, when not ignored, is so interpreted, contrary, I believe, to the natural and indeed the necessary meaning of the language in which it is couched, as to present a patent anachronism necessitating its summary rejection.

The statement is this : καὶ ἔγραψεν (*i.e.* Sophocles) ἔλεγείαν τε καὶ παιᾶνας, καὶ λόγον καταλογάδην περὶ τοῦ χοροῦ, πρὸς Θέσπιν καὶ Χοιρίλον ἀγωνιζόμενος.

I am concerned only with the latter portion of this sentence. That portion, when mentioned at all by modern scholars, is dismissed as involving the anachronism of a contest of some sort, or even, on the strength of ἀγωνιζόμενος, a dramatic contest, between Thespis and Sophocles. The words in Suidas carry no anachronistic implication whatever, as will, I think, be seen on an examination of their meaning.

Whether they deserve credence is another question. Personally I find the dramatic information supplied by Suidas not only so much more extensive but also so much more consistent and intelligible than that to be obtained from any other work or collection, except of course the *Poetics* of Aristotle, that I am more than inclined to pay something like positive deference to the statements on the subject in his lexicon, even if, though here that is not strictly the case, they stand without a vestige of corroboration. Nothing is more certain than that somehow or other there is embodied in Suidas a tradition of extreme antiquity.

I will therefore proceed to examine the language used by Suidas. The expression λόγον καταλογάδην περὶ τοῦ χοροῦ, πρὸς Θέσπιν καὶ Χοιρίλον ἀγωνιζόμενος is strangely similar in its wording to a statement in the same lexicon (*s.v.* "Ἡρων Κότυος) that Heron the son of Cotys wrote a book περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν λόγων οἷς ἐνίκησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζόμενοι. I should suppose in any case, and this latter entry seems to confirm the supposition, that Suidas means that Sophocles took part in a contention or disputation with Thespis and Choerilus, not that he merely impugned their practice. But, seeing that it was in a prose work that he contended or disputed with them, one of two results follows. Either, an extravagant assumption, there were works on the same subject by Thespis and Choerilus, the contents of which Sophocles set himself to rebut, or else, a reasonable hypothesis, Sophocles' work was a dialogue in which Thespis, Choerilus, and himself were the disputants. I unhesitatingly adopt the second alternative as the meaning that Suidas intended to convey.

I must not however, in arriving at this conclusion, be thought to be influenced by any supposed implication contained in the word καταλογάδην. Compilers of dictionaries indeed attempt to deduce its all but invariable signification, *in prose*, from a fictitious meaning, *by way of conversation*. The passages in which the word occurs in strictly classical Greek are five. Four of them are in Plato (*Symposium*, 117 ; *Lysis*, 204 ; *Hippias Minor*, 368 ; and *Leges*, VII. 811) and one in Isocrates (*Ad Nicoclem*, 16 B). In the passage in Plato's *Laws* stories written καταλογάδην are actually distinguished not only from poems, but also from stories handed down by mere word of mouth. I do not think that καταλογάδην has anything to do with κατὰ λόγον, nor indeed am I aware that κατὰ λόγον itself could mean *in conversation*. The form seems to me necessarily that of the adverb from an adjective καταλογάς. For that reason I similarly abstain from deriving it from κατάλογος, a *catalogue*. I suggest that the true explanation of the word is to be found in the use of λογάς and λογάδην (Thucydides, IV. 4, Pausanias, VII. 22, 5 ; see also λιθολόγος, Plato, *Leges*, VII. 858, etc.)

of unhewn stones *picked up*, or perhaps *chosen*, for the purposes of such building as that which is called Cyclopean. I consider that καταλογάδην is merely an equivalent of λογάδην and that in the word we have an example of the application to literature of a metaphor taken from architecture. It is to be observed that it may seriously be questioned whether in Photius' preface to his *Lexicon* τῶν λογάδων λέξεων ought not to be corrected, as the Dresden apograph corrects it, to τῶν λογάδην λέξεων: in any case Adrian the Biblical critic (*Isagoge*, p. 27), a writer whom Photius recommends to students and who probably is following classical tradition, employs λογάδην in the sense of καταλογάδην.

The meaning of καταλογάδην in Suidas' lexicon is quite plain. As a word it occurs in its proper alphabetical place, the entry being: καταλογάδην· τὰ πεζῷ λόγῳ γραφόμενα. I have observed its use under the headings Ἀγαθίας, Ἀριστέας, Ἰστρος, Κάδμος Πανδίοιος, Ὀμηρος Σέλλιος, Παρμενίδης, Πίνδαρος, and Σώφρων Κωμικός. The entry as to Agathias is necessarily late; but the others may well be of early origin. In all these entries, if we compare them together, we see that καταλογάδην simply means *in prose*, not *in conversation*, though in the case of the *Mimes* of Sophron the prose happens to be cast in conversational form.

The only difficulty that in any kind of Greek seems to present itself arises from a mention by Athenaeus (x. 445 B) of οἱ καταλογάδην ἱαμβοὶ of Asopodorus of Phlius. I suggest that we have here a special and peculiar application of the architectural metaphor and that Asopodorus put together iambic lines of varying lengths and so produced an appearance of Cyclopean irregularity.

I have stated somewhat fully the relevant facts concerning καταλογάδην, as I desire to disclaim any adventitious support from the accident that that word is employed: but it remains true that the natural interpretation of Suidas' statement is that Sophocles composed a dialogue in which Thespis, Choerilus, and himself were the disputants.

What are we to say of the credibility of the assertion that Sophocles composed such a dialogue? It appears to involve no historic anachronism. Choerilus is known



(see Smith's *Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*) to have been alive at least as late as 483 B.C., when he was presumably about 65 years of age. Thespis, of the date of whose death we know nothing, may easily, so far as our information goes, have survived until after 480 B.C., though it is probable that in that year he must have been at least nearing the age of eighty, seeing that he produced his first tragedy in 535 B.C. Now, in the year 480 B.C. Sophocles, being at the time about fifteen, or equivalent in maturity to an undergraduate or even a young graduate at an English university, led the Chorus round the trophy on the occasion of the celebration of the victory at Salamis. At that function we may be sure that Choerilus, unless away from Athens or sick, was both present and prominent. As far as our knowledge goes, Thespis may have been there also; and, if he was there, it is clear that he cannot have come unhonoured. There is thus an undeniable possibility that on that occasion the youthful Sophocles actually engaged with Thespis and Choerilus in a conversation on the subject of the Chorus, and that in later life he may have worked up this conversation into a dialogue not altogether dissimilar from the dialogues of Plato. Or, without such a conversation having taken place, he may have availed himself of the fact, if it be a fact, that Thespis, Choerilus, and himself were all three present at the dance around the trophy to compose a dialogue suitable to the requirements of the situation. The dramatic value of a meeting between the white-haired father of Attic tragedy, the already old, but far less aged, "king among the Satyrs," and the boy who was destined in due time to build on the foundations that they had laid a palace more perfect than any of which they had dreamt, is in itself a theme worthy of any artist. If we suppose that the place and time of this meeting were beside the Athenian trophy and on the day of high thanksgiving for the Salaminian victory, then it is a theme of which but few artists have been worthy. It is a theme suited to Sophocles. If we look away from the splendid setting of the dramatic meeting to the subject-matter of the conversation in its relation to the three speakers, we find an extraordinarily promising

and attractive ground-work on which to base a dialogue. Thespis had received from his Sicyonian predecessors (see Chapter XI.) a choral and embryonic drama and was acquainted with another embryonic drama, that of the dithyramb, which latter either consisted entirely of chorus, or else, as I interpret Suidas' statement with regard to Arion, of chorus with a certain admixture of spoken, not sung, remarks made by Satyrs. Out of this material—directly, I maintain, out of that which came from Sicyon—he had constructed the beginning of true tragedy, retaining however the enormous predominance of the choric element. It would be fitting for him to speak of Sicyonian tragedy and the dithyramb at large and of the changes which he himself introduced into the chorus when he brought an actor upon the stage. Choerilus may well have dealt both with the developments of the tragic chorus affected by the later contemporaries of Thespis, himself included, and also with the whole subject of the Satyric chorus as originated by Pratinas and improved by himself, for it was in the Satyric sphere that he won his chief renown. Easily too, both Thespis and Choerilus may have discussed other kinds of chorus altogether, inasmuch as the occasion of the discussion was a dance around a trophy and therefore, it may be inferred, in the nature of a pæan. The young Sophocles may well have been represented in the dialogue as listening with respect to the opinions of his elders, and afterwards as adumbrating a nobler form of tragedy in which the choric parts should be far shorter, but at the same time far more perfect, the ideal, in fact, which he realised in his own plays. Thespis and Choerilus may then have argued against him, and he have replied in the language of disputation, ἀγωνιζόμενος, but yet in that quiet tone of well-bred courtesy of which he was a master. It would, I think, have been a task highly congenial to Sophocles to represent himself in his boyhood controverting effectively, and yet with such urbanity as to give no hint of an offence against the modesty proper to his years, the patriarchal sages of the tragic art.

So far as we have gone, it appears to be eminently credible that Sophocles should have composed the dialogue which Suidas attributes to him. The difficulty is

that no express mention of the dialogue is to be found elsewhere, although possibly (see under heading B) both a short quotation from it and also the gist of a particular criticism contained in it have been preserved. This difficulty is real, but I do not personally consider it crucial. In the first place, during the centuries from which we derive most of our knowledge on tragic matters, general interest was so almost exclusively concentrated on Euripides that one need not be surprised by lack of information on points connected with Sophocles, even though those points be of prime importance. Secondly, so much of the statements relating to pre-Euripidean poets, which we now possess, reposes on the sole authority of Suidas, and so manifestly does Suidas make use of records respecting them, which records were absolutely unknown to other lexicographers and commentators, that to find this particular statement preserved in Suidas alone is after all only what we might reasonably have been led to expect.

On the whole, I give my vote in favour of receiving this particular statement as true. In any case, it bears about it no feature of improbability to enable the modern scholar to employ it as a weapon of attack against the general credibility of Suidas.

## B

If Sophocles wrote a prose dialogue, as suggested above, or even if such a dialogue, though a forgery, passed under his name, we are able to place a prose fragment (Sophocles, *Fr.* 1121, among the *Fragmenta Dubia et Spuria*) attributed to him by Eustathius, who, on the evidence of his existing text, writes (*Odyssey* p. 1538): τοξοποιεῖ γοῦν τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ δεσμεῖ καὶ συνάγει ὁ σκυθρωπάζων. λέγει δέ που καὶ Σοφοκλῆς τὸ

τηροῦντα τοὺς λέγοντας καὶ συνάγοντα τὰς ὀφρῦς  
καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας ἐπεγείροντα,

εἰπὼν τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀπὸ ἰχθύων, οἳ τὰς ἀκάνθας ὀρθοῦσι καὶ ῥῖ θυμοῦ.

The words in question may well have been put into the mouth of Thespis as describing the demeanour of some one of the audience when he introduced the innova-



tion of an actor and the actor began to converse with the *choragus*. Possibly somewhere in the context Thespis spoke of the audience as ἰχθύες (see Plutarch, *Mor.* 975 B : ἰχθῦς τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀνοήτους λαιδοροῦντες ἢ σκώπτοντες ὀνομάζομεν).

Editors up to the present have supposed Eustathius to have nodded when he attributed the words to Sophocles. Brunck assigns them to Aristophanes ; but, as they stand, they are manifestly prose.

There exists an apparently corroborative passage in John the Siceliot, which passage (Walz' *Rhet.* vi. 225) runs in the existing text : φαίνεται δὲ ἡ ἀτοπία τοῦ ποιητοῦ (*i.e.* of *Aeschylus*) μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ τῆς Ὀρειθυίας δράματι, ὅπου ταῖς δυσὶ σιαγόσι φουσῶν ὁ Βορέας κυκᾷ τὴν θάλασσαν· οὐ γὰρ φέρω ἐπὶ μνήμης τὰ ἱαμβεῖα ἐπιλαθόμενος· διὸ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς μιμεῖται. λέγει δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβέστερον Λογγῖνος ἐν τῷ κα' τῶν Φιλολόγων.

The ἀτοπία of a particular expression or image in *Aeschylus* is so far from being a reason why *Sophocles* should imitate that expression or image that various scholars have seen that the words διὸ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς μιμεῖται are in some way corrupt. Jannarakis' emendation διὸ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς μωμεῖται, appears to me to carry conviction. But, if that be the right reading, the only natural inference is that *Sophocles*, the tragic poet, wrote, or was reputed to have written, some composition or other in which a piece of dramatic criticism found a place. No such composition, save the *De Choro*, can be suggested.

Longinus (*On the Sublime*, \* cap. 3), from whom John, as will be seen from the order of his statements, derives his information, not only as to *Aeschylus' Orithyia*, but also as to *Sophocles' part* in the matter mentioned, presents a most unfortunate *lacuna* of two whole pages at the point where *Boreas* puffing with both cheeks at the sea and *Sophocles' criticism* must have been mentioned. When the *lacuna* ends, we find him in the middle of a quotation from the *Orithyia*, in the surviving latter portion of which there is no mention of *Boreas*.

\* It would seem from the words of John the Siceliot either that Longinus' treatise *On the Sublime* is identical with the 21st Book of the *Philologi*, or else that he repeated himself to a marked extent.

He then dismisses the subject in the following words : οὐ τραγικὰ ἔτι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ παρατράγωδα, αἱ πλεκτάναι καὶ τὸ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐξεμεῖν καὶ τὸ τὸν Βορέαν αὐλητὴν ποιεῖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξῆς· τεθόλωται γὰρ τῇ φράσει καὶ τεθορύβηται ταῖς φαντασίαις μᾶλλον ἢ δεδεῖνωται. Now πλεκτάνη occurs in one of the verses quoted, but nothing about τὸ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐξεμεῖν. It is not possible to determine how much of what is now *lacuna* was originally concerned with the *Orithyia* ; but there is ample space for a fairly long discussion. Perhaps the statement as to Sophocles was made immediately after the line to which it referred, the quotation being broken off for that purpose and then resumed : or it may have occurred in the preliminary remarks with which the topic must have been introduced.

The authority of Longinus (I use this name because I am in no way convinced by the arguments advanced of late against its correctness) carries such deserved weight that I have thought it well to set forth exactly what amount of reason there is for supposing that he stated Sophocles to "censure" (note the present tense, which implies an extant work) a line or passage in Aeschylus. Uncertainty, so far as it exists, attaches to two points, *viz.* to the true reading in John and to John's trustworthiness. But, even so, there is strong evidence for the jury.\*

\* If, as I suggest in my *Appendix to Introductory Chapters*, the *Orithyia* is identical with that *Prometheus* which constituted the Satyric drama of the tetralogy that included the *Persae*, then there is every appropriateness in the *Orithyia* being discussed on the occasion in question : only it would have to be brought in by one of the disputants as having been read privately to him, from a work in preparation, by his friend Aeschylus, seeing that the tetralogy was not produced until the archonship of Menon. It seems to me likely that the anonymous Satyric (as exhibiting a diminutive) fragment quoted by Cicero (*Att.* II. 16, 2), which is printed as *Fr.* 768 of Sophocles, is from Aeschylus' *Orithyia*, and that the condensed variation of the same fragment, with the meaning materially altered, quoted, as from Sophocles, by Longinus (*Subl.* 3, 2) is a sort of *jeu d'esprit* introduced by Sophocles, in the course of his criticism of the original, in the *de Choro*.

## CHAPTER XI

## ORIGINES

Nec scire fas est omnia. *Attributed to HORACE.*

THE dithyramb is the precursor, though in my opinion not the parent, of tragedy, properly so called, and of Satyric drama alike. It consists in its essence of a dance in honour of Dionysus. It was evidently an established institution in the time of Archilochus (*circa* 700 B.C.), who writes (*Fr.* 77):

ὥς Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος  
οἷδα διθύραμβον, οἶνω συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

But one would gather from his words that in his day it was more or less in the nature of an impromptu, or, at least, not part of any official ceremonial. It appears to have been regulated and regularised by Arion (*circa* 600 B.C.), who thus may, though in a very loose sense, be called its originator. Of him Suidas states: λέγεται . . . πρῶτος χορὸν στήσαι, καὶ διθύραμβον ᾄσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾄδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας. For a discussion of this statement see a later portion of this chapter.

The introduction by Arion, in addition to the Chorus, of Satyrs, speaking, not singing, in metre, constitutes the embryo, so to speak, of drama. But it does not appear that the Satyrs' utterances bore any resemblance to a play. More probably they were made up of *badinage*, and one may take it for granted that, when the Chorus danced, the Satyrs, in view of their traditional characteristics, danced also, though probably in a grotesque manner. No doubt they served as a foil to the more dignified Chorus.

In the year 535 B.C. Thespis produced the first Attic tragedy. He converted, not indeed, in my opinion, the dithyramb, but something more or less analogous,



into tragedy, and thereby into drama proper, by introducing, in addition to the Chorus, a single actor. It is as good as certain that he did not take over the Satyrs whom Arion had brought into the dithyramb: indeed it is probable that the particular tradition which he developed had never admitted them. His successors in the tragic art knew nothing of these Satyrs, and there is no hint to be found anywhere that the change was made at a date intermediate between that of Thespis and that of Aeschylus, who began to produce only thirty-six years later (499 B.C.), numerous tragedies having been written in the interval by the Athenians Choerilus and Phrynichus, and by the Phliasian Pratinas, which last, however, is more celebrated in another connexion.

The dithyramb was by this time well known among the Dorians, and the development, though not, as I shall argue, exactly of the dithyramb, originated by Thespis cannot have failed to excite interest in Doric cities round about, especially, as will in due course be seen, those that, like Phlius, were in the neighbourhood of Sicyon. That development, however, had, for the moment at least, a difficulty with which to contend. Tragedy had not yet become hallowed by tradition, and it certainly made far less a feature of the worship of Dionysus than did the dithyramb. Hence, no doubt, arose some popular discontent, and, in all probability, the proverb, the precise origin of which I discuss later, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον. For whatever motive, but very likely in order to remove the cause of this discontent, Pratinas, either at Phlius itself or later when he came (if he did come otherwise than as a mere visitor) to Athens, invented a new genre, namely Satyric drama. Equally with the Athenian tragedians he perceived that it would not do either from the point of view of Greek simplicity or as a matter of practical convenience to combine together all three elements, *viz.* the original Chorus, dithyrambic or other, the Satyrs of Arion, and a dramatic actor: but he solved the difficulty in a way of his own. He introduced the actor, but, instead of doing without Satyrs, he did without the old Chorus, converting the Satyrs of Arion into a Chorus in its place. Thus he managed to retain a marked Dionysiac

flavour. But the presence of the Satyrs compelled him, probably not against the grain, though his aim was tragedy, not comedy, to pitch his tragedy in a minor and peculiar key. Hence Satyric drama is what it is.

The above account of the relations between the dithyramb, tragedy, and Satyric drama seems to me to be in outline the only account consistent with the statement of Suidas as to the introduction by Arion of Satyrs into the dithyramb. Writer after writer in modern times has, in defiance of Suidas, taken for granted that Satyrs constituted the actual dithyrambic Chorus. If that be so, the statement (also made by Suidas) that Pratinas πρώτος ἔγραψε σατύρους would be almost meaningless. In fact what Suidas says about Arion appears to me not only to be true, but also to explain a subsequent situation which, without that information being afforded, would be baffling in the extreme.

The precise date at which Pratinas originated Satyric drama is uncertain, nor is it known in what year he came to reside (if he did reside) at Athens. Thespis had been so successful in commending tragedy to the public, or rather, perhaps, to Hipparchus, that in 523 B.C. we find a competition for a tragic prize already established and Choerilus a competitor. Now Pratinas was somewhat younger than Choerilus. Pratinas himself is known to have competed at Athens in 499 B.C. He probably came to Athens (if indeed he ever took up his residence there) somewhere between these two dates. As Choerilus excelled in Satyric drama as well as in tragedy, it seems probable, in order to allow time for the new development to establish itself and be taken up by the Athenian dramatist, that Pratinas invented it not later than 500 B.C., and quite likely that he did so some ten or fifteen years earlier. At any rate Choerilus cannot well have lived on much after 465 B.C. (when he must have been over eighty years of age), and long before then he must have begun acquiring his fame as a Satyric composer.

It is entirely unknown to whom is due the arrangement by which one Satyric drama was exhibited together with a set of three tragedies. Suidas ascribes to Pratinas 32 Satyric dramas and eighteen other plays. If these figures are correct, Pratinas would seem not to be the

author of the arrangement ; but nevertheless the arrangement itself—which is, subject to one exception, the only arrangement we hear of in the time of his junior contemporary, Aeschylus—may quite well have been insisted upon at Athens from the time of the first Athenian recognition of the Satyric drama, and Pratinas may have had to conform to it whenever he competed at the Athenian Dionysia. It is not improbable that the majority of his Satyric dramas were exhibited at Phlius or other Dorian cities. The one exception, whether actual or due to error in record, to the arrangement in Aeschylean times which coupled three tragedies with one Satyric play is the following. The argument to the *Septem* of Aeschylus informs us that on the occasion when Aeschylus won the first prize with the tetralogy of which the *Septem* forms part Aristion (evidently Aristias is meant) came second with the *Perseus*, the *Tantalus*, and his father Pratinas' Satyric play, the *Palaestae*. The argument goes on to say that Polyphrasmon came third with a tetralogy called the *Lycurgia*. It is so strange to find a trilogy, of two tragedies and one Satyric drama, thus sandwiched in between two regular tetralogies that one naturally suspects that the name of a third tragedy by Aristias has accidentally dropped out. But at the same time it is not impossible that Aristias may have been permitted to compete with such a group of plays as was customary at Phlius, although as a matter of fact we have nothing whatever to show us what the practice at Phlius was.

I desire to revert here to the statement of Suidas with regard to Arion. We have already seen reason to accept that part of it which refers to the introduction of Satyrs. But it seems to me that the entire statement in its most literal sense is not unworthy of credence. The lexicon of Suidas, in the form in which it now exists, is, as certain entries demonstrate, not of earlier date than about 1200 A.D. ; but the entries in question are quite few in number. There are also a considerable number of late Christian entries and of fairly late pagan entries of the Christian era, many of them differing markedly in character from the general run of those relating to classical times. But the bulk of the work



might, for all the indications of time furnished by its contents, be an expansion, brought up to some such date as that of the Antonines, of a first edition, written in the reign of Augustus or even earlier. A kind of title is prefixed to the lexicon, which states : τὸ μὲν παρὸν βιβλίον Σουῖδα, οἱ δὲ συνταξάμενοι τοῦτο ἄνδρες σοφοὶ Εὐδήμος ῥήτωρ περὶ λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον, Ἑλλάδιος, ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου, ὁμοίως, Εὐγένιος Αὐγουστοπόλεως τῆς ἐν Φρυγίᾳ, ὁμοίως, Ζώσιμος Γαζαῖος λέξεις ῥητορικὰς κατὰ στοιχεῖον, Καικίλιος Σικελιώτης ἐκλογὴν λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον, Λογγῖνος ὁ Κάσσιος λέξεις κατὰ στοιχεῖον, Λούπερκος Βηρύτιος Ἀττικὰς λέξεις, Οὐρηστῖνος Ἰούλιος σοφιστὴς ἐπιτομὴν τῶν Παμφίλου γλωσσῶν, βιβλίων ἑνενήκοντα ἑνός, Πακᾶτος περὶ συνηθείας Ἀττικῆς κατὰ στοιχεῖον, Πάμφιλος λειμῶνα λέξεων ποικίλων, περιοχὴν βιβλίων ἑνενήκοντα πέντε. ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ε' στοιχείου ἕως τοῦ ω' τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ α' μέχρι τοῦ δ' Ζαμπυρίων πεποίηκε. Πωλίων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Ἀττικῶν λέξεων συναγωγὴν κατὰ στοιχεῖον. This list of names appears to be a catalogue of scholars who, either actually, or at least in the opinion of the writer of the title, had at different times edited \* parts of the work as dictionaries of their own. Whatever may be thought of the title, it is at any rate strong evidence that the original of the lexicon is of considerable antiquity ; and this view is confirmed by the contents of the volume. The entries abound in precise statements on out-of-the-way subjects. We have just seen how Suidas records both the total number of plays and the total number of Satyric plays composed by Pratinas. That statement is either a pure invention, or else must date back to Roman imperial times at least, seeing that all knowledge of those matters was rapidly replaced by the blindest ignorance. But nowhere is it possible to convict Suidas of invention. He is particularly copious in his treatment of matters connected with the very early poets and with the drama, supplying detailed information not elsewhere extant. For example, it is only through Suidas that we know anything whatever of the residence of Stesichorus in Arcadia. Considerations of this class induce me without serious hesitation to concur in the view which ascribes

\* συνταξάμενοι is middle : they arranged for themselves, i.e. adapted, edited.

the original authorship of the lexicon to the one and only known writer of the name Suidas, *viz.* the composer of a history of Thessaly, who is mentioned, about 18 B.C., by Strabo (vii. 329), and is repeatedly quoted, at an uncertain date, by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, and twice, probably about A.D. 550, by Stephanus of Byzantium. The sole other known personage, so to speak, of a similar name is Soïdas, a sculptor of Naupactus mentioned by Pausanias (vii. 18, 10).

Now, Suidas' statement about Arion consists of four assertions. It is stated that he is said (1) *πρῶτος χορὸν στήσαι*, (2) *διθύραμβον ᾄσαι*, (3) *ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾄδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ*, and (4) *σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας*. With the fourth heading I have already sufficiently dealt. I will pass to the other three.

(1) It seems to me impossible that by the words *χορὸν στήσαι* a writer of Suidas' knowledge can have meant *χορὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν*, *χορὸν ἐξευρεῖν*, or the like. *στήσαι* can indeed signify *to establish* and is actually used with *χοροῦς* in that sense by Herodotus (iii. 48), and by Demosthenes (530, 27). But it was well known to Suidas that, not to speak of other poets, Aleman, who flourished fifty years and more before Arion, made use of a Chorus. Of Aleman Suidas himself has left us a not uninformative account. I therefore take *στήσαι* here as meaning something more specific than *to establish*. In support of my contention and as a step to elucidating the meaning of *στήσαι χορὸν*, I will call attention to the name of Arion's contemporary, Στησίχορος. We learn, again from Suidas, who indeed is our sole authority on many such points, that that poet's real name was Tisias, *ἐκλήθη δὲ Στησίχορος, ὅτι πρῶτος κιθαρωδία χορὸν ἔστησεν, ἐπεὶ τοι πρότερον Τισίας ἐκαλεῖτο*. Now it is utterly impossible that Tisias should have been dubbed Stesichorus on the ground of his having *established* the Chorus, or the Chorus in connexion with the cithara. Not only the Chorus, but the citharoedic Chorus, had existed long before his time. It is, I think, equally impossible that he should have gained the surname from the fact of his *setting up* chori, as distinguished from *inventing* or *establishing* the Chorus. Every choric composer *set up* chori, so that *Stesichorus* would be no more distinctive

in that sense as a nick-name than would *Composer-of-ballets* be in English. A nick-name requires to be distinctive. I conclude, on this ground and in view of the general situation, that Suidas means that Arion was said to have been the first *to set the Chorus standing, to introduce a standing Chorus, i.e.* a Chorus that would remain in a definite position on or near the stage while it was not itself singing and dancing, and would resume its song and dance at the proper time, after the Satyrs had concluded their spoken remarks. A *fixed* Chorus of this kind was a marked characteristic of the Attic drama. I take it that previously to Arion a *fixed* or *standing* Chorus, that remained still and silent while a monologue or a duologue was delivered, and then resumed action, was a thing unknown, and that until his time the Chorus had invariably entered, performed its part, and then departed. The introduction, in the persons of the Satyrs, of drama in embryo compelled a revolutionary change. Similarly I conclude that, a little after this revolutionising of the dithyramb by Arion, Stesichorus in like manner revolutionised the Doric *κῆθαρχία* by the introduction into that also of a *fixed* or *standing* Chorus. We have no real information as to the structure of the long lyrics, such as the *Oresteia*, of Stesichorus. But, from the nature of the case, it seems most improbable that the Chorus should, without intermission, have sung and danced throughout. I do not for a moment suppose that there was any acting; but, without acting, there may have been intervals of recitative (possibly in hexameters) or the like, which would have resembled the recital of Homer or the practice, instituted by Stesander, of singing the Homeric hymns at the Pythian games to the sound of the cithara, in which case the innovation of a fixed or standing Chorus would have been as clearly necessitated as, in the case of the dithyramb, it was by the introduction of the Satyrs.

(2) Suidas does not state that it was said that Arion was the first to *employ* the dithyramb, but that he was the first to *sing* the dithyramb. Herodotus however commits himself a little further, and Suidas' choice of words shows that he is taking those of Herodotus and modifying them for the sake of accuracy. Herodotus writes (I. 23):



Ἄριονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενεχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ. The Father of History is sufficiently naïve in his remarks, combining, as he does, the dolphin incident with the artistic work of Arion; but his testimony is singularly valuable as showing at any rate that before the constructive efforts of that poet the dithyramb, though from Archilochus we learn that it existed, did not embody itself in any literary production known to Herodotus. The change by Suidas of Herodotus' διθύραμβον πρῶτον . . . ποιήσαντα into πρῶτος . . . διθύραμβον ᾄσαι is significant in this connexion. Suidas corrects the statement that Arion was the first to *make* a dithyramb into the statement that he was the first to *sing* a dithyramb. I conclude that the dithyramb before Arion, and as it was known to Archilochus, was a dance accompanied by music only, and not by a song in addition. Such a dance and tune, in the absence of a vocal accompaniment, could by no possibility be perpetuated in literature. Archilochus indeed speaks of the dithyramb as a μέλος: but μέλος, though it sometimes means a *song*, more properly signifies a *tune* (Pindar, *Pyth.* xii. l. 34, Plato, *Gorg.* 502 c, etc.), μελωδία being the distinctive term for *sung music*. It must be remembered that the characteristically Greek union of the three Graces—her of the dance, her of instrumental music, and her of the human voice—was a glory of the high noon of art, and can only have been brought about by degrees.

(3) If my contentions under the preceding heading are correct, if, that is to say, before the time of Arion the dithyramb was merely a special dance with special music attached to it, but no song, it follows that the only names it can have possessed are the word *dithyramb* itself, and such other words or combinations of words as may mean the same thing, with the one additional possibility that the dance and tune may have permitted of variations which would doubtless have had designations of their own, though of such variations, if any, no record is preserved. But when Arion developed the dithyramb, adding to it the element of choric song, it is clear that

each separate libretto which he wrote must have been given by him a name of its own. This fact is sufficient to justify the statement of Suidas that Arion is said to have been the first *ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾄδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ*. But I doubt whether this interpretation exhausts his underlying meaning. It must be remembered that when Arion began to write his various libretti he cannot by any reasonable possibility have been content to set them all to precisely the same tune. He must, almost necessarily, have varied the tune, and doubtless the dance also, from libretto to libretto to such an extent that of the original tune and dance nothing more than the general type and spirit can have survived. Hence I take Suidas to be as good as stating indirectly: "Arion is said to have been the first to give names to a number of separate dithyrambic tunes and dances, the names in question being the titles of the libretti attached by him to such compositions respectively." I think that I am justified in thus reading between the lines, in view of the extremely intelligent manner in which at this point Suidas modifies the text of Herodotus (quoted in full under the second heading). Herodotus speaks of Arion as *διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ*. This simply means that Arion, who worked at Corinth, was, so far as Herodotus knew, the first man to compose a dithyramb, to employ the name *dithyramb*, and to put a dithyramb on the stage. Suidas however, being well aware that the term *dithyramb* was in use before Arion, modified Herodotus' simple, but incorrect, *ὀνομάσαντα* into the careful and rather difficult *ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾄδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ*. I am much tempted to suppose that the correction of Herodotus in the text of Suidas' lexicon is incorporated out of some lost work of Aristotle, whose combined precision and difficulty are, if it be not his, strangely reflected in it.

Suidas has more to tell us about Arion. The sentence, which I have not yet fully quoted, begins (before *πρῶτος χορὸν στήσαι*) with the words *λέγεται καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὐρετῆς γενέσθαι καὶ*—. The words *τραγικοῦ τρόπου* most naturally mean *of the tragic style*: they do not import that Arion put that style to the

uses of drama proper, or even that he ever composed anything in the nature of a tragedy, although without action. It may well be the simple fact that the undoubtedly artificial strain—elevated, but with an elevation distinct both from that of the epic and that of the lyric muse, above the level of ordinary speech—which characterised developed tragedy was first hit upon by Arion as a vehicle for the utterances of his *choragus*. If so, Arion was certainly a progenitor of true tragedy. But it was probably at Sicyon that the style in question assumed a species of Attic or Ionic garb.

When tragedy—not Satyric drama—first emerges into light, we find this style, so garbed, the medium of dramatic utterance, employed not only by the newly introduced actors, but also by the representative of the ancient order, the *choragus*. Everything about it, garb and all, speaks of a long tradition: it is manifestly a developed product, not an improvised invention. Akin to it, but in very different degrees, are two other varieties of language, that of the ῥήσεις ἀγγέλων and that of regular anapaests. Messengers speak exactly as do actors, with one striking difference: the augment may be omitted at option. Regular anapaests are couched in a dialect, if I may so call it, superficially indeed similar to that spoken by the actors, but surcharged and saturated with an epic flavour: yet this dialect does not permit the omission of the augment. The processional use of anapaests may well be older than the dithyramb itself, but Attic tragedy must have derived it from a source at which—witness the constancy of the augment—it had developed on lines which, though epic, were markedly different from those of hexametrical epic. On the other hand the most natural explanation of the ῥήσεις ἀγγέλων is that they were originally delivered in hexameters, epic in technique, but not epic in flavour. Hexameters epic neither in technique nor in flavour were a prominent feature of the earliest Attic comedy (see Chapter IX. § c). In any case, it is obvious that the ῥήσεις ἀγγέλων date back to a period far antecedent to that of the introduction of an actor. Hence we see that, even before Thespis made his innovation, there existed—actually existed, not may have existed—drama of a sort, though not the drama of action.



We have been considering the dramatic part of Greek tragedy. That part alone openly atticised or ionised : that part alone was, to speak historically, an unessential accretion : that part alone was not directly in the nature of a religious ceremonial. There was also the choric part. This part affected Dorism as the other part affected Atticism or Ionism : this part was, again to speak historically, the one and only necessary element : this part was religious to the backbone and its home was at the foot of the altar.

There exists then no manner of doubt but that the nucleus round which tragedy gathered was a Doric nucleus. How then did it come to pass that the accretions were all non-Doric ? We are dealing, we have seen, with features long anterior to Thespis, so that no sort of answer to the question can be sought in the sphere of Attic innovation, although, as a matter of fact, such innovation was far-reaching.

The one helpful clue that we possess is provided by Suidas in his entry under the heading Θέσπης (quoted in full in Chapter IX. at the beginning of § B, and partly discussed in § C of the same chapter), who there tells us that on one view Thespis was the sixteenth in a line of tragedians headed by Epigenes of Sicyon, that on another view he stood second in a line likewise so headed, and that on a third view he himself held first place. Elsewhere in Suidas (see Chapter IX. § C) another rival view emerges, that which sees in Alcaeus of Athens the father of tragedy (I suggest in Chapter IX. § C, that this Alcaeus, clearly a predecessor of Thespis, may have been the first Athenian to employ an ἄγγελος). The illuminating fact is the mention of Epigenes of Sicyon.

It is at Sicyon, and, so far as we know, nowhere else, that a condition of affairs existed calculated to produce the Dorico-Ionic composite that ultimately developed into Attic tragedy. In pre-Dorian days the city was called Aegialeia and would seem originally to have been closely connected with Argos. But later, though still, it would appear, before the coming of the Dorians, it became in some sense Athenian : the legend runs that one Sicyon of Athens made himself king of Aegialeia, whence its later name. It was ultimately conquered by

the Dorians and became tributary to the now Dorian Argos. The claims however of the native inhabitants were to some extent respected, they being formed into a fourth tribe, the Aegialeis, by the side of the three Dorian tribes. In or about the year 676 B.C. a member of this tribe, Orthagoras, rose against the Dorians and made himself despot of Sicyon. The rule of his dynasty continued until an uncertain date (possibly 527 B.C.), when the last monarch, Cleisthenes, died without male issue. The connexion of Sicyon with Athens is illustrated by the fact that the daughter of this Cleisthenes married Megacles, the Alcmaeonid, and became by him the mother of Cleisthenes, the famous Athenian. Cleisthenes, the Sicyonian, was violently anti-Doric, engaging in war with Argos, and at home going so far as to rename the Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes the Hyatae, Oneatae, and Choereatae, and his own tribe the Archelai, designations continued in use until sixty years after his death, when the old names were restored and Sicyon relapsed politically, although not artistically, into Doricism.

Now it is impossible to determine to what extent the blood of the Aegialeis under Orthagoras and his successors was Attic. But, even on the hypothesis that it was largely of the same strain as that of the pre-Dorian Argives and Mycenaeans, it is obvious that in artistic matters the Attic element must have been a factor of prime importance. In the days of the domination of the Aegialeis Sicyon helped to found the traditions of Greek painting, an art of which "*diu illa fuit patria*" (Pliny, *H.N.* xxxv. 11, 40). In the same period, before the date of Cleisthenes the despot's death, she inaugurated the sister art of serious sculpture. But these facts point not merely to Attic influence, but to a preponderance, among the non-Dorian Sicyonians, of Attic blood : it would be hard to credit the old Mycenaean stock with the qualities which raised Sicyon to an artistic eminence unattainable by her strictly Dorian rivals. Moreover, in the anti-Dorian period Attic, or at least some similar variety of Ionic, must necessarily have come into favour. Even supposing that the atticising process typified in legend by the renaming of the city after a king of Athenian birth did not extend so far as

to include a thorough-going Attic colonisation or a general adoption of the Athenian speech, yet at least in the sixth century B.C. the dialect of ancient Mycenae was either dead or dying, and in a city of the geographical position of Sicyon Attic, or something like Attic, was the only tongue to oppose to that of the hated Dorian. Nor must we forget the possibility that, as some scholars hold, the native Sicyonian stock was Ionic from the very beginning.

I therefore contend that it was at Sicyon that inchoate tragedy assumed its non-Doric trappings. The Dorian rulers—this is on record—instituted, or at least left behind them, a *tragic* form of choric worship, with the Doric dialect, it cannot be doubted, as its medium. The emancipated non-Dorians—this also is on record—revolutionised the rites in question. To the detailed evidence I will come in due course. The results of the revolution are perpetuated in Attic tragedy. With the dialect of the hymns the Aegialeis, for religious reasons, did not interfere, except that they reduced the Doricism to a minimum, ὄσον ἀποσιῶσθαι, such as we see in the developed tragic chorus. The entries and exits, accompanied by regular anapaests, were not directly connected with the sanctuary; so they ionicised and epicised the anapaestic verses, paying however regard to spoken Ionic and not adopting the archaic hexametrical liberty of omitting the augment. It became desirable—the reason, though not as such, is on record—that the *choragus* should throw in spoken remarks addressed to the audience, or rather to the congregation. These may well have served to connect choric odes in order to impart unity to the service. Epigenes, I suggest, taking a leaf out of the book of Arion, arranged these remarks in iambic senarii, and so produced the superficial appearance of a tragedy. The “style” of the senarii was “tragic,” and to suit this style the Sicyonians evolved an artificial sub-dialect, Attic or Ionic in flavour. Nothing short of the production of a fragment of Sicyonian “tragedy” would show with certainty whether the Ionic or the Attic terminations etc., when they differed, were employed: but I think decidedly that the Ionic were adopted. In the first place, at the time of which we are speaking Attic had not attained the dignity of a literary language: secondly,



in the mss. of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vincitus* there are Ionisms of such a character that one is tempted to wonder whether in some plays Aeschylus himself may not have employed the Ionic, as against the Attic, vocalisation. As for the ῥήσεις ἀγγέλων, the fact that in their case Attic tragedy allows the dropping of the augment proves them to be a feature of considerable antiquity. Owing to the curious fact that regular anapaests, which are very largely epic in tone, do not drop the augment, but only the ῥήσεις ἀγγέλων, which are not epic in tone at all, I am inclined, as I have said, to regard the latter as having been originally composed in hexameters. If so, we reach at once a solution of the perplexing problem why, when actors were not allowed, a messenger was allowed. I take it that the messenger was originally fitted on to the religious ceremonial as the seeker of an oracle from the god. On arrival he would explain at some length to the *choragus* the nature of his difficulty. Afterwards, no doubt, an answer would be returned to him by the *choragus*, naturally, as being an oracle, in hexameters. But the oracle would equally naturally be sought in the same metre, since—prose being *ex hypothesi* excluded—no other vehicle would be equally appropriate. This explanation would open the door to a good deal of drama without action. I cannot think of any other that seems to square with the facts.

We begin now to understand how it comes to pass that one school of ancient scholars interjected, as we have seen, fourteen so-called tragedians between Epigenes and Thespis. One of these fourteen was doubtless Alcaeus of Athens; but the rest cannot in any way be accounted for except on the assumption that all, or nearly all, of them were Sicyonic composers. A line of thirteen quasi-dramatists developing the same tradition is none too long to bridge the gap between the inception of quasi-tragedy and Thespis, who for this kind of purpose may almost be equated with Aeschylus. The conditions demand unity of place, and the only place possible is Sicyon.

Now for the actual evidence of the Sicyonic religious revolution and its attendant circumstances. It is to be found in two places. Herodotus writes (v. 67): τά τε

δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἄδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἄδρηστον Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίαν Μελανίππῳ. We read in Suidas (*s.v.* οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον): οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον Ἐπιγένους τοῦ Σικυωνίου τραγωδίαν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον ποιήσαντος, ἐπεφώνησάν τινες τοῦτο· ὅθεν ἡ παροιμία. This entry in Suidas has more or less contradictory matter appended to it, openly by way of correction, in very indifferent Greek: but, if only on the ground that it shows a knowledge of Epigenes' existence, it is to the entry itself that we should pay chief attention. I will come to the additional matter presently. Photius has the same entry, partly miswritten, and most of the additional matter, but stops short at the end of an explanatory clause (relating to a non-dramatic quotation), which clause has in Suidas been wrongly put before, instead of after, the quotation to which it refers, but in Photius stands alone and nonsensical.

Adrastus is the pre-Dorian Argive hero who made himself king of Sicyon. That Cleisthenes extended his hatred of the Dorian Argives to the pre-Dorian Argives, demi-gods included, makes greatly in favour of the view that the Aegialeis, at least in his time, were of Ionic or Attic, not of pre-Dorian Argive blood. Similarly, although the Argos of Homer was pre-Dorian, Herodotus in this same chapter tells us that, because of the praise of Argos contained in the Homeric poems, Cleisthenes prohibited their recitation at Sicyon.

The *tragic dances* in honour of the *sufferings* of Adrastus were evidently of a sad or solemn nature wholly distinct from that of the boisterous dithyramb. When Cleisthenes transferred them to the worship of Dionysus, it was no dithyramb that he instituted. He transferred to Dionysus the dances only. The ceremony in honour of Adrastus had included a sacrifice: this he made over, not to Dionysus, but to Melanippus. Melanippus is that Melanippus who fought at Thebes against Adrastus and Tydeus and both slew and was slain by the latter.

Now the removal of the sacrifice from the choral ceremony must have had three effects. It must have shortened the proceedings, it must have weakened the

sense of religious solemnity, and it must have left on the Sicyonian mind an impression of incompleteness. That is to say, it would have had these three effects in the absence of the introduction of compensations. For the first and the third Cleisthenes made compensation by transforming the ceremony into an inchoate tragedy. That he actually so transformed it follows from the combined information furnished by Herodotus and by Suidas. The second effect Cleisthenes was content to leave without compensation. Indeed the whole business seems to bear every mark of a thought-out scheme. Wishing to establish a national celebration, anti-Doric, anti-Argive, and pro-Ionic, Cleisthenes skilfully availed himself of an already time-honoured institution, which, with as little central change as possible, he transferred from the patronage of Adrastus to that of Dionysus, depriving it only—though the deprivation was crucial—of its most overpoweringly religious feature, in order, on the one hand, that there should be nothing to overshadow artistic developments which he contemplated, and, on the other hand, that a gap should exist for those contemplated developments to fill. How many developments he contemplated we cannot tell, but we can scarcely doubt but that the most immediate was the exaltation of the Ionic tongue by its consecration to the service of a new art on the national stage.

Agreeably with this view—a view apparently inevitable—we find the worship of Adrastus already replaced by that of Dionysus at the moment when Epigenes of Sicyon, the first “tragedian,” makes his appearance. Yet it could only just have been so replaced, seeing that Cleisthenes cannot have come to the throne very much before the year 585 B.C., while Thespiis began to produce in, it would seem, the year 535 B.C., and nevertheless fourteen “tragedians” flourished between Epigenes and Thespiis. The inference is that Epigenes took up his task as soon as the ceremony was transferred, say about 580 B.C., and that he at once found followers.

But, although Dionysus was now in possession, it would seem that the minds of Cleisthenes and Epigenes were scarcely set on his service. Their preoccupations were of another order. It fell to Epigenes to construct, under



Cleisthenes' directions, a scenic variety of Ionic in which to give expression to the "tragic style" of Arion. Also the anapaestic processionalists demanded an appropriate Ionic vehicle: and here perhaps it may not be thought fanciful to suggest that the absence of epic technique is due to the dislike of Homer entertained by Cleisthenes. Then there were the ways to be thought out how a series of "tragic" odes might be harmonised into a unity. Not less difficult was the problem how to connect them appropriately by means of speeches in the mouth of the *choragus*. There was also, it may be, the question of staging the arrival of a suppliant in quest of an oracle. Finally there was the actual composition—of the words, of the music, of the dances. It appears from Suidas that the result was not very Dionysiac. οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον said the spectators: but Cleisthenes said οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ. In view of all the circumstances Epigenes' inaugural "tragedy" must almost necessarily have dealt with the Adrastus legend from the anti-Argive point of view: by far the fittest subject and title would be the *Melanippus* (see Chapter ix. § c).

It remains for me to speak of the addition appended in late times to Suidas' entry. The addition, so far as it is relevant, runs thus: βέλτιον δὲ οὕτως· τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες τούτοις ἡγωνίζοντο ἃ καὶ σατυρικὰ ἐλέγετο· ὕστερον δὲ μεταβάντες εἰς τὸ τραγωδίας γράφειν κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτρέπησαν, μηκέτι τοῦ Διονύσου μνημονεύοντες· ὅθεν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπεφώνησαν καὶ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Θέσπιδος τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ. The writer then wanders off to matters unconnected with the drama.

A really late date is indicated. μή with the participle indeed became almost invariable quite early. But τούτοις ἡγωνίζοντο ἃ καὶ σατυρικὰ ἐλέγετο is barbarous: the relative is a relative of definition and the καὶ consequently meaningless. ὅθεν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπεφώνησαν, for ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεφώνησαν, is almost as bad. τὰ παραπλήσια should be noticed: the writer thereby admits that Chamaeleon's statement is not quite identical with his own. It is surely on the cards that Chamaeleon did not differ at all from Suidas, but only failed to mention the name of the writer to whom the saying first applied.

Even the addition to the entry does not vitally conflict with the entry itself. If we are to make sense of the addition, we must take the σατυρικά as compositions of the class said to have been originated by Arion: tragedy certainly did not spring out of the Satyric drama proper, which was invented by Pratinas. But we have seen that Arion was earlier, though not much earlier, than Epigenes. It is therefore possible that it may have been the absence of Arion's Satyrs that caused the remark, even on the occasion of Epigenes' Dionysiac "tragedy." But I rather imagine that the composer of the addition, who had never heard of Epigenes and could not gather what Suidas was driving at, thought that his own statement was altogether different. In any case, the remark, once made, may have been many times repeated. It is as true of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides as it ever can have been of Epigenes or of anyone else.

One further point. Why have I assumed throughout that on the early Sicyonian stage no actor was permitted? It is for two reasons. The first is that, except on that assumption, the common ascription of the origination of tragedy to Thespis\* would be altogether meaningless. The second is that, had early Sicyonian "tragedy" been tragedy proper, it is hardly possible that all the works of all its exponents should have passed into utter oblivion.

Though the earlier "tragic" output of Sicyon seems entirely to have perished, yet in the fragments of Neophron's *Medea* we possess samples of Sicyonic tragedy at a stage comparatively indeed late but anterior, it would appear, to the year 467 B.C. These fragments are of peculiar interest. They exhibit Sicyonic tragedy as already so far developed as to admit one actor (or two, unless *Medea* led the Chorus) in addition to the *choragus*—a sign of Athenian influence—and yet they seem, in respect of language, to embody a local tradition, presenting, as they do, a vocalisation almost purely Attic, but at the same time, beyond reasonable doubt, a few non-Athenian forms and peculiarities of Doric or Epic appearance.

On account, almost wholly, of a clumsy interpolation in the text of Suidas great doubt has been cast by eminent

\* Diogenes Laertius (III. 56) states that Thespis "invented" the actor.

scholars on the date of Neophron and his fragments : it has been sought to set the tragedian down as a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Such a contention is altogether inadmissible. A tragic poet named Nearchus, not Neophron, and unconnected, so far as we know, with Sicyon, was certainly—if the record be true—put to death by Alexander the Great. Of this Nearchus we read in Suidas (*s.v.* Καλλισθένης) : ὁ δ' (*i.e.* Alexander) ἐν γαλεάγρα σιδηρᾷ βαλὼν ἀνείλεν (*surp*le Callisthenes) ἅμα Νεάρχῳ τῷ τραγικῷ, δίοτι συνεβούλευε μὴ ἐπιζητεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καλεῖσθαι δεσπότης. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνηρῆσθαι φασιν ἅμα Νεάρχῳ. Of Neophron on the other hand we read in the first argument to Euripides' *Medea* : τὸ δρᾶμα δοκεῖ (*i.e.* Euripides) ὑποβαλέσθαι παρὰ Νεόφρωνος διασκευάσας, ὡς Δικαίαρχος τοῦ τε (I suggest Δικαίαρχός ποῦ γε, *somewhere or other in*) Ἑλλάδος βίου καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ὑπομνήμασι. From this it appears that Neophron lived at least as early as Euripides, even if it be a fact that the *Hypomnemata* were not written by Aristotle. We also read of Neophron in Suidas (*s.v.* Νεόφρων), and it is in this passage that an interpolation has bred mischief. Without the interpolation it runs : Νεόφρων, ἢ Νεοφῶν· Σικυώνιος τραγικός, οὗ φασιν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου Μήδειαν· ὃς πρῶτος εἰσήγαγε παιδαγωγοὺς καὶ οἰκετῶν βάσανον. ἐδίδαξε δὲ τραγωδίας ρκ'. συνῆν δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι. This is perfectly straightforward. By Alexander of Macedon is meant Alexander I, the only king of the name that the dates permit. In or about 467 B.C. Mycenæ, till then independent, was conquered and destroyed by the Dorians of Argos. About half the Mycenæans were received by Alexander in Macedonia. This extension, or revival, of the Argive power was probably the occasion of the reversal of the anti-Argive régime at Sicyon (if so, Cleisthenes the tyrant must have died *circa* 527 B.C.), and it would be natural for the Atticising tragedian, Neophron, to accompany or follow the Mycenæans to the court of Alexander. But, taking hold of the words Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι and imagining Alexander the Great to be intended, some sciolist has confused Neophron with Nearchus and added this interpolation : καὶ δίοτι φίλος ἦν Καλλισθένει τῷ φιλοσόφῳ,



σὺν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεῖλεν αἰκισμοῖς. It will be observed that the interpolation is not even grammatical, since, there being no expressed subject of the verb ἀνεῖλεν, it ought to mean that Neophron killed Alexander as well as Callisthenes, not that Alexander killed Neophron as well as Callisthenes. It is strange that so obvious a tag should have caused such trouble. Diogenes Laertius corroborates the other evidence, writing (Π. 134) of Menedemus : πταίουσιν οἱ λέγοντες μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἀνεγνωκέναι πλὴν τῆς Μηδείας τῆς Εὐριπίδου, ἣν ἔνιοι (for ἔνιοι the mss. give ἐν τοῖς) Νεόφρονος εἶναι τοῦ Σικυωνίου φασί.

I need not waste time on the refinement which sees in the fragments of Neophron a mere forgery perpetrated by detractors of Euripides : such a view is not supported by so much as a semblance of probability.

What is really important is the silence of Aristotle—at least in his demonstrably genuine works, so far as they are extant—with regard to Neophron and to Sicyonic tragedy in general. The reason for that silence is, I suggest, that (apart from the question of Euripides' imitation of Neophron, which, as Aristotle wrote no monograph on the *Medea* of the former, he was in no way bound to discuss) the pre-Thespian "tragedy" of Sicyon was not tragedy proper. It is, if I am right about it, interesting to us as being the parent of most of the mere technique of Attic tragedy, especially of the linguistic technique. But with that sort of detail Aristotle largely refused to concern himself. He doubtless understood such matters well enough, or he could not have composed with such easy mastery of the "tricks of the trade" his own *Ode to Virtue* ; but, in his works he dealt, almost exclusively, with higher topics. Not even he could have foretold that the days were to come when Greek literature would be seen to stand on so supreme and unique a pinnacle that even its minutest technicalities would be charged with fascination for the scholar. Therefore Aristotle, taking a wide view, threw in the "tragedy" of Sicyon, without specific mention, among the stages by which true tragedy developed κατὰ μικρόν out of the dithyramb. The later, and real, Sicyonic tragedy was, to him, a mere reflex of Attic tragedy, and, as such, of no importance.

Thus I find no reason for disputing the well-supported proposition that *circa* 470 B.C. (and for many years previously, in view of the stated total of 120 tragedies) a Sicyonian tragedian named Neophron wrote plays, among them a *Medea*. When we come to examine the fragments of the *Medea*, this attitude will, I think, receive additional warrant. Meanwhile I would observe that Suidas ascribes to Neophron two innovations, (1) the introduction of a παιδαγωγός (doubtless as a *muta persona*, as in Sophocles' *Ajax*, to avoid an excess of actors), and (2) the putting of slaves to the question. The latter feature can hardly, one would think, have been transferred—unless, perhaps, by some rash experimenter—to the tragic stage of Athens; but still it seems to account for the βάσανος in Aristophanes' *Ranae* (ll. 615–667), which gains considerably in fun if taken as παρατραγωδία.

We seem now to be in a position to approach the actual fragments. In treating them as genuine I have, as against Wilamowitz, Elmsley at my back, who is worth a thousand Wilamowitizes; but, authority apart, I should in any case treat them as genuine.

The first *Fragment* is presented by a scholiast on Euripides' *Medea* (l. 666), thus: Νεόφρων δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον τὸν Αἰγέα φησὶ παραγενέσθαι πρὸς Μηδεῖαν ἕνεκα τοῦ σαφηνισθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Μηδείας, γράφων οὕτως·

καὶ γὰρ τιν' αὐτὸς ἤλυθον λύσιν μαθεῖν  
σοῦ· πρὶν θεῖαν γὰρ ὄσσαν, ἣν ἔχρησέ μοι  
Φοίβου πρόμαντις, συμβαλεῖν ἀμηχάνως  
οἷδ'· εἰς λόγους μολῶν γὰρ ἤλπιζον μαθεῖν.

In view of the emphatically placed εἰς Κόρινθον of the scholiast's introduction it is substantially certain that the unmetrical σοῦ· πρὶν θεῖαν at the beginning of l. 2 stands for Κορινθίαν. But for Κορινθίαν to have been so corrupted it looks as though it must have been spelt Κουορινθίαν, a transliteration of an original Ὀορινθίαν (i.e. *Quorinthian*). This indication of the use in literature of the letter Ὠ is not unimportant. Read :

καὶ γὰρ τίν' αὐτόσ' ἤλυθον λῶσιν μαθεῖν  
Ὀορινθίαν παρ' ὄσσαν, ἣν ἔχρησέ μοι  
Φοίβου πρόμαντις συμβαλεῖν ἀμηχανῶ,  
σοῖ δ' εἰς λόγους μολῶν ἄρ' ἤλπιζον μαθεῖν.

I translate: "For, behold, if they would understand what oracle of Corinth I am come to this place to consult, that which the prophetess of Phoebus declared unto me I skill not to interpret, but I have had, after all, good hope of understanding it on coming to speech with thee." Medea was herself the *Δωρινθία ὄσσα*: this justifies the scholiast's strong expression (after the previous *πρὸς Μήδειαν*), *ὕπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Μηδείας*, which Nauck wishes to weaken into *ὕπ' αὐτῆς*. Valckenaer first proposed (ll. 3 and 4) *ἀμηχανῶ, σοὶ δ' ἄμηχάνως οἷδ'*.

The second *Fragment* is presented by Stobaeus (*Florilegium*, xx. 34), thus (in *codices* B, S, and Vossianus, *codices* A and M omitting the whole passage, while *codex* B apparently omits the *lemma*):

εἶεν· τί δράσεις θυμέ; βούλευσαι καλῶς  
 πρὶν ἢ ῥαμαρτεῖν καὶ τὰ προσφιλέστατα  
 ἔχθιστα θέσθαι. ποῖ ποτ' ἐξῆξαι (*codex* S ἐξῆξαι: second  
 hand of *codex* B ἐξῆξας), τάλας;  
 κάτισχε λῆμα (*codex* S λημμα) καὶ σθένος θεοστυγές.  
 καὶ πρὸς τί ταῦτα ὀδύρομαι (*Porson* rightly ταῦτα  
 δύρομαι), ψυχὴν ἐμήν 5  
 ὀρῶσ' ἔρημον (read ἐρῆμον) καὶ παρημελημένην  
 πρὸς ὧν (*codex* S προσων) ἔχρην (read ἐ χρῆν) ἥκιστα;  
 μαλθακοὶ δὲ δῆ  
 τοιαῦτα γιγνώμεθα (so *codex* S: *Gesner* rightly γιγνώ-  
 μεσθα) πάσχοντες κακά.  
 οὐ μὴ προδώσεις (so *codex* Vossianus: *codex* S προδόσης),  
 θῦμε, σαυτὸν ἐν κακοῖς. [10  
 οἷμοι (*codex* S οἷμοι), δέδοκται. παῖδες, ἐκτὸς ὀμμάτων  
 ἀπέλθετ' (*codex* S ἀπέλθετε). ἤδη γάρ με φοινία μέγαν  
 (read μέγ' αὔ)  
 δέδουκε λύσσα θυμόν. ὦ χέρες, χέρες,  
 πρὸς οἷον ἔργον ἐξοπλιζόμεσθα. φεῦ·  
 τάλαινα τόλμης ἦ (read ῆ) πολὺν πόνον βραχεῖ  
 διαφθεροῦσθ τὸν ἐμὸν ἔρχομαι χρόνον. 15

As regards the text of the passage, it should be noted that no readings, other than those of *codex* S, seem to have been systematically recorded, so that, for example, I do not know whether in l. 4 the right spelling, *λῆμα*, has or has not ms. authority: but nothing of importance appears to turn on this absence of complete record. In l. 11



μέγαν is corrupt: editors have seen the impropriety in Greek of speaking of one's own heart as μέγας, but have proposed no tolerable correction. Read μέγ' αὔ. In l. 15 τὸν ἐμὸν furnishes the only example of the definite article that occurs in the 24 lines that make up the three *Fragments*. In the context the expression πολὺν πόνον τὸν ἐμὸν seems seriously deficient in explicitness. To complete the necessary sense I not do hesitate, in lieu of τὸν ἐμὸν, to read γόνιμον.

The third *Fragment* is far more arresting than the two former. It is presented by a scholiast on Euripides' *Medea* (l. 1387). The *scholium* reposes on threefold ms. authority, that of *codex* I, that of *codex* B, and that of *codex* Fl. 6. *Codex* I, which is on the whole the most helpful, presents it thus: οἱ μὲν λέγουσι κατὰ Μηδείας χόλον ἢ κέλευσιν ὑπὸ τῇ πρύμνῃ τῆς Ἀργοῦς καταδαρθόντα τὸν Ἰάσονα τελευτῆσαι ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ ξύλου, Νεόφρων δὲ ξενικώτερον ἀγχόνῃ φησὶ τελευτῆσαι· τὴν γὰρ Μήδειαν παράγει πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰποῦσαν·

τέλος γὰρ αὐτεχθίστῳ μόρῳ φέρεις,  
βροτὸν ἀγχόνῃς ἐπισπάσας ἔρη·  
τοία σε μοῖρα σῶν κακῶν ἔργων μένει.  
διδάξεις τοὺς ἄλλους μυρίους ἐφημέρους  
θεῶν ὑπερθε μήποθ' αἰρεῖσθαι βροτούς.

Up to the beginning of the quotation *codices* B and Fl. 6 agree with *codex* I. *Codex* B continues thus:

τέλος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐχθίστῳ μόρῳ φέρεις,  
βροχωτὸν ἀγχόνῃς ἐπισπάσας δέρη·  
τοία σε μοῖρα σῶν κακῶν ἔργων μένει.  
διδάξεις τ' ἄλλους μυρίους ἐφημέρους  
θεῶν ὑπερθε μήποθ' αἰρεῖσθαι βροτοῖς.

*Codex* Fl. 6 continues thus:

τέλος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐχθίστῳ μόρῳ φέρεις,  
βρόχῳ τὸν ἀγχόνῃς ἐπισπάσας δέρη·  
τοία σε μοῖρα σῶν κακῶν ἔργων μένει.  
διδάξεις τοὺς ἄλλους μυρίους ἐφημέρους  
θεῶν ὑπερθε μήποθ' αἰρεῖσθαι βροτοῖς.

Basing myself largely on *codex* I, which, though corrupt, is not much sophisticated, but keeping also an eye on the two other *codices*, I read with great confidence:

τέλος γὰρ αὐτέχθει σύ τῳ μὶν φθερεῖς  
 βροχῶτον ἀγχόνῃ σέ, πίστ' ἄσας δ' ἐρῇ,  
 τοῖα σε μοῖρα σῶν κακῶν ἔργων μένει,  
 ἄδα 'ξ ἐς ἰταμοὺς μυρίους ἐφημέρους·  
 θεῶν ὕπερθε μήποτ' αἵρεσθαι, βροτοί.

We have here the origin of Virgil's

“Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes

Admonet et magna testatur voce per umbras :

‘Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere divos.’”

(*Aen.* vi. 618-620.)

The concurrence of the two passages, in sense rather than in diction, is singularly complete. In *πίστ' ἄσας δ' ἐρῇ*, the words *πίστ' ἐρῇ* are echoed by *testatur* and *ἄσας* is represented by *magna voce*. The line

τοῖα σε μοῖρα σῶν κακῶν ἔργων μένει

is summed up in the single word *miserrimus*. *ἄδα 'ξ* appears as *per umbras*. *ἐς ἰταμοὺς μυρίους ἐφημέρους* is condensed into *omnes admonet*. The line

θεῶν ὕπερθε μήποτ' αἵρεσθαι, βροτοί,

is reproduced, with little alteration save the addition of *justitiam moniti et*, in the line

*Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere divos.*

Later than Virgil, this third *Fragment* of Neophron seems, though doubtless at many removes, to have influenced the language of one of the most celebrated hymns of the Western Church. At any rate one is strongly reminded of *πίστ' ἄσας* by the stanza of Venantius Fortunatus' *Vexilla Regis* (composed at Poitiers, A.D. 569) which runs :

“Impleta sunt quae concinit  
 David *fidei carmine*,  
 Dicens : ‘In nationibus  
 Regnavit a ligno Deus’.”

As regards the presentation of Neophron in the form which, if it be correctly restored, was certainly drawn upon by Virgil, I will only say that it follows necessarily from the

emendation ἄδα 'ξ ἐς ἰταμούς, and that ἄδα 'ξ ἐς ἰταμούς is, given the context, the only possible source of the corruptions διδάξεις τ' ἄλλους and διδάξεις τοὺς ἄλλους. The reading as Δ of the initial Α of ΑΙΔΑΞΕCITΑΜΟΥC caused a transposition of the seventh and eighth letters, C and I, so that the familiar word ΔΙΔΑΞΕIC was substituted for ΑΙΔΑΞΕCΙ. *Pari passu*, in order to make sense, ΤΑΜΟΥC was read as ΤΑΛΛΟΥC. Hence διδάξεις τ' ἄλλους. The other reading, διδάξεις τοὺς ἄλλους, marks a further stage of corruption. The copyist first responsible for it probably observed that the text would not scan, and therefore, conceiving himself to be dealing at this particular point with a prose paraphrase of the original (in which paraphrase, according to the medieval custom, neither the elided τ' nor even an unelided τε, instead of καί, and, had any right to occur), took τ'—we are now in the minuscule period—as one or other of the contractions representing τοὺς. Thus he made the passage still more plainly unmetrical.

I will discuss in a moment the vocalisation of ἄδα : ἄδα I regard, not as probable, but as certain. In l. 2 ἐρῆ is not regular Attic of the Athenian type, in the sense *thou wilt say*. In such Attic it could only mean *thou wilt ask*. But in Homer the middle, εἶρεσθαι, can mean *to say*. Thus ἐρῆ (it is, I think, impossible to read anything else, and equally impossible to avoid πίστ' ἄσας δ') is distinctly interesting. My other emendations explain themselves and call, I conceive, for no comment. In l. 1 φθερεῖς is due to Elmsley, and in l. 5 μήποτ' αἶρεσθαι to Barnes. The rest of the treatment—a treatment rather of collation than of anything else—is my own.

The reader will now perhaps see what nonsense it is to denounce the *Fragments* of Neophron, either as late, or as forgeries. It is no less absurd to attack them as inartistic. They are in fact illuminating and intrinsically meritorious examples of the Sicynian school of tragedy, dating from a period at which, probably under the influence of the Athenian stage, it had already come to deserve the name it bore, but saturated nevertheless with the native tradition.

The dialect and even the diction is, in the main, identical with that of Athenian tragedy—in particular the



vocalisation is Attic, not Ionic, or Doric. Nevertheless it appears certain that a genitive ᾗδα is employed. It is likewise highly probable that καὶ is used instead of καί, and that Κορωνίαν is spelt Ὀρωνίαν, while it is next door to certain that ἐρῆ occurs with the sense of ἐρεῖς. ᾗδα claims our serious consideration. ᾗδα is, as regards its termination, a distinctively Doric form. But the aspirate is Attic, not Doric, and in Doric one would expect the uncontracted αἶδα. Consequently, at first sight, it would seem better to read αἶδα than ᾗδα.

Yet positive evidence exists that ᾗδας, with the Doric termination, somehow or other established itself in good non-Doric literature, whereas αἶδας failed to do so. Hence I read ᾗδα, not αἶδα.

As regards Attic tragedy, we read in Aeschylus (*Septem*, l. 868) in a regular anapaestic system, otherwise consistently non-Doric, the words ἰάχεϊν Ἀἶδα, for which, as editors have seen, we metrically require—the previous foot is a dactyl—either ἄχεϊν Ἀἶδα or ἄχεϊν Ἀἶδα (the latter will from the following discussion seem the more probable), *i.e.* a two-fold Doricism: the whole context is funereal (the bearing of this will shortly appear). Usually in tragedy Doricisms in regular anapaests are due to corruption (*e.g.* in Sophocles' *Antigone*, ll. 110, 113, the copyists have assimilated in dialect part of the first σύστημα of the πάροδος to the surrounding lyrics).

But the main evidence comes from a somewhat unexpected source. Sepulchral compositions are very commonly couched in Doric. But even when they take the form of Epic they admit, in the hands of the most expert masters, the Doric, or quasi-Doric, ᾗδας in lieu of ᾗδης. Leonidas of Tarentum, *circa* 280 B.C., who stands in the foremost rank of graceful and accomplished epigrammatists, presents in an elegiac epitaph written in Epic the accusative ᾗδαν (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 67, l. 7). It should be noticed that here αἶδαν would not scan, and also that in the same epitaph (l. 1) the genitive αἶδεω occurs. Similarly Meleager, *circa* 60 B.C., a poet of unsurpassed distinction and authority in his own province, also in an elegiac epitaph written in Epic presents the same accusative, ᾗδαν (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 470, l. 5). Here likewise αἶδαν would not scan, and in this epitaph too a genitive in

-εω is found, viz. Εὐκρατίδεω, scanned — υ υ — (l. 2). Though the genitive ᾗδα does not actually present itself in the works of authors of this class, yet Leonidas of Tarentum in another epitaph (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 480, l. 7), also written in elegiacs and in Epic, has the highly cognate

ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐγγαίων Ἀιδωνέος Ἑρμεία τε.

From this it would seem that the Doric termination is distinctly funereal in its nature. The great epigrammatists admit no other Doricisms, except in the case of Doric proper or geographical names, into their Epic, and they do not even employ ᾗδας in epigrams which are not epitaphs.

αἶδας, as distinguished from ᾗδας, is admitted into sepulchral Epic, though into no other kind of Epic, by inferior craftsmen only or by such as consciously mix their dialects. The nominative αἶδας comes once, being used by Antiphilus, *circa* A.D. 60, in an elegiac epitaph (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 399, l. 2) written in a sort of Epic, but an Epic so strongly tinged with Doric that the instance is scarcely relevant: here ᾗδας would not scan. The genitive αἶδα comes twice, being used by an uncertain author in an elegiac epitaph (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* ii. 541, l. 4) written in somewhat Atticising Epic (here ᾗδα would not scan), and by another uncertain author in an elegiac epitaph (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* ii. 680 b, l. 5) written in Epic. The dative αἶδα comes twice, being used by an uncertain author in an elegiac epitaph (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* ii. 234, l. 10) written in Epic (here ᾗδα would scan, and, but for the practice of the inferior epigrammatists, would be equally possible), and by another uncertain author in an elegiac epitaph (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* ii. 657, l. 7) written in Epic (here ᾗδα would not scan: in l. 8 of the same epitaph ᾗδην occurs). The accusative αἶδαν comes once, being used by an uncertain author in an elegiac epitaph (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* ii. 385, l. 4) written in Epic (here ᾗδαν would not scan). The vocative αἶδᾱ comes once, being used by an uncertain author in the hexametrical portion of an epitaph (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* ii. 654, l. 5) written mainly in

hexameters, but containing an interjected pentameter and concluding with a nondescript line of pentametrical termination, the whole being composed indeed in Epic, but in a popular and non-literary style (here ἄδα would scan, but αἶδα is guaranteed by the previous word, ἀπλήρωτ'). Moreover—and this may have some slight direct bearing on Neophron—the accusative αἶδαν once occurs, not in Epic at all, but in an iambic senarian epitaph (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* II. 694, l. 4) on Rufina, daughter of Celer, by an uncertain author composed in the sub-dialect of Attic tragedy, but with, at one point, a departure from classical rules of metre such as clearly to indicate popular influence (ἄδαν, instead of αἶδαν, would not scan in this epitaph: the long initial α should be noticed).

Similarly, although, as I have pointed out, in Epic the Doric termination of ἄδας or αἶδας is found only in epitaphs, yet it is once admitted by the sub-dialect of Attic tragedy in a non-sepulchral epigram (*Anth. Pal.* IX. 290, l. 5) composed in that sub-dialect by Philip of Thessalonica, *circa* A.D. 100, who employs the nominative αἶδας (ἄδας would not scan: note the long initial α). As the reading is in dispute, I will quote the epigram. It runs:

ὅτ' ἐξ ἀήτου λίβυος, ἐκ ζαοῦς νότου  
 συνεζοφώθη πόντος, ἐκ δὲ νειάτων  
 μυχῶν βυθίτις ψάμμος ἐξηρεύετο,  
 ἱστός δὲ πᾶς (I suggest πῦρ for πᾶς) ὤλισθεν εἰς ἄλα

πτύσας,

φορτὶς δ' ἔτυφεν, αἶδαν πλανώμενον,  
 ἄρωγονάυτας δαίμονας Λυσίστρατος  
 ἐλιπάρησεν· οἱ δὲ τῷ νεωκόρῳ  
 μούνῳ θάλασσαν ἀγρίαν ἐκοίμισαν.

5

πτύσας in l. 4 means that the mast spat sparks: the reference is to St. Elmo's Fire, familiar in the Mediterranean. The translation *with a splash* is impossible. ἔτυφεν in l. 5 is a reference to the fumes that accompany, or are said to accompany, such electrical phenomena. For the collocation of πτύσας and ἔτυφεν compare ἔτυφε κἀνέπτυσ in Sophocles (*Antigone*, l. 1009). Hence the expression αἶδαν πλανώμενον is in keeping with



the context. But the mss. have corrupted ἔτυφεν into ἔσυφεν. This, together with the misinterpretation of πτύσας, and a failure to recognise that αἶδαν πλανώμενον is a (perhaps not quite classical) "accusative in apposition with the sentence," has led to wrong emendations in l. 5, e.g. φορτὶς δ' ἐσύρετ' ἐς αἶδαν (the reading of the Planudean, as against the Palatine, anthologist).

With Doric epigrams in which αἶδας occurs (e.g. an epitaph by Erinna, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 710, exhibiting in l. 2 the genitive αἶδα) we have no concern, except perhaps to mention that a Doric epitaph from Thasos by an uncertain author (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* ii. 310), which presents the accusative αἶδαν (note the quantity of the initial α: ἄδαν would not scan) in l. 6, is, although technically Doric throughout, not only composed in tragic senarii but also, apart from the Doric vocalisation, in the language, pure and simple, of Attic tragedy.

So far as we have gone at present, we seem to see evidence of a tradition in favour of admitting ἄδας, declined with Doric terminations, into non-Doric compositions of a funereal character, and Leonidas' ἐγγαίων Ἀἰδωνέος Ἑρμεία τε appears to extend the ambit of this tradition so as to include the names of infernal deities ending in -ας or -ης. Inferior artists modified the tradition to the extent of using, not ἄδας, but αἶδας. As we find (I submit that the reading cannot seriously be doubted) ἄδα in Neophron, it is natural to connect our information and to infer that the Sicyonian drama was at least one of the sources from which the tradition derived.

We are thus led to attribute to the tragedy of Sicyon a certain liberty of Doricising, but a liberty confined within narrow limits: and this view is borne out by the extant fragments of Neophron. We find no trace of a promiscuous confusion of dialects. Yet, unless our mss. are hopelessly untrustworthy, such a confusion as a matter of fact found its way into certain literature and attained its maximum in the epigrams of Simonides of Ceos. I will quote two of his epigrams as illuminating examples either of confusion run positively riot or else of the fallibility of ms. tradition: but there is too much

of this sort of thing in the text of Simonides—as distinguished from nearly all other writers—to make it easy for us to lay the whole responsibility on the shoulders of the copyists. *Fr.* 116 runs :

ὕστατα δὴ τάδ' ἔειπε φίλην ποτὶ μητέρα Γοργῶ  
δακρυόεσσα, δέρης χερσὶν ἐφαπτομένα·  
αὔθι μένοις παρὰ πατρί, τέκοις δ' ἐπὶ λῶνι μοίρα  
ἄλλην, σῶ πολιῷ γήραϊ καδεμόνα.

*Fr.* 141 runs :

φημί Γέλων', Ἰέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,  
παῖδας Δεινομένεως, τὸν τρίποδ' ἀνθέμεναι,  
ἔξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων  
Δαμαρέτου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας δεκάταν,  
βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη· πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν  
σύμμαχον Ἑλλησιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

This mixture of dialects, unless due to ms. error, is manifestly cognate to the occurrence of ἄδα in Neophron. I will therefore briefly record such instances as I have observed, together with certain other relevant facts relating to the authors that come in question.

Simonides of Ceos.

(a) *Melic works.* These are Doric in general, but *Fr.* 36 has ἡμίθεοι (l. 2) and no distinctively Doric form, while *Fr.* 79 has ἡδυμον (in the only line) and no distinctively Doric form: various *Frr.* are too short for the dialect to be distinguishable.

(b) *Hexametrical works.* These are Epic.

(c) *Elegiac works.* The elegies proper are Epic, wherever the dialect is distinguishable: the elegiac epigrams vary. Of the latter most are Epic, but *Frr.* 106, 107, 109, 110, 126, 130, 134, 137, 138, 144, and 145 are Doric, *Fr.* 135 is Attic, *Fr.* 127 is either Doric or Attic, and others are of mixed dialect. There is a mixture of Epic and Doric in *Frr.* 91, 96, 97, 102, 116, 141, 149, 150, and 157: there is a mixture of Epic and Attic in *Frr.* 89, 103, 139, and 142.

(d) *Non-melic works in miscellaneous metres.* Six pieces survive. *Fr.* 112 (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ | ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪, with the ordinary liberties of substitution) is mixed Epic and Attic, *Fr.* 125 (an elegiac couplet, plus ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪, plus a tragic senarius, plus a hexameter) is Doric, *Fr.* 148 (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪, with the ordinary liberties of substitution, plus a line normally running ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ) is mixed Epic and Doric, *Fr.* 151 (hexameter, plus ∪ — ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ) is Epic, *Fr.* 155 (hexameter, plus — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — ) is mixed Doric and Attic, and *Fr.* 162 (iambic senarii) is Attic.

Tyrtaeus.

(a) *Embateria.* These are Doric.

(b) *Elegiacs.* These are Epic, with the following exceptions. In *Fr.* 3, l. 1, we have

ἀ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν,

a quotation of a Doric oracle in an Epic piece. In *Fr.* 4, l. 5, we find δημότᾱς, in *Fr.* 7, l. 1, δεσπότᾱς (such short accusatives are common to Doric and to Hesiod : δημότᾱς is not Doric), in *Fr.* 10, l. 10, the form ἀτιμίᾱ, which appears neither Epic nor Attic, in *Fr.* 10, l. 16, and also in *Fr.* 12, l. 17, αἰσχροῖς, and in *Fr.* 11, l. 5, ἐχθράν.

Anacreon.

(a) *Melic works.* These, where the *Fr.* are not too short for the dialect to be distinguishable, are Epic or Ionic, except *Fr.* 31 and 67, which are Doric.

(b) *Elegiacs.* *Fr.* 94, 96, 97, 99, 100, 108, 109, 111, 112, and 113 are Epic. *Fr.* 101, 102, 103, 104, and 106 are Doric. *Fr.* 95, 98, 105, and 110 are either Epic or Doric. *Fr.* 107 appears to be mixed Epic and Doric, combining Ἀθηναίης (l. 2) with ῥυσαμένα and δυσχέος (both in l. 1).

Solon.

(a) *Melic works.* These, from the sample extant, were Epic or Ionic.

(b) *Hexametrical works.* The extant sample (of doubtful authenticity) is Epic.



(c) *Elegiac works.* These are Epic, save for βία (*Fr.* 4, l. 26), δυσνομία (*Fr.* 4, l. 32), εὐνομία (*Fr.* 4, l. 33), and τρᾶχέα (*Fr.* 4, l. 35). If these readings are correct *Fr.* 4 is mixed Epic and Attic.

(d) *Works in iambic senarii.* These are Epic or Ionic, save for ἐλευθέρᾱ (*fem. sing.*) in *Fr.* 36, l. 5, which *Fr.*, if that reading be correct, is mixed Epic, or Ionic, and Attic.

(e) *Works in trochaic tetrameters.* These are Epic or Ionic, save for μιάνας (*Fr.* 32, l. 3), ἄγραν (*Fr.* 33, l. 3), and ἡμέραν (*Fr.* 33, l. 5). If these readings be correct, *Frr.* 32 and 33 are mixed Epic, or Ionic, and Attic.

#### Cleobulina.

*Elegiac works.* These are Epic (as appears from a comparison of *Fr.* 2 with its fellow, *Fr.* 1), except for βία (*Fr.* 2, l. 2). If this reading be correct *Frr.* 1 and 2 form a composite written in mixed Epic and Attic (scarcely, I should think, Doric).

#### Aeschylus.

*Elegiac works.* These are Epic as regards *Frr.* 3 and 4, except for Ὀσσαίαν (*Fr.* 3, l. 3) and Γέλας (*Fr.* 4, l. 2). If Ὀσσαίαν be correct, *Fr.* 3 is mixed Epic and Attic (or Doric): Γέλας, being a proper name, stands on a different footing. *Fr.* 2 is either Attic or Doric, presenting (in its only line) γενέαν. *Fr.* 5 is Doric, presenting (in its only line) ὀπλιτοπάλας and δάιος.

#### Empedocles.

*Elegiac works.* *Fr.* 1 is Epic. *Fr.* 2, if the readings be correct, is mixed Epic and Doric: the Epic forms are Ἀγχίτεω (l. 1), Ἀσκληπιάδην (l. 2), and νοῦσοις (l. 3), and the Doric are Παυσανίαν (l. 1), ἱατρὸν (l. 1), Γέλα (l. 2) and Περσεφόνας (l. 4). This Περσεφόνας may possibly have the same justification as Leonidas' Ἑρμεία: but I doubt it in such a welter.

#### Critias.

*Hexametrical works.* These, from the extant sample, were Epic.

*Elegiac works.* Three of the six extant pieces are, it would seem, really, mixed Epic and Attic. These pieces are *Fr.* 1, 2 and 4. *Fr.* 1 exhibits the Epic γαίης (l. 12), and the Attic ἔδρα (l. 4) and χρεῖα (l. 8). *Fr.* 2 presents the Epic εὐσεβίης (l. 22), and the Attic δεξιτέραν (l. 4) and ἰλαράν (l. 16). *Fr.* 4 has the partially Epic, partially Attic, combination σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώσσης (l. 3). *Fr.* 3 might be either Epic or Attic, and so might *Fr.* 6. *Fr.* 5 is Attic as regards Σκοπαδῶν (l. 1), and Attic or Epic as regards μεγαλοφροσύνην (l. 1), but Doric as regards the proper name Ἀρκεσίλα in the genitive (l. 2).

From this rapid survey—though, except in the cases of Simonides and Critias, the evidence is weak—it will be seen that there is nothing extravagant in postulating for Neophron, who was a contemporary of Simonides and who lived in the half-Doric environment of Sicyon, the liberty of using in the midst of language as a whole that of Attic tragedy certain Doric forms, especially if, as I suggest, we restrict that liberty within some such bounds as are observed, as we have seen, by the epigrammatists Leonidas and Meleager, not to speak of their lesser confrères.

I have, I think, proved all that I need prove ; but, before I leave this branch of the subject, I wish, as I rely partly on Meleager, to forestall a possible objection to his evidence. I have treated him as a trustworthy authority. It may be said that for this sort of purpose he is nothing of the kind, and that in his most famous poem, the magnificent introduction to the original Greek Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* iv. 1), he mixes up Doric and Epic forms without rhyme or reason. Now an inspection of that poem will show that the first four lines are pure Doric and the remaining 58 lines pure Epic. The first four lines would constitute a complete poem by themselves. The other 58, which contain such gems as βαῖα μὲν ἀλλὰ ῥόδα (l. 6), would not, but require an introduction to support them. Consequently we cannot take the simple course of separating the poem into two. I have little doubt but that what has happened is this. Meleager first composed an introduction of four lines in Doric, an introduction both laconic and Laconic. This introduction

consisted of the first four lines which we now have. He subsequently amplified this into an elaborate introduction of 62 lines, all in Epic, changing the dialect of the first four : with the laconism the Laconism departed. But the first four in their original dialect had already become well known, and consequently in our existing texts they are presented, not, as they ought to be, in their revised Epic form, but in the Doric of the first edition. I invite the reader to look carefully at the poem in question.

We have seen that the 24 surviving lines of Neophron present no example, except one apparently due to corruption, of the definite article : it can also be seen that they exhibit no less than seven heavy stops—colons or heavier—that interrupt the course of lines. In these two respects it is of interest to compare the 24 lines statistically with the *Supplices* of Aeschylus, the most archaic Attic tragedy now extant, and also with the *Medea* of Euripides. I do not aim at exact mathematical statement, if only for the reason that a few lines in both these Attic tragedies are of uncertain authenticity ; but in any case my figures are only inappreciably inexact.

In the *Supplices* of Aeschylus, a play of about 474 tragic lines, the definite article appears to occur 41 times. On that basis, the odds against any given set of 24 lines presenting no example of the definite article are roughly  $2\frac{3}{19} : 1$ . In the same play a heavy stop interrupting the course of a tragic line seems to present itself 52 times. On that basis, the odds against any given set of 24 lines exhibiting seven such heavy stops are roughly  $22\frac{9}{52} : 1$ . Against the “double event” of any given set of 24 tragic lines both presenting no example of the definite article and also exhibiting seven heavy stops interrupting the course of lines the odds, on the basis of Aeschylus’ *Supplices*, are roughly  $47\frac{07}{988} : 1$ .

In the *Medea* of Euripides, a play of about 1045 tragic lines, the definite article appears to occur 109 times. On that basis, the odds against any given set of 24 lines presenting no example of the definite article are roughly  $22\frac{3}{43} : 1$ . In the same play a heavy stop interrupting the course of a tragic line seems to present itself 173 times. On that basis, the odds against any given set of 24 lines exhibiting seven such heavy stops are roughly



$2\frac{2}{5} : 1$ . Against the "double event" of any given set of 24 tragic lines both presenting no example of the definite article and also exhibiting seven heavy stops interrupting the course of lines the odds, on the basis of Euripides' *Medea*, are roughly  $4\frac{2}{7} : 1$ .

Perhaps some reader, who may start verifying these odds by independent calculation and to that end adopts the readiest arithmetical method, will be staggered by certain intermediate results. The mathematical odds against the occurrence, in any given set of 24 tragic lines, either of 41 instances of the definite article, or of 52 heavy stops interrupting the course of lines, are, on the basis of Aeschylus' *Supplices*, only about 19 : 1, and those against the occurrence, likewise in any given set of 24 tragic lines, either of 109 instances of the definite article, or of 173 heavy stops interrupting the course of lines, are, on the basis of Euripides' *Medea*, only about 43 : 1. Of course it is utterly impossible—not merely a case of odds of 43 to 1 against—that 173 stops in the middle of lines should occur within the compass of 24 iambic trimeters. But the impossibility arises *ab extra* : it does not flow from the mathematical *data*. If our units were triacontameters instead of trimeters, the *ab extra* impossibility would be absent. I would observe that impossibilities, diriment, in particular cases, of mathematical results that are *per se* valid, may be stylistic and not physical. Such a stylistic impossibility would be the occurrence (see above) in 24 trimeters of 109 instances of the definite article.

One further fact admits of statistical treatment. In the remains of Neophron's *Medea* there appear to be five lines without penthemimeral caesura. There are 89 such lines in Aeschylus' *Supplices* and 135 in Euripides' *Medea*. On the basis of Aeschylus' *Supplices*, five such lines in a total of 24 is exactly normal (mathematically indeed there should only be  $4\frac{4}{9}$ , but 5 is the nearest integer, and an example cannot be diffused over a number of lines), while, on the basis of Euripides' *Medea*, there would most regularly be three (mathematically  $3\frac{21}{209}$ ). All we can say is that the figure five is at least not suggestive of a date later than that of Euripides.

## CHAPTER XII

## NOTES ON THE NATURE OF SATYRIC DRAMA.

Catus, quantumvis rusticus. HORACE.

CONSIDERABLE doubt has at various times arisen whether certain dramas of which more or less scanty fragments survive are or are not to be classed as Satyric.

We learn from the Latin writer Diomedes (p. 490, 20) that the term Satyric Drama was extended beyond its literal sense to include plays in which ridiculous characters, similar to the Satyrs, figured. His words are: "Latina Atellana a Graeca satyrica differt, quod in satyrica fere satyrorum personae inducuntur aut si quae sunt ridiculae similes satyris, Autolycus, Busiris." That this extension of the term was not peculiar to Latin commentators is shown by the fact that Pollux twice (x. 111 and 178) and John Tzetzes once (*Chil.* viii. ll. 459-460) expressly call the *Autolycus* of Euripides Satyric, although the *Busiris* of Euripides, which is mentioned, outside Diomedes, twice by Hesychius and once by Stobaeus, is not called Satyric in any of the three places. It is quite possible that there was a marked distinction between the two plays. To constitute, in the absence of Satyrs, a Satyric drama, it was not enough for a play to contain ridiculous characters: in addition a rustic flavour was necessary. This follows inevitably from the statement of Vitruvius (v. 8), who, setting forth the differences between the three kinds of *scenae*, the tragic, the comic, and the Satyric, writes: "Satyricae vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus, reliquisque agrestibus rebus."

Thus a play could be ludicrous and even coarse without becoming a Satyric drama. The *Ostologi* of Aeschylus and the *Syndipni* of Sophocles, though they deal with quite different topics, both bring in an identical and particularly disgusting incident. This incident Aeschylus describes in coarse enough language, which Sophocles

repeats, in large part *verbatim*. But nevertheless both in Aeschylus and in Sophocles the language is tragic, without, so far as I can see, any Satyric leaven. The play of Aeschylus is expressly mentioned by name twice and the play of Sophocles (to be distinguished from the *Achaeorum Syllogos*, with which it used wrongly to be identified) nine times. In none of the eleven instances is there any kind of allusion to either of the plays being a Satyric drama.

Of what value is such an argument from silence? The point is of some importance, as will in a moment be seen.

When a play known by us to have been Satyric is mentioned by name in antiquity (I exclude mentions of the *Cyclops* of Euripides, as to which I have no sufficient data before me), twice, on a rough average, out of every five times it is not merely mentioned by name, but is also, either expressly, or by necessary and unavoidable implication, described as a Satyric drama. This result is due chiefly to the fact that the full title of every Satyric play traditionally included the substantive *σάτυροι*, or some gender (in the singular or plural) of the adjective *σατυρικός*: but it may also come, in lesser degree, from a desire on the part of careful lexicographers and the like to avoid the appearance of attributing strictly tragic authority to Satyric usages. The observation rests on a broad basis, the total number of mentions being about 200. Strict precision is impossible on account of various uncertainties: for example it is a debated point whether or no Aeschylus' *Prometheus Pyrphoros* is identical with his Satyric *Prometheus Pyrcaeus*. Doubts such as these preclude exact tabulation. Moreover the inscriptional records of victories at Satyric contests (e.g. at the Magnesian Rhomaea) ought probably to be excluded, as in these the attribution of Satyric character is not a matter of option. But the resultant margin of error and variation is so small as to be negligible in the striking of an average.

This consideration renders it most highly probable that if a particular play is mentioned more than, say, seven or eight times and is never once called Satyric, it is not Satyric. If the *Syndipni* were Satyric, we should



expect three or four out of the nine mentions of it to describe it as a Satyric drama. High probability approaches certainty when a play is mentioned fifteen or twenty times.

Some Satyric dramas indeed are mentioned as Satyric in a ratio much higher than that of 2: 5: in the case of the *Aethon* of Achaëus, actually every single one of the seven extant mentions describes the play either expressly (six times) or by necessary implication (once) as a Satyric drama. There exists however a solitary and striking exception to the general rule. The *Omphale* of Ion is mentioned nineteen times in all, but only once as Satyric (Strabo, i. 60). I imagine the reason to be that the Chorus consisted not of Satyrs but, as seems to be proved by *Fr.* 22, of female Lydian harp-players. The language of the fragments points to Satyric drama; but it is intelligible that the absence of Satyrs should affect the description of the play.

The fact that about 40 per cent. of the mentions of the plays known to have been Satyric in any sense are also express mentions of them as Satyric is of some importance when we come to consider the classification of those dramas which evidently are not ordinary tragedies, but by reason of their rustic character, or of their peculiar vocabulary, or of both together, afford indications that they are at least akin to Satyric compositions, although there is no evidence that the Chorus consisted of Satyrs or even that ridiculous characters were brought on the stage. When such a play is mentioned with fair frequency, but never or hardly ever as Satyric, it may be presumed, from what I have said, that at any rate it was not equipped with a Chorus of Satyrs. On this ground I conclude that the *Syleus* of Euripides, of which no less than eight fragments are preserved, none of them quoted as from a Satyric drama, was not a Satyric drama in the sense of possessing a Satyric Chorus, though in the anonymous *De Comoedia* (Cramer's *Anecdota* i. 7 *et seq.*) it is expressly styled Satyric and its plot set forth as a specimen of Satyric plots, and though it may well have been as Satyric in tone as the same author's *Autolycus* and *Busiris* above mentioned, and consequently may, as indeed the language of some of the fragments seems to suggest, have

been composed in the full Satyric style. Similarly, the vocabulary of the *Captivæ* of Sophocles, from which the large number of 26 fragments survive, though thirteen of them are single words only, shows the play to have been in some sense Satyric or at least quasi-Satyric: yet not only is it never called Satyric, so that we may conclude with fair certainty that there was no Chorus of Satyrs, but in addition we have no reason to suspect the presence of any ludicrous element, although the occurrence of the word στεργόμαντις (Sophocles, *Fr.* 59; but see Nauck's note on what he numbers as Sophocles *Fr.* 56) appears to involve the archaic rusticity of a ventriloquistic oracle. I imagine that that play together with certain others, such as the *Theristæ* of Euripides, formed a sub-class of quasi-Satyric drama from which not merely the Satyrs were absent, but also the whole element of the ludicrous, its place being taken by a pronounced atmosphere of rusticity similar to that of the Theocritean *Bucolics*. Of the *Theristæ* of Euripides no fragment remains to us, and the play is mentioned only in the argument to Euripides' *Medea*, where we read: τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδεία, Φιλοκτήτη, Δίκτυϊ, Θερισταῖς σατύροις. That the play of Euripides was Satyric in style and also came in the series of plays at the place proper to a Satyric drama is evident from this passage: but it does not necessarily follow (see on the *Autolycus* above) that it was furnished with a Chorus of Satyrs. Indeed there would be difficulties in the way of fitting such a Chorus, to the rustic, but far from ludicrous, legend of Hercules, Lityerses, and Daphnis, with which the play manifestly dealt. The *Daphnis sive Lityerses* of Sositheus, though 24 lines of it are extant, is specifically mentioned twice only, and on neither occasion is it termed Satyric; but two mentions supply no sufficient basis for argument, and that play, though I gravely doubt the presence of Satyrs, is ultra-Satyric in style, being in fact an imitation of the manner of Pratinas (see Chapters IV. and VIII.).

It will be seen how perplexed the whole subject is and how little solid information we possess on which to base ourselves; but it will equally, I think, be seen, at least after perusal of the certainly Satyric fragments

and of such others as are fairly evidently, even in the absence of a Chorus of Satyrs, Satyric in style, that the Satyric drama is a very different thing from such Euripidean plays as the *Alcestis* or the *Bacchae*. Unquestionably Euripides felt himself sometimes at liberty to modify the severity of tragedy, and no doubt he considered himself more particularly free in the case of the fourth of a series of four plays. But other modifications were possible besides that extreme modification which is known as Satyric drama. The *Alcestis* and the *Bacchae* are in reality examples, though in an altogether different direction, of the identical liberty that Aeschylus asserted when he wrote the *Orestologi*, or Sophocles when he borrowed from that play an outrageous passage and inserted it, almost unmodified, in his own *Syndipni*.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## ERIDION AGYRTICUM ?

Sub judice *Lis* est. HORACE.

IN Chapter VIII. (§§ A and C) I have cursorily mentioned two fragments, *Fr.* 735 and *Fr.* 866, of Sophocles, neither of them attributed to any particular play, the former of which, as emended by Dindorf at a point where it is certainly unmetrical, exhibits a breach of the law of the tragic pause, while the latter, consisting of most of one line and the beginning of another line, presents an anapaest in the second foot of each with, on the second occasion, a caesura before the long syllable, that caesura not being preceded by a disyllabic word. The metre in both cases (if in the former we follow Dindorf) suggests at first sight some Satyric source : but it is contrary to the weight of the evidence collected in Chapter VIII. to suppose that Sophocles admitted in his Satyric plays either the violation of the pause or the employment of comic anapaests, no matter what their caesura. If either the former (as read by Dindorf) or the latter of these two *Fragments* be both Sophoclean and Satyric, certain conclusions reached by me in the chapter mentioned stand in need of considerable modification. But I suggest that the two fragments are indeed Sophoclean, but are not Satyric, nor, for that matter, dramatic in any sense, so that neither of them (even if Dindorf be right) militates against the deductions which I have drawn from the clearly relevant evidence. In order to render my proposition probable I shall have to embark on a wider discussion, in the course of which the two fragments in question will take their places as parts of a larger whole.

It is generally accepted that Sophocles composed a play entitled the *Eris*. Nothing whatever is related with regard to the plot of this alleged play. The only information supposed to refer to it is contained in three passages.

A portion of the Fourteenth Book of Athenaeus having perished, the original text is replaced by that of the Epitome, which gives in a way the outlines of the treatment and incorporates the quotations, but is naturally somewhat jejune. In it we read (646 D): Σοφοκλῆς Ἑριδι (*codex P*, Ἱριδι).

ἐγὼ δὲ πεινῶσά γ' αὖ (according to Dindorf *codex B*  
has πεινῶσ' ἄγαν) πρὸς Ἱτρια βλέπω.

That line counts as *Fr. 1* of the *Eris* (*Fr. 199*).

Hesychius (s.v. εὖωρος) has the entry: εὖωρος γάμος, Σοφοκλῆς Ἑριδι· ἥτοι ὥριος ἢ ὀλίγωρος· οὕτω γὰρ λέγουσι κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν, ὥς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν Σκυρίαῖς χρῆται τῷ εὐωριάζειν. Nauck points out that Hesychius' doubt whether εὖωρος does not here mean ὀλίγωρος implies that he read the genitive, γάμου. Thus

εὖωρος γάμου

is taken as the second Fragment of the *Eris* (*Fr. 200*).

The Antiatticista (p. 108, 9) has the entry: μίαν μίαν· ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ μίαν, Σοφοκλῆς Ἑριδι. This

μίαν μίαν

is taken as the third Fragment of the *Eris* (*Fr. 201*).

It is scarcely arguable that the first of these three fragments can come from a tragedy. The unmetrical ἐγὼ δὲ πεινῶσά γ' αὖ is changed by Musurus to ἐγὼ δὲ πεινῶσ' αὖ, but the *ductus* points directly to

ἐγὼ δ' ἐπινῶς ἄγαν πρὸς Ἱτρια βλέπω.

This, with both its anapaest and its absence of caesura, is a comic senarius, pure and simple. For the bearings of this fact see on *Fr. 701* below. The sense too conveyed is far from tragic: but, in view of the licence as to topics that occasionally shows itself in tragedy, it is still more to the point to note the use of the word Ἱτρια\*, *sweet cakes*, which is characteristic of comedy (Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, l. 1092; Archippus, *Heracles Gamon*, *Fr. 4*, l. 1; Ephippus, *Ephēbi*, *Fr. 1*, l. 3; *Fr. Com. Anon.* 62), and apparently of ἐπινῶς (see Suidas, s.v., and Lucian, *V.H.* II. 25). One is therefore led to consider,

\* The first syllable is long by nature.

apart from the metre, whether the line could perhaps come from a Satyric play. No doubt such words could be put in the mouth of a Satyr, or even of Silenus : but a serious difficulty arises. If ἐπινῶς be read, neither a tragic nor a Satyric source is possible ; but, if πεινῶσ', then from the use of the feminine participle it is manifest that a woman is speaking. That is to say, the words are actually in the mouth of someone who, if the quotation be from a Satyric play, cannot belong to the clownish section of the cast, but ought, on the other hand, to be sustaining at least a dignified, if not altogether a tragic part. It is extremely hard to suppose that a serious character in Satyric drama could speak of having her eyes set on sweet cakes. But personally I think ἐπινῶς so nearly certain that I am inclined to disregard Musurus.

These considerations—and, when we pass outside the limits of the alleged *Eris*, they will be reinforced by considerations of another kind—lead me to suspect that, if the source of the quotation is not tragic, neither is it Satyric. Let us look at the subject-matter of the line itself, *But, as for me, my eyes are set ever so eagerly on sweet cakes*. This is just the kind of remark one would expect from a boy in an *Eiresione*, *Coronisma*, or *Chelidonisma*. In the *Coronisma* (ll. 2-3) the singers ask for

ἦ λέκος πυρῶν,  
ἦτ' ἄρτον, ἦτ' ἡμαιθον, ἦ ὃ τί τις χρῆζει.

In the *Chelidonisma* they chant (ll. 6-12) :

παλάθαν σὺ προκύκλει  
ἐκ πίονος οἴκου,  
οἴνου τε δέπαστρον,  
πυρῶν τε κάνυστρον·  
καὶ πυρῶν ἅ χελιδῶν  
καὶ λεχιθίταν  
οὐκ ἀπωθεῖται.

Is it possible that what is commonly called the *Eris* was in reality an *Eiresione* by Sophocles ? My leading reasons for wishing to make this assumption remain yet to be stated : for the moment I am concerned only with the question whether, as an assumption, the assumption is possible. I think it is. We know from Suidas



that Sophocles wrote Paeans, and I shall suggest at the proper point a particular variety of *Eiresione* that might with propriety rank also as a Paeon. Meanwhile I will make the assumption which I have mentioned, and will proceed tentatively on that basis.

The first question that arises is how, if we are dealing with an *Eiresione*, can it have *Eris* as its title? The answer seems to me to be that in the three places where alone the *Eris* is supposed to be mentioned, it is always in the dative Ἐριδι. In each case I would emend Ἐριδι to Ἐριδίῳ. ἐρίδιον, a *small fillet of wool*, has substantially the same meaning as εἰρεσιώνη, which, while literally a fillet, was in fact a wreath of foliage wound round with a fillet of wool. It would therefore be a most appropriate title. At the same time the word is rare enough (see Liddell and Scott) to make it no matter for surprise that on all three occasions Ἐριδίῳ should have been corrupted into Ἐριδι, though not by a direct process of corruption. I should hesitate greatly to suggest that in three separate places Ἐριδίῳ had, by coincidence, been misread or misunderstood as Ἐριδι. But a little study of the existing text of Hesychius is enough to show that the names of plays were frequently presented in an abbreviated form. My contention is that in all three places Ἐριδι is a wrong expansion of εριδ, which was originally meant to indicate, not Ἐριδι, but Ἐριδίῳ. The prevalence of such abbreviations is a subject that has not received sufficient attention.

Let us now turn back to the second and third of the fragments already mentioned. The second might indeed occur in almost any context, but nevertheless happens to strike a note which seems to be a frequent element in an *Eiresione*. Side by side with the mention of εὔωρος γάμου we must set ll. 8-9 of the Homeric *Eiresione*:

τοῦ παιδὸς δὲ γυνή κατὰ διφράδα βήσεται ὕμνιν.  
ἡμίονοι δ' ἄξουσιν κραταίποδες ἐς τόδε δῶμα,

and ll. 10-14 of the *Coronisma*:

θεοί, γένοιτο πάντ' ἄμεμπτος ἡ κούρη,  
κάφνειδ' ἄνδρα κώνομαστὸν ἐξεύροι.  
καὶ τῷ γέροντι πατρὶ κοῦρον ἐς χεῖρας,  
καὶ μητρὶ κούρην ἐς τὰ γούνα κατθεῖη,  
θάλος τρέφειν γυναῖκα τοῖς κασιγνήτοις.

To the third fragment I attach solid importance. The expression *μίαν μίαν* in the distributive sense of *κατὰ μίαν* introduces an idiom which, though in use in later times (e.g. *δύο δύο εἰσῆλθον πρὸς Νῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν*, *Genesis*, vii. 9), is, except here, totally unknown in classical Greek (*μυρία μυρία*, cited by Jannaris from Aeschylus, *Persae*, l. 981, is perhaps, though not necessarily, distributive; but if it is, then it is a piece of Persian pigeon-Greek, not out of keeping with the singular passage in which it occurs, *ἦ καὶ τὸν Περσῶν αὐτοῦ | τὸν σὸν πιστὸν πάντ' ὀφθαλμὸν | μυρία μυρία πεμπαστάν | Βατανῶχου παῖδ'*, "*Ἀλπιστον \* \* \**, where, by the way, the metre argues much corruption). On the face of it, it is so almost inarticulate in its simplicity that I confidently suppose it to have had its origin in the prattle of the nursery and do not imagine that Sophocles can have put it in any mouth save that of a child, or even in a child's mouth can have employed it in a drama.

So far as I have now gone, I have advanced arguments, whatever their weight, which, even apart from the apparently comic metre of *Fr.* 199, tend in the direction that the first and the third of the fragments ascribed to a play of Sophocles called *Eris* are not Satyric, and therefore not even dramatic, seeing that they are still less in conformity with the requirements of tragedy. The first and third fragments carry the second fragment with them, as it cannot reasonably be doubted but that all three come from one and the same source. I have further suggested that all three may well be taken from an *Eiresione*, and that the first and third have an appearance which distinctly favours such an origin. The question whether an *Eiresione* can form part of any of the groups of works attributed by Suidas to Sophocles I have reserved for discussion later. On the assumption, for the sake of argument, that it can, I have pointed out that *Ἐριδι* can readily be emended to *Ἐριδίῳ*, and that *Ἐρίδιον* is an excellent title for an *Εἰρεσιώνη*.

I now leave the three fragments assigned to the so-called *Eris* and come to two fragments—the first of them being one of the pair which necessitate this chapter—which in my opinion are in reality taken from the same source as

the three former. They are *Fr.* 735 and 736. The two have in common one strange peculiarity, unique as regards the Sophoclean *Fragments*. What this peculiarity is will appear in a moment.

*Fr.* 735 is preserved by Athenaeus, in whose text we now read (428 A): καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν σατυρικῷ φησιν ὡς ἄρα

τὸ πρὸς βίαν πίνειν  
ἴσον κακὸν πέφυκε τῷ διψῆν βίᾳ.

I suggest for the unmetrical τὸ πρὸς βίαν πίνειν the reading τὸ πρὸς βίαν πιεῖν, where the aorist would denote a more transient action as opposed to the state expressed by διψῆν. But Dindorf reads τὸ πίνειν πρὸς βίαν, and this has obtained currency. It is the possibility of this reading that makes the *Fragment* vitally important. Violent emendations have also been attempted.

*Fr.* 736 comes to us *via* Hesychius, whose lexicon now presents (s.v. ἄρραγές ὄμμα) the entry: ἄρραγές ὄμμα· οὐ δακρυῶν, ᾧ τρόπῳ φαμέν κατερράγη μου δάκρυον· Σοφοκλῆς σατυρικῷ.

The unique feature is that in neither case is the name of the drama, expressed to be Satyric, supplied. The text of Athenaeus has simply Σοφοκλῆς ἐν σατυρικῷ, and that of Hesychius Σοφοκλῆς σατυρικῷ. So singular is this peculiarity that editors are agreed as to the presence of corruption. It is supposed that in each of the two cases the name of a Satyric play has been omitted by the copyists. Now words of some slight length are not readily omitted, and it seems to me distinctly easier to assume that behind Athenaeus' Σοφοκλῆς ἐν σατυρικῷ lies Σοφοκλῆς ἐν ἄγυρτικῷ (*i.e.* that COΦOKΛHCEN-AYPTIKΩI was misread as COΦOKΛHCENCATYPIKΩI), and behind Hesychius' Σοφοκλῆς σατυρικῷ lies Σοφοκλῆς ἄγυρτικῷ (*i.e.* that COΦOKΛHCAYPTIKΩI was misread COΦOKΛHC CATYPIKΩI). The mistake would be slightly more facile in the case of Hesychius, who, following his practice in such cases, omits the preposition, ἐν, and thereby places the final C of COΦOKΛHC immediately before AYPTIKΩI, than in that of Athenaeus, who, in accordance with his own custom, inserts the preposition: but in both cases it is extremely natural.



Now ἀγυρτικόν is simply a generic name for such songs as the Eiresione and the Chelidonisma. The facility of the emendation ἀγυρτιγῶ lends considerable colour to my previous emendation Ἐριδίῳ. On the assumption that Sophocles can have written some kind of Eiresione, for it is still only an assumption, we appear to be making satisfactory progress.

Let us look at the two fragments with which we are immediately concerned. Though the former (*Fr.* 735), if Satyric, cannot be censured except as inculcating a sentiment strangely alien to the Satyric stage (for it is only if, instead of my πεῖν, we adopt Dindorf's transposition, that it flies in the face of the rest of the evidence collected by me in Chapter VIII., presenting a Sophoclean breach, in Satyric drama, of the law of the pause), yet in the case of the other fragment (*Fr.* 736) the expression ἀρραγὲς ὄμμα is ultra-tragic or even epic of the more stilted kind: it has no Satyric flavour.

Thus these two fragments, if considered aright, are seen to be such that, except on conclusive evidence, a careful student would hesitate before imputing to them a Satyric origin. How would they fit in, if we assume an Eiresione ?

First, let us consult the sense. *Fr.* 735 would be a perhaps not unneeded and certainly natural reminder to donors that the children should not be pressed to drink, although they collected wine *inter alia* (see οἶνον τε δέπαστρον, *Chelidonisma*, l. 8). *Fr.* 736, though there is nothing conclusive about it, might well be an allusion to the *stony eye* of some onlooker who looked so pitiless as to be likely to refuse a contribution.

Secondly, let us take the metre. To glance at Dindorf's version of *Fr.* 735 is to see that it is *prima facie* in the prosody of comedy. That version I dare not neglect. Now, though the trimeters neither of the Homeric *Eiresione* nor of the *Chelidonisma* admit comic licence, yet I know no reason why the comic or quasi-comic part of an Eiresione composed by an Athenian of the best classical period, after the development of Attic Comedy, should not have been couched in its natural vehicle, *viz.* the full comic metre. These remarks are in any event pertinent: for, even if my πεῖν be

accepted as against Dindorf's reading, the whole question of comic metre has already been raised by *Fr.* 199 and will again be raised in a moment by *Fr.* 866.

*Fr.* 736, on the other hand, though it can be fitted into a comic trimeter, is, in view of its phraseology, more probably part of a hexameter. Variation in metre characterises both the Homeric *Eiresione* and the *Chelidonisma*, though not the *Coronisma*, which is composed throughout in choliambics. The Homeric *Eiresione* begins with hexameters, but ends with senarii: the *Chelidonisma* also ends with senarii, but begins with lines which, usually at any rate, take the form of the end of a hexameter from the middle of the fourth foot onward. If we are really dealing with an *Eiresione*, it seems that *Fr.* 736 belongs to the earlier and *Fr.* 735 to the later portion. All the three *Fragments* that are ascribed to the *Eris* would also come in the later portion.

The question whether it is reasonably possible that Sophocles wrote an *Eiresione* has already ceased to be one of merely speculative interest. We have reached the stage of seeing that the assumption that it is reasonably possible that he did so would, by permitting us to entertain the further hypothesis that he actually did so, open an easy door of escape from various difficulties. We now come to a fragment—one of the two which have caused me to take up this discussion—that brings the matter to a head.

That fragment is *Fr.* 866. Plutarch (*Moral.* 959 E) quotes it in the course and as a grammatical part of a sentence of his own, thus:

τιθασὸν δὲ χῆνα καὶ περιστερὰν  
ἐφέστιον οἰκέτην τε.

οἰκέτιν must be read for οἰκέτην, as is proved by Pollux, who states (III. 82): οἱ μέντοι ποιηταὶ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους οἰκέτας ὠνόμαζον, ὅπου γε καὶ περιστερὰν οἰκέτιν.

At the end of Plutarch's quotation someone, presumably not Plutarch himself, has inserted the name Σοφοκλῆς, just as we might write, incorporating a quotation: "It is hard to buy

Butter and eggs and a pound of cheese (Calverley) nowadays." Certainly Plutarch's quotation is not tragic.

Equally certainly the two comic anapaests swear aloud at the rest of the evidence accumulated by me (see Chapter VIII, § A) as to the development and history of the use of comic anapaests in Satyric drama. But how splendidly the words would suit the comic part (see on *Fr.* 735 above) of an Eiresione, if only we dare assume that it was possible for Sophocles to write such a thing !

I set great store by this *Fragment*, even standing by itself. But in reality it cannot be said to stand by itself. There exists another and cognate *Fragment*, which, while not betraying any comic affinity by its metre, is unmistakably couched in the language of comedy. That *Fragment* is *Fr.* 1122. It is preserved by Athenaeus (II. 68), who, after speaking of the substantive ἄρτυμα, goes on to mention the verb ἀρτύω, saying : τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κεῖται παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ.

ἐγὼ μάγειρος ἀρτύσω σοφῶς.

The general opinion of editors is that Σοφοκλεῖ is a mistake and that the words come from some comedy : but I agree with the view, expressed by Headlam and set forth in Pearson's note on the *Fragment*, that Athenaeus is searching for *origines* (he quotes also Cratinus and Eupolis), seeing that the verb is not by any means rare. καταρτύω even occurs in tragedy (Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, l. 473 ; Sophocles, *Antigone*, l. 478, and *Oedipus Coloneus*, l. 71 ; Euripides, *Fr.* 821, l. 5), though, naturally, never in a culinary sense. Therefore I refuse to tamper with Σοφοκλεῖ. Now both ἄρτυμα (which carries with it ἀρτύω), with the culinary significance, and μάγειρος have good Satyric authority ; but, even so, the *Fragment*, containing both expressions, is absolutely redolent of comedy. I therefore share the reluctance of editors, including Pearson, to assign it to even a Satyric source. Accordingly I suggest that there is a common explanation of *Frr.* 866 and 1122. It would be easy to combine them in some such form as

τιθασὸν δὲ χῆνα καὶ περιστερὰν  
ἐφέστιον οἰκέτιν τε <δὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς πτεροῖς  
ὠμούς.> ἐγὼ μάγειρος ἀρτύσω σοφῶς.



We are now left directly face to face with the question whether it is reasonably possible that Sophocles should have composed an *Eiresione*, or, in other words, whether there is any recorded class of compositions by Sophocles in which an *Eiresione* can properly have found a place. I will say at once that there is no such class, except it be that of his *Paeans*. Now I suppose that in absolute strictness no *Eiresione* can constitute a *Paeon*, and that only a most exceptional *Eiresione* could with propriety, though not in absolute strictness, take rank as such. But I contend that an *Eiresione* written in honour of Apollo *Paeon* to be sung at Delphi itself by the boys of the Pythian temple on the Shrove Tuesday, so to speak, immediately before the beginning of the annual ἀποδημία of the god (during which the singing of *Paeans* was suspended and the shrine was handed over to Dionysus for three months, while the children were presumably released from their choir-service and sent to school) would fully meet the requirements of the case. That Sophocles should have written such an *Eiresione* would, in the absence of positive evidence, be extremely improbable: that it is reasonably possible for him to have done so cannot be denied.

Next, is there any evidence that he did so? *Fr.* 1120 seems to me to supply an affirmative answer. St. John Damascene (*Parallela Sacra*, Book II, Ch. 13) preserves the Fragment. Its authenticity is excellently attested, as the chapter where it occurs is entitled περὶ ἀγωγῆς καὶ παιδείας, as is (see Photius' list of the contents of Stobaeus) the otherwise lost 31st *Eclogue* of the Second Book of Stobaeus' *Eclogae*, from which *Eclogue* the Damascene Father has evidently transcribed the quotations. His existing text runs thus:

Σοφοκλέους·

ἐπεὶ πέπρακται πᾶν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς,  
χωρῶμεν ἤδη, παῖδες, εἰς τὰ τῶν σοφῶν  
διδασκαλεῖα, μουσικῆς παιδεύματα.

προσλαμβάνειν δὲ δεῖ καθ' ἡμέραν αἰεῖ,

ἕως ἂν ἐξῇ μανθάνειν βελτίονα.

5

παῖς δ' ὦν κακὸν μὲν δρᾶν τι προῖκ' ἐπίστασθαι,

αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ μανθάνων ἄνευ πόνου·

τὴν χρηστὰ δ', οὐδ' ἂν τὸν διδασκτὸν λάβῃ,  
 ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀλλὰ κέκτηται μόλις.  
 ταῦτ' οὖν φυλαξώμεθα, καὶ μοχθητέον, 10  
 ὧ παῖδες, ὡς ἂν μήτ' ἀπαιδεύτων βροτῶν  
 δοκῶμεν εἶναι ἀποδημοῦντος πατρός.

As there is a good deal of corruption, some of it quite patent, in the passage, I will start by giving what seems to me a probable approach to the original text. The emendations which I adopt are, as will appear below, chiefly those of distinguished scholars, to which I have ventured to add one or two of my own. No point of particular importance is involved in any one of the alterations; but the facility of the whole indicates that we are dealing with a genuine, though somewhat distorted, document of the classical age. I read

ἐπεὶ πέπρακται πᾶν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς,  
 χωρῶμεν ἤδη, παῖδες, εἰς τὰ τῶν σοφῶν  
 διδασκαλεῖα· μουσικῆς παιδεύμα γὰρ  
 προσλαμβανεῖν δεῖ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν αἰεί,  
 ἕως ἂν ἐξῇ, μανθάνειν βελτίονα. 5  
 παῖς λῶν κακὸν μὲν δρᾶν τι προῖκ' ἐπίσταται,  
 αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ μανθάνων ἄνευ πόνου·  
 τὰ χρηστὰ δ' οὐ λῶν, οὐδ' ὅταν βάκτρον λάβῃ,  
 ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀλλὰ κέκτηται μόλις.  
 ταῦτ' οὖν φυλαξώμεσθα, καὶ μοχθητέον, 10  
 ὧ παῖδες, ὡς ἂν μήτ' ἀπαιδεύτων βροτῶν  
 δοκῶμεν εἶναι, ἀποδημοῦντος πατρός . . .

In ll. 3-5 I adopt Meineke's emendations and arrangement, except that I put a stop in l. 3 before, not after, μουσικῆς. In ll. 6-8 the emendations are my own, except that in l. 6 ἐπίσταται and in l. 8 τὰ are long established corrections, due apparently to Gaisford. In l. 12 I follow Nauck in punctuating etc., so as to show that the sentence is incomplete, the words ἀποδημοῦντος πατρός being the beginning of a phrase which grammatically answers that which opens with ὡς ἂν μήτ'.

If anyone likes to think that these lines are from a Satyric drama or even from a tragedy, he is welcome to his opinion. To my mind they breathe a spirit alien altogether to that of either stage, and the whole tenor

of them suggests to me most forcibly that they are part of the speech of the *choragus* of a choir of children released for a protracted period from their liturgical duties owing to the ἀποδημία (see ἀποδημοῦντος πατρός in l. 12) of the god of the temple to which they have been attached. The ἀποδημία of the Delphic Apollo figures, though indirectly, in tragedy itself. In the *Phoenissae* of Euripides it and nothing else can account for the presence of the Delphic Chorus at Thebes (see especially ll. 220–225), which has puzzled scholars who ought to have known better and has led to foolish emendation. The occasion would be more or less in the nature of a “breaking up,” although with the difference that the boys now had to begin term at the grammar-school. Considering the presumable occasion and considering more particularly the absence of any solemnity and of any devotional flavour from the lines, I cannot readily assign them to any known class of composition other than the *Eiresione*. Of an *Eiresione* I take them to form the incomplete epilogue, an epilogue not indeed tragic, but sufficiently serious to be couched in tragic metre. And that this *Eiresione* was Delphic is strongly hinted at by the words ἀποδημοῦντος πατρός. In the word πατρός I see no kind of difficulty. It would be only natural, at least in a festivity connected with the temple, for the children of the choir to refer to Apollo as their “father.” The young Ion in Euripides (*Ion*, ll. 136–140), before he has any inkling that Apollo is literally his father, though of course tragic irony is at work, says :

Φοῖβός μοι γενέτωρ πατήρ·  
 τὸν βόσκοντα γὰρ εὐλογῶ.  
 τὸ δ' ὠφέλιμον ἔμοι  
 πατέρος ὄνομα λέγω  
 Φοίβου τοῦ κατὰ νάον.

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I say, then, that this *Fragment* furnishes evidence, emphatically far from conclusive, but still evidence, legitimately available in support of a contention that Sophocles composed an *Eiresione* for use at Delphi. Seeing that it is scarcely credible that he can have written any *Eiresione* at all, except one of such a character that it came to be included among his *Paeans*, as other-



wise we should surely find some mention of it as an outlying work, and seeing further that the cumulative evidence derived from the other *Fragments* with which I have dealt leads us somewhat strongly to desiderate the existence, as a way of escape from various difficulties, of some sort of an *Eiresione* by Sophocles, and seeing in addition that some of those other *Fragments* excite, by the way in which they are introduced in the mss., and independently of any question of escaping from difficulties, at least a sort of suspicion that they may be taken from an *Eiresione*, we are entitled to gather all the clues together and to assert with confidence that the sum total makes up a case strong enough to merit the careful consideration of the jury. I am not sure that I can put it higher than that. As far as my immediate purposes are concerned, I have no reason for desiring to do so. As regards the two *Fragments* (*Frr.* 735 and 736) I cannot, in face of what I have gathered together in Chapter VIII., accept the metrical evidence of the latter as it stands, or of the former as it is presented by Dindorf, as valid for the Satyric drama of Sophocles. If they are not quotations from an *Eiresione* by Sophocles, then I declare unhesitatingly that the former of them has been put by Dindorf into a form which Sophocles cannot have permitted, and that the latter of them is not from the pen of Sophocles at all. From the second of these conclusions I greatly shrink: but at the same time they are both of them just as serviceable for my purposes as is the alternative and, as I surmise, true conclusion that, however *Fr.* 735 ought to be read, Sophocles composed an *Eiresione*.

This is the point at which to inquire whether there exists any actual evidence, true or false, to the contrary. The absence of all mention of an *Eiresione* from the extant lists of Sophocles' works does not constitute such evidence, if, as is a fundamental part of my contention, we are concerned solely with the question of the existence of an *Eiresione* of such a character that it ranked with, and was numbered among, his *Paeans*. The existence of the *Paeans* is on the record.

Yet in rebuttal of my case it may perhaps be pleaded that Athenæus—who has himself preserved for us three of

the *Fragments* which I wish to assign to the Eiresione under discussion, one of which three *Fragments* (*Fr.* 199) is ascribed in his texts to the *Eris* and therefore cannot be dissociated from two other *Fragments* ascribed, though not by him (for he in no way mentions them), to the *Eris*—preserves also, and to some extent discusses, both the *Coronisma* and the *Chelidonisma* (VIII 359-360), yet without a word relating to any Eiresione by Sophocles, although, if the three *Fragments* he quotes formed, as I contend, part of it, he must have been aware of its existence.

To such a rebuttal I would rejoin as follows. Athenaeus does not at all concern himself with the subject of the Eiresione at large. His treatment, which, though not quite cursory, is parenthetical, is limited to begging-songs connected with birds, and the occasion for it is simply and solely the citation of a passage from Ephippus in which occur the words (*Obeliaphori*, ll. 12-13) :

τὸ μοσχίον  
τὸ τῆς κορώνης αὔριον δειπνήσομεν.

I no more suggest a bird as figuring in the Delphic than in the Athenian Eiresione.

That, I submit, is a good rejoinder. I know of no other objection that I ought to answer. My case, it must be remembered, is not that it is certain, but that it is a *probabilis opinio*, that my thesis is sound. I may be pardoned, if in my own mind I go a little beyond my case and look upon the *opinio*, not merely as *probabilis*, but as *probabilior*.

It now falls to discuss a penultimate *Fragment*. *Fr.* 1129 of Sophocles is preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis*, v. 14, p. 726), and also by Eusebius (*Præparatio Evangelica*, XIII.688A) who simply repeats Clement. Clement's text now runs :

Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ὁ τραγωδοποιός·  
οὐδὲ θεοῖσι—λέγει—αὐθαίρετα πάντα πέλονται  
νόσφι Διός· κεῖνος γὰρ ἔχει τέλος ἡδὲ καὶ ἀρχήν.

Eusebius concurs, as his text now stands, in presenting θεοῖσι. Evidently copyists took λέγει as part of the hexameter and consequently changed an original θεοῖς

into θεοῖσι. The *Fragment* is universally and rightly read as

οὐδὲ θεοῖς αὐθαίρετα πάντα πέλονται  
νόσφι Διός· κείνος γὰρ ἔχει τέλος ἡδὲ καὶ ἀρχήν.

Nauck denounces the lines as a late and absurd forgery, on what ground I am unable to perceive. Bergk, on the other hand, passes them, properly in my opinion, as containing nothing unworthy of an ancient poet, and suggests that they may come from a Sophoclean Paean. So, in a sense, I think they may; but all extant remains (and in this connexion the Pindaric papyrus is highly important) seem to refute the idea that, at least at a date so late as that of Sophocles, a Paean, technically so called, could be composed in hexameters. A fragment, which Cumanudes assigns to Sophocles' *Paean to Aesculapius*, exists; and that fragment is not in hexameters. Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii Tyan.* III. 17) speaks of ὁ Παιᾶν ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ὃν Ἀθήνησι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ᾄδουσιν. The fragment was found in the ruins of the Asclepieion at Athens. It runs (Cougny's *Appendix* to the *Anthology*, IV. 12):

. . .] κούρα περιώνυμε, μᾶ-  
τερ ἄλεξιπό[νου  
. . .] ἀχειροκόμα[ς . . .]ναριθμι[. . .  
. . .]ε[. . .]ευεπ[. . . . .

But, if one particular "Paean" of Sophocles was, in strictness, an *Eiresione*, then in that "Paean" we have a possible *locus* for the hexameters. And there seems to be no other possible *locus* in the recorded works of Sophocles; for the *Fragment* has about it the full flavour of epic, a flavour vastly unlike that of the choral hexameters of tragedy. Thus my supposition provides a way of escape out of yet another difficulty.

This *Fragment*, like *Fr.* 736, will take its place in the first part of the *Eridion*. It enables us to assert (of course on the assumption that the *Eridion* had an existence) that the first part was couched, like that of the Homeric *Eiresione*, in hexameters, not, like that of the *Chelidonisma*, in a shorter dactylic measure, and that consequently *Fr.* 736 is a portion of a hexameter,



not of some shorter dactylic verse. *Fr.* 1129 can very well be taken as the extreme end of the first part. I suggest some such expression as: "We should like to stay in the temple the whole year round and never go to school: but not even the gods can have their way in all things, save Zeus, in whose hands are beginning and end alike."

It will not be amiss to examine briefly the probable conditions of a Delphic *Eiresione*. An ordinary *Eiresione* clearly consisted of quite a short performance, repeated, as carols now are, from door to door. I have already in effect postulated something a little more elaborate, with an epilogue, which—whatever may have been the case as to the other parts—certainly does not admit of repetition. It seems natural to infer that neither were those other parts repeated. At Delphi the conditions were peculiar. It would have been possible for the hexametrical exordium, conceivably of some length, to be sung on a stage or the like in the temple precincts, and then for the choir, after first saying or singing the lighter part of the *Eiresione*, to have trooped in procession through the temple courts, collecting from worshippers who had come provided with offerings for the purpose. Thus all house-to-house visiting, except perhaps (see *Fr.* 866) in the case of a few houses close by, and all repetition may have been avoided. Then the choir may have returned to the stage and the *choragus* have spoken the epilogue. That in brief is my suggestion as to the order of the ceremonies, so far as I can gather, generally speaking, the probabilities of the case.

But a somewhat minute investigation of the salient features shown by the Homeric *Eiresione*, the *Chelidonisma*, and the *Coronisma* may perhaps tend in the direction of greater precision. To start with, there are four quasi-liturgical formulae characteristic of an *Eiresione*. The first, which admits of a certain fluidity of expression, is the *Pande portam* (αὐταὶ ἀνακλίνεσθε θύραι, Homeric *Eiresione*, l. 3; ἀνοιγ' ἀνοιγε τὰν θύραν, *Chelidonisma*, l. 18; ὦ παῖ, θύρην ἄγκλινε, *Coronisma*, l. 8): the second, closely connected with the first, is the *Plutus introibit* (Πλοῦτος γὰρ ἔσεισιν, Homeric *Eiresione*, l. 3; Πλοῦτος εἴσεισιν, corrupted into ἤκουσεν, *Coronisma*, l. 8;

the *Chelidonisma* substitutes χελιδόνι, l. 18, not mentioning Πλοῦτος): the third is the *Siquid dederis*; *sin minus, non* (εἰ μὲν τι δώσεις· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐχ ἐστήξομεν, Homeric *Eiresione*, l. 15; εἰ μὲν τι δώσεις· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἐάσομεν, *Chelidonisma*, l. 13; this feature is absent from the remains of the *Coronisma*, but may have occurred in the missing portion): the fourth is the characteristic *Non enim* at the beginning of the final line (οὐ γὰρ συνοικήσונτες ἐνθάδ' ἤλθομεν, Homeric *Eiresione*, l. 15; οὐ γὰρ γέροντές ἐσμεν, ἀλλὰ παῖδια, *Chelidonisma*, l. 19; this feature is certainly absent from the *Coronisma*).

A short table will clearly show which of these four features the various pieces have in common.

Formulae common to all three pieces.	Formulae common to the Homeric <i>Eiresione</i> and the <i>Chelidonisma</i> only.	Formulae common to the Homeric <i>Eiresione</i> and the <i>Coronisma</i> only.	Formulae common to the <i>Chelidonisma</i> and the <i>Coronisma</i> only.
1. <i>Pande portam</i>			
2.		<i>Plutus introibit</i>	None
3.	<i>Siquid dederis</i> ; <i>sin minus, non</i>		
4.	<i>Non enim</i>		

This table serves to show that the Homeric *Eiresione* is more basic than either of the other pieces: also it suggests that the *Pande portam* was a necessary feature in any *Eiresione*. This suggestion is possibly reinforced by the Attic custom of hanging up the material *eiresionae* at the front door. We know singularly little about the Athenian *Eiresione*. It was a feature of the Thargelia and of the Pyanepsia. At the Pyanepsia, at any rate, a boy brought out an *eiresione* from the temple of Apollo and put it in front of the temple door. Other boys had other *eiresionae*, whence obtained we do not know, and sang a song, of which three lines are extant, apparently the hexametrical beginning of a begging-song:

εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρει καὶ πίνοντας ἄρτους  
καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀποψήσασθαι,  
καὶ κύλικ' ἡύζωρον, ὅπως μεθύουσα καθεύδῃ.

These lines are given by Suidas (s.v. εἰρεσιώνη) and in two Aristophanic *scholia* (*Equites*, l. 729, and *Plutus*,

l. 1054). In l. 2 the *scholium* on the *Equites* presents the variation ἀναψήσασθαι. In l. 3 Suidas gives εὐζωρον ὅπως μεθύουσα καθεύδῃς, while both the *scholia* have εὐζωρον ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθεύδῃ. The correction ῥύζωρον is easy: ὡς ἄν would require an imperative sense. I cannot understand the feminine, if we read καθεύδῃς. With καθεύδῃ, μεθύουσα relates to εἰρεσιώνη, jocosely personified, there being no bird to personify.

That there was a collection of alms at the Athenian Eiresione is sufficiently proved not only by the general Greek practice, but also by the fact that according to tradition this particular Eiresione commemorated a collection once made on the occasion of a famine.

We may postulate, on the strength of the table given above, that at Delphi there was a more or less ceremonial opening, for an *eiresione* to be brought in, of the doors of at least one house, possibly that of a priest, and, on the strength of the Athenian custom, that the proceedings began with the appearance, from the interior of the temple, of one boy in particular, bearing an *eiresione*, which he fixed to the temple door. Also, seeing that *ex hypothesi* we are dealing with an Eiresione that, like the Homeric, is partly hexametrical, we may with considerable probability infer the presence of a *Plutus introibit*, of a *Siquid dederis*; *sin minus, non*, and of a *Non enim*. Further, the Homeric affinity suggests that the last two of these features should be coupled together, as in the Homeric piece, not separated, as in the *Chelidonisma*.

Next we come to the features, other than formulae, common to the three pieces, or to two of them.

Both in the Homeric Eiresione and in the *Chelidonisma*, as we have already seen, the metre changes, whereas in the *Coronisma* it remains constant. I need only observe that it is doubtful whether the Homeric piece ever contained any senarii, except the final couplet, whereas the *Eridion* appears to exhibit, like the *Chelidonisma*, a developed non-dactylic second portion, so that the senarii may well express subject-matter which in the Homeric piece is expressed in hexameters, as indeed is the case with the senarii of the *Chelidonisma*. The addition of an epilogue is a further development, which necessitates



that the *Siquid dederis*; *sin minus, non* and the *Non enim* should not form part of it, but should precede it.

As regards the subject-matter itself, other than those parts of it which are enshrined in formulae, all three pieces agree in including an invocation of blessings on donors (though this in the *Chelidonisma*, l. 17, is reduced to its bare minimum) and a mention of specific articles asked for. In the Homeric piece that is the order of the two topics: in the other two pieces that order is reversed. Both in the Homeric piece and in the *Chelidonisma* (the *Coronisma*, with its uniform metre, does not come into the question) the specification of articles is dactylic, and the surviving fragment of the Athenian *Eiresione*, which, though not expressly mendicant in language, consists of a list of articles, is, like its Homeric analogue, in hexameters. On the other hand the lines attributed by me to the *Eridion*, which specify articles, belong, as we have seen, if they be rightly attributed, to a series of comic senarii. This circumstance seems quite natural as a consequence of the development of the iambic element. I am inclined to think, with regard to order, that Sophocles elected to follow the Homeric tradition.

Another and minor question of order arises. In what sequence are we to arrange the specificatory fragments? Perhaps a little light may be obtained from the other three pieces and from the Athenian fragment. In the Homeric piece, the whole of the specification, except the opening words, has vanished in a lacuna, and the opening words themselves have been corrupted. We now read (ll. 11-13):

νεῦμαί τοι, νεῦμαι ἐνιαύσιος, ὥστε χελιδῶν  
ἔστηρ' ἐν προθύροις ψιλῇ πόδας· ἀλλὰ φέρ' αἶψα  
πέρσαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι γυιᾶτιδος . . .

Comparing the *Coronisma* (ll. 1-2)

ἔσθλοι κορώνη χῖδρα πρόσδοτε κριθέων  
τῇ παιδὶ τᾰπόλλωνος,

we ought, I suppose, to read the lost line as

περσικῶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγυιήταο θυγατρί.

The adjectival masculine and feminine dual, *περσικῶ*, not the substantival feminine dual, *περσικά*, appears to be demanded by the *ductus litterarum*. Possibly the next line began with the substantive *ἥλιπε*. That is all that is left of the Homeric list of articles.

In the Athenian *Eiresione* the order is figs, loaves, honey, oil, wine; in the *Chelidonisma* a cake of pressed figs, wine, cheese, wheat, pulse-bread; in the *Coronisma* barley, wheat, a loaf, a half-obol, salt, a honeycomb.

In the *Eridion* we have an express mention of sweet-cakes (*Fr.* 199), which are similar to the fig-cake of the *Chelidonisma*, and a reference to wine (*Fr.* 735), which is an item in the Athenian *Eiresione* and in the *Chelidonisma*. The sweet-cakes show us, I think, that it is a case of a list resembling in general character the other extant lists. I am inclined to put the wine, as in the Athenian *Eiresione*, at the extreme end, partly because that is the best place for the warning against treating, which seems to be conveyed, and partly because the words used have somewhat the appearance of an intentional counterblast to the rather disgraceful last line of the Athenian fragment. Seeing that the wine was not to be drunk on the spot, as it was in the case of the Athenian *Eiresione* and of the *Chelidonisma*, it could scarcely be asked for, as in those cases, in a *κύλιξ* or in a *δέπαστρον*. This consideration appears to suggest, in view of the fact that bulky articles can with convenience be handled only one at a time, that *μίαν μίαν* (*Fr.* 201) qualifies some such substantive as *χόας* (a *χοῦς* contained about six pints and is sometimes feminine).

It would probably be wrong to introduce the goose and the pigeon (*Fr.* 866) between the sweet-cakes and the wine. The two latter belong to a, so to speak, recognised category which rather strangely refuses to admit any kind of flesh-meat. I suppose that the omission is due to the comparative poverty of the persons usually asked for alms in such songs as those with which we are dealing, though of course flesh-meat was not much eaten in classical Greece. At a wealthy place, like Delphi, it would be fully reasonable to ask for at least geese and pigeons in addition to cakes, cheese, and so forth. Moreover the Dionysiac interregnum at

Delphi extended roughly from All Saints to Candlemas, so that our begging-song was sung just about a month after Michaelmas, the very time when spring geese are at their best for eating. We may take it, then, that these more solid articles, with perhaps others like them, headed the list. Hence we obtain the order, a goose, a pigeon, sweet-cakes, wine.

Yet one *Fragment* remains, *Fr.* 844. It, like *Fr.* 866, is presented by Plutarch, but in two parts. In one place (IV. 99 A) he writes : ὅτι γὰρ τούτοις βραχεῖά τις παρεμπίπτει τύχη, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων αἱ τέχναι συντελοῦσι δι' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὗτος ὑποδεδήλωκε·

βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεώς,  
οἷ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἑργάνην στατοῖς  
λίκνοισι προστρέπεσθε.

Plutarch on this occasion mentions no author's name : neither does Clement of Alexandria, who also quotes (*Protreptica*, 78 P) this part of the *Fragment*, taking it perhaps from Plutarch, but giving, as his text now stands, ἐργαπην (v. ll. ἐργάπιν and ἐργάτιν) for Ἑργάνην, στατοῖσι for στατοῖς, λίκνοις for λίκνοισι, and προστρέπεσθε for προστρέπεσθε. In another place (v. 802 B) Plutarch says : τὴν γὰρ Ἑργάνην οὗτοι μόνον θεραπεύουσιν, ὥς φησι Σοφοκλῆς, οἱ παρ' ἄκμονι τυπάδι βαρεῖα καὶ πληγαῖς ὑπακούουσιν ὕλην ἄψυχον δημιουργοῦντες. Thomas Gataker saw that this semi-quotation has every appearance of fixing the before-mentioned quotation as coming from Sophocles, and also of adding some words to it. He merely continued after προστρέπεσθε with

<καὶ> παρ' ἄκμονι  
τυπάδι βαρεῖα . . . .

But with fair safety we can go further, reading with Hermann (except that I adopt, instead of his καὶ κόποις, Blaydes' πλήγμασιν θ') :

βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεώς,  
οἷ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἑργάνην στατοῖς  
λίκνοισι προστρέπεσθε, τὴν παρ' ἄκμονι  
τυπάδι βαρεῖα πλήγμασιν θ' ὑπήκoon  
ἄψυχον ὕλην δημιουργοῦντες χεροῖν.



Now it is hard to see how either in a tragedy or in a Satyric drama, given Greek limitations, a crowd of men can be told to go into a road: the Chorus can scarcely be the object of an address so worded. Moreover some of the terminology, though classical, cannot be called dramatic. On these matters, however, I will not dwell. The noticeable point is that the festival at which Athene Ergane was worshipped by smiths (ll. 1-3), viz. the Chalceia, was celebrated at Athens on the last day of the Attic month Pyanepsion, which corresponded with the Delphic month Heraeus, the last day of which was also the last day of Apollo's sojourn at Delphi, the ἀποδημία beginning with the day following. The worship of Athene Ergane, though it started at Athens, spread widely (see Pausanias, i. 24, 3). Hence it would be the most natural thing in the world to find the Chalceia kept by smiths at Delphi on the very day on which the choir-boys held their Eiresione. I therefore seem to myself to solve another difficulty by taking *Fr.* 844 as part of the Epilogue of the *Eridion*. It is clear that the choir-boys would not have been dismissed until the liturgical service of the day was finished. By that time any ceremonies of the Chalceia that kept the smiths outside the Pythian precincts would doubtless have been completed. They would presumably have come from whatever shrine they had been frequenting, perhaps that of Athene Pronaos, into the main block of buildings. It is they from whom the boys would have more especially collected. And it seems to follow, seeing that, when the boys went away, the temple was presumably closed to the general public, that it would be proper for the Epilogue to contain a passage in which the smiths received their "*Ite, missa est.*" On these grounds I put this *Fragment* in the Epilogue, a little after *Fr.* 1120. I do not think it fanciful to find in *Fr.* 1120 and in *Fr.* 844 the same extremely peculiar and quasi-tragic, yet not tragic, style.

I will now conclude by presenting, so far as I am able, the plan of the *Eridion*, with the fragments fitted into suitable places, premising only that I rather think that εὖωρος γάμου points to tragic, not comic, senarii in the Benediction of Donors, and that, in view of the presumably special circumstances, I have changed the individualistic

formula εἰ μὲν τι δώσεις, suitable to house-to-house visitation, into the plural.

## ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΠΑΙΑΝΕΣ

## ΕΡΙΔΙΟΝ

## Ἀγυρτικόν.

*The stage is a level place in front of the temple at Delphi. Enter from interior of temple a Choir of Boys, bearing eiresionae, one of which the Choragus affixes to the exterior of the temple door. They then take up their positions on the stage.*

## I.

## PROLOGUE.

In Hexameters.

*The full Choir sings.*

(a)

Preface.

<“ We stand here facing the dwelling-places of the ministers of this temple, folk of wealth and power, and facing also a multitude of worshippers, especially the smiths, whose festival falls on this day.”>

See Homeric  
*Eiresione*  
II. 1-2

(b)

*Pande portam*

<αὐταὶ ἀνακλίνεσθε θύραι>

Homeric  
*Eiresione*  
I. 3

*The doors of the ministers' houses open.*

(c)

*Plutus introibit*

<Πλοῦτος γὰρ ἔσεισιν.>

Homeric  
*Eiresione*  
I. 3

(d)

Rebuke to hard-hearted and discontented persons.

\* \* \*

ἀρῶαγές ὄμμα. *Fr. 736*

\* \* \*

<“ Dont' be sour : be more contented. Why, we should ourselves like to stay here always and never go to school ; but ”>

Probable in  
context.

οὐδὲ θεοῖς αὐθαίρετα πάντα πέλονται  
νόσφι Διός· κείνος γὰρ ἔχει τέλος ἡδὲ καὶ ἀρχήν.

*Fr. 1129*

## II.

## EXHORTATION TO ALMSGIVING.

In Senarii.

*The Choragus speaks.*

(a)

Benediction of Donors.

The Senarii are perhaps Tragic.

\* \* \*

εὖωρος γάμου

\* \* \*

(b)

Specification of Articles required.

The Senarii are Comic.

*(Other Choristers, as well as the Choragus, perhaps speak.)*

\* \* \*

Fr. 200

Cf. Homeric  
*Eiresione*,  
ll. 8-10, and  
*Coronisma*,  
ll. 10-14

τιθασὸν δὲ χῆνα καὶ περιστέραν

ἐφέστιον οἰκέτιν τε <δὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς πτεροῖς  
ὤμούς.> ἐγὼ μάγειρος ἀρτύσω σοφῶς.

\* \* \*

Fr. 1122

ἐγὼ δ' ἐπινῶς ἄγαν πρὸς ἱτρια βλέπω.

\* \* \*

Fr. 199

μίαν μίαν

\* \* \*

Fr. 201.  
Perhaps said of  
wine-jars

τὸ πρὸς βίαν πιεῖν

ἕσον κακὸν πέφυκε τῷ διψῆν βίᾳ.

(c)

*Siquid dederis; sin minus, non.*

&lt;εἰ μὲν τι δώσετ'· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐ θακρύσομεν'&gt;

See Homeric  
*Eiresione*, l. 15,  
and *Chelidon-*  
*isma*, l. 13

(d)

*Non enim.*

&lt;οὐ γὰρ πενήτεῦντες ἐνθάδ' ἔσταμεν.&gt;

See Homeric  
*Eiresione*, l. 15,  
and *Chelidon-*  
*isma*, l. 19

*The boys then leave the stage and enter the houses of the ministers, coming out again with offerings, and afterwards proceed to collect from the worshippers in the temple-courts. This done, they return with the results of their collection, which others probably assist them in carrying, to the stage.*



## III.

## EPILOGUE.

## In Tragic Senarii.

*The Choragus addresses the Choir.*

ἐπεὶ πέπρακται πᾶν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς,  
χωρῶμεν ἤδη, παῖδες, εἰς τὰ τῶν σοφῶν  
διδασκαλεῖα· μουσικῆς παιδευμα γάρ  
προσλαμβάνειν δεῖ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν αἰεῖ,  
ἕως ἂν ἐξῇ, μανθάνειν βελτίονα. 5  
παῖς λῶν κακὸν μὲν δρᾶν τι προῖκ' ἐπίσταται,  
αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ μανθάνων ἄνευ πόνου·  
τὰ χρηστὰ δ' οὐ λῶν, οὐδ' ὅταν βάκτρον λάβῃ,  
ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀλλὰ κέκτῃται μόλις.  
ταῦτ' οὔν φυλαξώμεσθα, καὶ μοχθητέον, 10  
ὧ παῖδες, ὡς ἂν μήτ' ἀπαιδεύτων βροτῶν  
δοκῶμεν εἶναι, ἀποδημοῦντος πατρός  
\* \* \*

*He turns to the smiths.*

βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεώς,  
οἳ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἑργάνην στατοῖς  
λίκνοισι προστρέπεσθε, τὴν παρ' ἄκμονι  
τυπάδι βαρεῖα πλήγμασιν θ' ὑπήκοον  
ἄψυχον ὕλην δημιουργοῦντες χεροῖν. 5  
\* \* \*

*The Choir then leave the stage, and passing out of the temple-precincts, betake themselves with their belongings to the Delphic grammar-school, into which they enter.*

Such, if any, is all the light that I at least am able to shed on a singularly difficult problem. To myself my results seem reasonable; but I know well that I have been pursuing treacherous clues and that not every χῆν is τιθασός.

## CHAPTER XIV.

COS.

Cur tantam diffuderit imis  
Oblivionem sensibus ?                      HORACE.

A.

*That a Fragment of the "Υβρις invites a somewhat lengthy discussion.*

As the second *Fragment* of the "Υβρις (*Fr.* 671) presents a group of words which may alternatively be scanned either as senarian, but with a comic anapaest in the fourth foot, though emendation would be easy, or else as lyric, and as the first *Fragment* of the "Υβρις (*Fr.* 670) is in the existing text of Stobaeus, though in a manner which amounts to a solecism, styled Satyric, it is desirable that I should inquire into the true nature of the "Υβρις.

For reasons that will not become evident until a late stage of my argument, it is necessary that, as a preliminary, I should deal with Τυρῶ β', and that I cannot do without first separating Τυρῶ β' from Τυρῶ α'. Moreover, the consideration of Τυρῶ β' will be seen to involve some consideration of the Μάντις also.

To elucidate the problems that present themselves I have to cover a wide ground and to seek information from other than Sophoclean sources. The inquiry in consequence will not be simple or short.

B.

*That a lengthy discussion is justifiable.*

It may seem, though not to a seeker after knowledge, that a complicated argument, extending to many pages, is not justified by a single *Fragment* of little, save metrical, importance. But any who so think may be conciliated, if it turn out that the argument is in itself interesting.

Not only is the argument I propose to develop interesting, so far as I am able to judge, to a high degree,

but in addition it appears to involve in its direct course and not by way of digression the solution of textual problems in Aeschylus of the first magnitude and in Euripides of similar, though less celebrated, difficulties. Also it, equally directly, includes the enunciation of a canon of primary importance with regard to Stobaeus. Lastly, it correlates in a striking manner some of the hitherto *disiecta membra* of Aesculapian mythology.

From any point of view, then, the discussion is justified. But I confess that the clear presentation of the argument taxes to the utmost such power of lucid exposition as I may happen to possess, and I could almost wish that the task were in other hands than mine.

### C.

*That Sophocles composed a Τυρώ, otherwise called Πελίας, dealing with the Tyro-Sidero-Pelias legend.*

It is certain from Aristotle (*Poetics*, 16, 1454 B), from Pollux (iv. 141), and from a *scholium* on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (l. 138) that Sophocles wrote a play concerning Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, and her sons, Neleus and Pelias, and that the play in question dealt, not with the birth of those sons, but with their ἀναγνώρισις and with the ill-treatment of Tyro by Sidero. Almost necessarily it must have included the slaying of Sidero. I do not bring into account a certain *Fragment* of Menander (*Epitir.* ll. 108–116), as I have argued (Ch. VIII.) that that *Fragment* refers, not to any play by Sophocles, but to a *Neleus* by Pratinas.

It is equally certain that a play by Sophocles was sometimes at least called the *Pelias*. Erotian (*Gloss. Hippocr.* 108, 6) introduces *Fr.* 648 of Sophocles thus : παιδεῖαν νῦν τὴν παιδοτροφίαν· ὅθεν καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Πελῖα φησί·

λευκὸν αὐτὴν ᾧδ' (ᾧδ' Welcker for ὅδ' of *codices*)  
ἐπαίδευσεν γάλα.

As a play dealing with the birth of Neleus and Pelias cannot well have been termed the *Pelias* and as the complexion of Tyro only became a matter of dramatic importance when she was disfigured by Sidero's ill-treat-



ment, we may confidently identify this *Pelias* with the drama spoken of above.

That this drama was also known as the *Tyro* is sufficiently proved by the fact that Aelian (*Nat. An.* xi. 18) quotes, as from the *Tyro* of Sophocles, a passage (*Fr.* 659) in which Tyro laments the cutting off of her hair.

Further *Fr.* 658, which is ascribed to Sophocles without mention of the particular play, obviously belongs to the same drama.

A number of other *Fragments* are attributed to the *Tyro*; but none of them bear patently on their face clear indications of the plot to which they relate. Since Sophocles is known, as will appear, to have written both a first and a second Tyro, this fact is of importance.

## D.

*That Sophocles wrote both a Τυρὼ α' and a Τυρὼ β'.*

Four *Fragments* (*Frr.* 653, 654, 655, and 656), the last of them known to us only as regards its metre, not as regards its words, are expressly assigned to Τυρὼ β' or Τυρὼ δευτέρα. From this it follows that there was also a Τυρὼ α'.

## E.

*That no Fragment is expressly attributed to Τυρὼ α', and that consequently one cannot attempt by direct inspection to determine the subject-matter of that play.*

As none of the *Fragments* simply labelled Τυρώ, without distinction of α' and β', belong obviously or *prima facie* to a play with a plot different from that of the *Pelias*, it is a matter of at least momentary embarrassment to find that we cannot have recourse for information to so much as a single *Fragment* labelled Τυρὼ α'. No such *Fragment* has been preserved.

But editors, by a process of what I must call garbling rather than emendation, have foisted in the attribution on three occasions.

In the case of *Fr.* 650 of Sophocles, Hesychius presents (*s.v.* θεανή νῆσος): θεανή νῆσος ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ, θεία Σοφοκλῆς Τυροία Ποιτοῦ. We should read: θεάνυτος νόσος ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ, θεία Σοφοκλῆς Τυρεία Ποίτου. Over θεάνυτος had, I think, been written ἀνή, meant as a correction

into ἀνήνυτος, but misunderstood as a correction into θεάνῃ. The reference is plainly to a *Paean*, Τυρεία 'Ροίτου, dealing with the attempted rape of Atalanta by 'Ροῖκος or 'Ροῖτος, the ἄφρονα 'Ροῖκον of Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis*, l. 221). I do not mean that τυρεύειν, *struere*, or τυρεία (κατασκευή) was used by Sophocles himself. Θεάνυτος is Doric for θεήνυτος (compare θεήλατος). Soping rightly restored νόσος: but editors insist on Τυροῖ α', leaving 'Ροίτου out in the cold. When they come to Hesychius, they usually assume an imaginary morass of corruption. Perhaps the similarity of Τυρεία to Τυροῖ accounts for the otherwise superfluous precision of Aelian, who cites *Fr.* 659 as occurring ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ τῷ δράματι.

In the cases of *Frr.* 651 and 652, we find Hesychius presenting (*Fr.* 651, *s.v.* ἔχθιμα): ἔχθιμα· μισήματα· Σοφοκλῆς Τυράννοις, and (*Fr.* 652, *s.v.* καρπομανής): καρπομανής· εἰς κόρον ἐξυβρίζουσα· Σοφοκλῆς Τυριλάω. The key to the right reading in both passages is at once furnished by Τυριλάω. It stands for Τυροῖ 'Αλω, an abbreviation of Τυροῖ 'Αλωίδι, *Tyro Threshing*. The reference is to the captivity of the daughter of Salmoneus. Similarly Τυράννοις stands for Τυρ 'Αλινούσ, an abbreviation of Τυροῖ 'Αλινούση. For ἀλίνουσιν compare *Fr.* 995 of Sophocles, where ἀλίνουσιν is interpreted by Photius (*Lexicon*, *s.v.*) as λεπτύνουσι, and for λεπτύνειν, in the sense *to thresh*, see the *Palatine Anthology*, ix. 21, l. 6. 'Αλωίδι and 'Αλινούση are manifestly from the same root. Thus both these *Fragments* are seen to refer to the captivity of Tyro, and there is nothing to show whether they are from Τυρῶ α' or Τυρῶ β', so that they furnish no evidence whatever as to the subject-matter of Τυρῶ α', unless, indeed, it can be shown that Τυρῶ β' did not deal with that legend. But in both cases editors read Τυροῖ α'.

Thus we see that we are debarred from direct inspection. But it may be that the attributions to Τυρῶ β' will help us.

#### F.

*That information may be gathered from the attributions of Fragments expressly ascribed to Τυρῶ β'.*

The *Fragments* expressly attributed to Τυρῶ β' are three in number (*Frr.* 653, 654, and 655), while a reference

to metre, without any quotation of words, which ranks as a *Fragment* (*Fr.* 656), is equally express as regards attribution. From the mentions of the first and of the last of these four *Fragments* we learn little; but from those of the second we can, in spite of corruption, gather useful information, and the mentions of the third are, taken in combination, of prime importance.

(a) *Fr.* 653 is presented thus. Stobaeus (*Fl.* 109, 2) writes: Σοφοκλέους Τυροῦς β' (so *codices* M and A; *codex* S omits Τυροῦς):

μὴ σπεῖρε πολλοῖς τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα·  
σιγῶμενος γάρ ἐστι θρηνεῖσθαι πρέπων (so *codex* B;  
*codices* S, M, and A give πρέπον).

Nothing save the existence of a Τυρῶ β' emerges.

(b) *Fr.* 654 is presented thus. In Aristophanes' *Aves* l. 275 is a trochaic tetrameter and runs:

νῆ Δί' ἔτερος δῆτα χούτος ἔξεδρον χόραν \* ἔχων.

On this line there is a *scholium*: ἐκ τῆς Σοφοκλέους δευτέρας Τυροῦς ἀρχή.

τίς ὄρνις οὗτος ἔξεδρον χώραν ἔχων;

For ἐκ τῆς Σοφοκλέους δευτέρας Τυροῦς ἀρχή *codex* V substitutes ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἀρχή. *Codex Vaticanus* 2226 gives the same *Fragment*, as contained in Herodian's *Philetaerus*, in a more instructive, though in a corrupted form, thus: ἔξεδρος ὁ μισοπόνηρος.

καὶ μὴ ἔστω τις ὦν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔξεδρον χώραν ἔχων,

Σοφοκλῆς σατύροις. The vulgate of Herodian is mutilated and has only (p. 435): ἔξεδρος

καὶ μὴ ἔστω πῶς ὦν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔξεδρον χώραν

ἐν σατύροις. Putting together the *Philetaerus*, the *scholium*, and the metre of the line from the *Aves*, we can hardly avoid reading:

κᾶν μέσῳ τις ὄρνις Ἦρας ἔξεδρον χώραν ἔχων.

\* Restored from Suidas (s.v. ἔξεδρος) for χώραν of *codices*.



Had editors remembered their κὸγξ ὄμπαξ, they would have seen that ἔξεδρος ὁ μισοπόνηρος is a simple mis-writing of ἔξεδρος ὁμ. κ' ὁ πονηρός, *i.e.* ἔξεδρος ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ πονηρός. The trochaic tetrameter shows that ἀρχή in the *scholium* cannot mean the *beginning* of Τυρῶ β'. The word seems to conceal an alternative title. I shall in due course suggest that the true reading is Ἀργης. The corruption in the *Philetaerus* of Τυροῖ into σατύροις is interesting. L. Cohn is rash in conjecturing βα (*i.e.* δευτέρᾳ) Τυροῖ: one may no doubt find sporadic oddities of almost all kinds, but α', β', γ', *etc.*, when used as ordinals, habitually deny themselves the luxury of a declensional termination. The startling introduction of a peacock will be of assistance to us at a later stage.

(c) *Fr.* 655 is presented thus. Photius writes (*Lexicon*, *s.v.* ἐρῥηνοβοσκός): ἐρῥηνοβοσκός· ὁ προβατοβοσκός, ἐν Τυροῖ β' Σοφοκλέους· ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρήν. The *Etymologicum Magnum* gives (*s.v.* ἐρῥηνοβοσκός): ἐρῥηνοβοσκός· ὁ προβατοβοσκός, ἐν Τυροῖ β' Σοφοκλῆς. But Hesychius (*s.v.* ἀρηνοβοσκός) has the enormously important entry: ἀρηνοβοσκός· προβατοβοσκός, Σοφοκλῆς Τυροίῳ· γράφεται δὲ ἐρῥηνοβοσκός, διὰ τε τοῦ εἰ καὶ τῶν δύο ρ. Hesychius' Τυροίῳ ought to stand for Τυροῖ Κῶ. I believe that it does, and I shall argue later that the acceptance of Κῶς as the leading character in the play called Τυρῶ β' not only solves the problem of this particular drama, but also sheds much light on other matters.

(d) *Fr.* 656, a *Fragment* without words, comes into being thus. A *scholium* on l. 130 of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vincetus*, speaking of the metre of that line,

μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· φιλία γὰρ ἦδε τάξις,

says: ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς θρηνητικοῖς, ὡς καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Τυροῖ β' (so *codex* M; *codices* R and V Τηροῖ without β'). From this we learn no more than from *Fr.* 653.

The sum of our information under this heading is that Τυρῶ β' was apparently also known as Τυρῶ Κῶς and probably by a third name, perhaps Ἀργη, which has been corrupted into Ἀρχή.

## G.

*That Τυρῶ β' is not a second edition of Τυρῶ α'.*

We have seen that in no extant ascription is Τυρῶ α' actually so described, but on the other hand Τυρῶ β' is called Τυρῶ β' in no less than five attributions, relating altogether to four *Fragments*. This latter fact especially is inconsistent with any theory of two editions. In the case of two editions, the second gains the chief currency, while the first tends to pass into oblivion. It would be abnormal to distinguish quotations from the second edition by the addition of β' to the title: quotations from the first edition on the other hand would naturally be described as from play α'. But in fact it is rare to find a Greek author issuing two editions of the same play.

The most obvious examples are Aristophanes' *Nubes*, *Pax*, and *Plutus*. It seems fairly certain that our *Nubes* is the second, not the first, edition: yet Athenaeus (iv. 171 c), quoting ll. 1196-1200, of the existing text, attributes the passage to Νεφέλαι α', introducing it with the words ὥς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν προτέροις Νεφέλαις διὰ τούτων. This is the only place where the two editions are differentiated in any way. It seems that Athenaeus mistakenly thought that his quotation came from the other edition. His expression thus falls into line with my *a priori* generalisation. As for the *Pax*, we know from the Argument that the *didascaliae* mentioned a ἑτέρα Εἰρήνη, that Eratosthenes doubted whether Aristophanes τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδαξεν ἢ ἑτέραν καθῆκεν, ἥτις οὐ σφίζεται, that Crates spoke of something as occurring in the *Acharnians*, or *Babylonians*, ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ Εἰρήνῃ, and that fragments, forming no part of the accompanying text, were in existence. Four, or perhaps five, such fragments are still on record, but in no case are the two editions differentiated either as α' and β', or otherwise. Probably our existing *Pax* is Εἰρήνη β' \*: but we have seen that Eratosthenes thought it to be either the only Εἰρήνη, or else Εἰρήνη α'. Consequently, the whole matter being obscure, neither Εἰρήνη α' nor Εἰρήνη β' would have been a serviceable expression. ἢ ἑτέρα Εἰρήνη was all that could properly be said. The

\* See *Appendix to Introductory Chapters*, p. 567.

case of the *Plutus* is fortunately far more illuminative. Here our facts are clear-cut. Πλοῦτος α' was produced in Olympiad xcii. 4, Πλοῦτος β', our *Plutus*, in Olympiad xcvi. 4. Now Πλοῦτος β' is described indeed as δεύτερος in a *scholium* on Πλοῦτος β' itself (l. 173), but only in a passage which distinguishes the two plays one from the other and gives details of date: no such expression occurs elsewhere. On the other hand καὶ ἐν Πλούτῳ πρώτῳ serves to introduce a casual quotation in a *scholium* on the *Ranae* (l. 1125). Had the quotation happened to have been from the later *Plutus*, we may be fairly sure that the scholiast would have merely written καὶ ἐν Πλούτῳ.

Conversely, the second *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes is no less than six times expressly so described. The descriptions are these:

τὰς δευτέρας Θεσμοφοριαζούσας (Athenaeus, i. 29 A), and Ἀριστοφάνης Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις β' (*scholium* on Plato, p. 370, Photius and Suidas, both of them s.v. λύκος ἔχανεν and also s.v. λακωνίζειν). Once the description, accounted for by the fact that it comes in a *scholium* on Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι α', is ἐν ταῖς ἐτέραις Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις (*scholium* on *Thesmophoriazusae*, l. 299). Once, by obvious error, it is ἐν δὲ ταῖς προτέραις Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις (Hephaestion, p. 73). We must remember that the two plays called *Thesmophoriazusae* were not two editions of one play, but entirely distinct dramas.

Similarly each of two distinct plays of Aristophanes bore the name Δράματα: but, as one of them was also called Κένταυρος and the other Νίοβος, no extant passage presents any such terminology as Δράματα α' or Δράματα β'.

To turn to tragedy, we find, besides the title *Tyro*, three titles, *Athamas*, *Phineus*, and *Thyestes* covering, each of them, two plays by Sophocles. Ἀθάμας α' is so described once, Ἀθάμας β' twice. To my mind this indicates that the two *Athamantes* are distinct plays. There is no evidence to the contrary, and on another ground Pearson comes to the same conclusion. Φινεύς α' is so described once, Φινεύς β' never, unless we resort to dangerous emendation. Hesychius has the entry (from which comes *Fr.* 708 in the *Phineus*): ἀχάλκευτα τρύπανα· τὰ Φρύγια πυρεῖα· Σοφοκλῆς Φηνεῖ βω. This Φηνεῖ βω is temerarily read as Φινεῖ δευτέρῳ. Φινεῖ is



doubtless correct, but βω for β' gives one pause. βω is short for βωμίω, a *suppliant*: Phineus was cured of his blindness by Ἀσκληπιός (*Fr.* 710). Hesychius has another entry (from which comes *Fr.* 709 in the *Phineus*): ἀρτύμασι τοῖς πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν εὐτρεπιζομένοις Σοφοκλῆς Φιμεί. Over the end of Φιμεί is written the letter ω. Schow alters to Φινεῖ βω. But the writer of the ω simply meant to change a *vox nihili* into the dative of φιμός, a *muzzle*. We can gather next to nothing from the *Phineus*. Θυέστης α' is once cited as such, Θυέστης β' or Θυέστης δεύτερος twice, each way once. As one *Thyestes* is Σικυώνιος or ἐν Σικυῶνι, it seems to follow that the two plays are distinct.

From quotations from the two *Hippolyti* of Euripides, which are numerous, one might anticipate enlightenment. But, as a matter of fact, I can find no quotation from either introduced as from Ἰππόλυτος α' or from Ἰππόλυτος β', or in any equivalent manner. This is not due to the circumstance that our *Hippolytus* was distinguished as Ἰππόλυτος Στεφανίας or Στεφανηφόρος, the other as Ἰππόλυτος Καλυπτόμενος. That distinction is drawn but seldom. Stobaeus quotes freely from both *Hippolyti*, though chiefly from the Καλυπτόμενος, but never, except once, in any way indicates which of the two he is citing. The exception is that of a quotation of some anapaestic lines (ll. 204-208) from our *Hippolytus* (Stobaeus, *Fl.* 108, 16). There he specifies the Στεφανηφόρος (at least as his text now runs). The real explanation apparently is that no one knew which play was α' and which β'. The writer of the Argument to the Στεφανίας contends indeed, on the strength of internal evidence, that the Στεφανίας is Ἰππόλυτος β': but the mere fact that he gives his reasons seems to show that the point was in dispute. His words are: ἔστι δὲ οὗτος Ἰππόλυτος δεύτερος, καὶ Στεφανίας προσαγορευόμενος. ἐμφαίνεται δὲ ὕστερον γεγραμμένος τὸ γὰρ ἄπρεπες καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ διώρθωται τῷ δράματι. His conclusion, however just, appears to be uncorroborated by other extant testimony, though Kirchhoff introduced by conjecture the expression δρᾶμα τὸν πρότερον Ἰππόλυτον into a *Vita Euripidis* (Westermann, 137, 89). There the mss. present γράψαι πρώτων δρᾶμα τὸν Ἰππόλυτον (*v.ll.*, for πρώτων δρᾶμα, πρότερον τὸ δρᾶμα

and τὸ δρᾶμα πρὸς). Read ἐρώτων δρᾶμα, which is good late Greek for a *drama of amours*. So we can get nothing from the *Hippolyti*. The first and second *Phrixus* of Euripides are distinguished by Tzetzes (ed. Keil, p. 616 *et seq.*). Elsewhere we find the second *Phrixus* twice so identified, the first never specifically labelled. The plays were distinct. From Tzetzes (*l.c.*) it looks as if there was a dispute which was which.

Next we come to the *Phoenix* of Ion, a title which covers two plays. No mention of Φοῖνιξ α' occurs. Φοῖνιξ β' is so named twice. Φοῖνιξ ἡ Καινεύς comes four times (including one certain emendation). Φοῖνιξ without addition occurs twice. As the subject-matter of one of the Fragments (*Fr.* 39) from the Φοῖνιξ ἡ Καινεύς seems to be identical with that of one of those from the Φοῖνιξ β' (*Fr.* 42), we may conclude with probability that Φοῖνιξ β' and Φοῖνιξ ἡ Καινεύς are one and the same. The two *Fragments* that are left may come from either play and are quite indeterminate in character. We thus cannot tell the subject of Φοῖνιξ α'. But there is no hint anywhere that it was a first edition.

There remain over the two plays of Lycophron entitled *Oedipus*. All we know about them is that in Suidas (*s.v.* Λυκόφρων) we read in a list of the author's tragedies: Οἰδίπους α' β'. We may hazard a guess that they were suggested to Lycophron by the two plays on Oedipus by Sophocles. For further instances see my *Appendix*.

Thus it would on a general survey seem to appear that Τυρὼ β' is not a second edition of Τυρὼ α'.

## H.

*That the words Τυροῖ Κῶ cannot signify Tyro at Cos.*

It might be suggested that Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, went to the island of Cos to be cured by Ἀσκληπιός of the disfigurement of her face caused by Sidero, and that her so going was the subject of a *Tyro at Cos*. Chronological difficulties are not conclusive against this, as, in one legend, Ἀσκληπιός was numbered among the Argonauts: but nothing amounting to a positive mutilation, indeed nothing more than a certain pallor, seems to be on record, there is nowhere any statement of such a visit or cure, and, if such a visit and cure

be assumed, they seem, in the case of Tyro, unlike that of Phineus, scarcely to be accompanied by circumstances that supply the materials of a drama. But such a negative argument is merely an uncertain handling of facts imperfectly ascertained. We can take our stand on much more solid ground.

A title *Tyro at Cos* would necessarily in Greek take the form  $\text{Τυρῶ ἐν Κῶ}$  or  $\text{Τυρῶ ἡ ἐν Κῶ}$ , not  $\text{Τυρῶ Κῶ}$ . Many writers indeed, though not the more literary, make a practice of shortening e.g.  $\text{Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἡλέκτρᾳ}$  into  $\text{Σοφοκλῆς Ἡλέκτρᾳ}$ : but, as far as I am aware, you can search far and wide without finding e.g.  $\text{Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Ταύροις}$  or  $\text{Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Αὔλιδι}$  abbreviated into  $\text{Ἰφιγένεια Ταύροις}$  or  $\text{Ἰφιγένεια Αὔλιδι}$ .

Therefore I conclude that  $\text{Τυροῖ Κῶ}$  cannot be short for  $\text{Τυροῖ ἐν Κῶ}$ , and cannot signify *Tyro at Cos*. It follows that, if  $\text{Τυροῖ Κῶ}$  be right, the nominative is not  $\text{Τυρῶ Κῶ}$ . Can it be  $\text{Τυρῶ Κῶς}$ ? If that expression yields sense, it, now that  $\text{Τυρῶ Κῶ}$  is excluded, remains as the nominative indicated.

### I.

*That the combination  $\text{Τυρῶ Κῶς}$  is not meaningless, but may well be a significant title of the play otherwise known as  $\text{Τυρῶ β'}$ .*

We have seen that  $\text{Τυρῶ β'}$  seems not to be a second edition of  $\text{Τυρῶ α'}$ . There is therefore no necessity that it should deal with Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, unless indeed she be the one and only person to whom a title  $\text{Τυρῶ}$  can refer.

We have seen also that Hesychius apparently mentions  $\text{Τυρῶ β'}$ , not under that name, but as  $\text{Τυρῶ Κῶς}$ . From this it would seem that the play deals with Cos, daughter of Merops, not with Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus. But what of the accompanying word  $\text{Τυρῶ}$ ?

No evidence can be adduced that Cos had another name, Tyro, or indeed that any person named Tyro, save the daughter of Salmoneus, was ever known to mythology. But the question is not thereby concluded.

In addition to the proper name  $\text{Τυρῶ}$  (derived from  $\text{τυρός}$ ) there exists a word  $\text{τυρώ}$  (standing, I suggest, for  $\text{κρῶ-ω}$ , and therefore equivalent to the Latin



*cerv-a*, which, but for the *v* in the second syllable, would be *querv-a*), which apparently denotes some animal naturally mentioned in conjunction with a she-bear, or, alternatively, a woman dressed to resemble some animal in the same way as (*e.g.* at the Brauronia) women were dressed to resemble she-bears. In view of the derivation I have suggested and the mythological connexion of Artemis both with she-bears and with hinds, I take the word properly to signify *a hind*, and secondarily *a woman dressed as a hind* for ritual purposes. It presents itself in l. 2 of *Fr.* 97 of the *Fragmenta Comico-rum Anonymorum*.

The *Fragment* is preserved by Eustathius (1535, 20), who writes : ὁ κωμικὸς τὸ κάππα ἐξελὼν γέλωτα ἐκίνησεν, εἰπὼν οὕτω·

ψελλόν ἐστι καὶ καλεῖ  
τὴν ἄρκτον ἄρτον, τὴν δὲ τυρῶ τροφαλίδα,  
τὸ δ' ἄστν σῦκα.

The scansion is τὴν | δὲ τυρῶ | τροφα|λίδα, not τὴν | δὲ τυ|ρῶ τροφα|λίδα : the quantity of the second syllable of τροφαλίδας is securely established. It will be seen that there must exist an intimate connexion of association between ἄρκτον and τυρῶ, as τροφαλίδας does not closely resemble the latter,\* so that the support of ἄρκτον ἄρτον cannot be dispensed with. This fact, important in itself, leads us to a further point. The likeness of σῦκα to ἄστν is so slight, that I suggest that the play is not on the word ἄστν, but on the name of the ἄστν in question. If so, the ἄστν can only be Σικυών, and the speaker must be a Sicyonian. Now at Sicyon there was an ancient temple of Ἄρτεμις Λιμναία (Pausanias, II. 7), the Arcadian Artemis, with whom both she-bears and hinds were associated. Moreover, though the relevance of this will only later become apparent, the great shrine of Ἀσκληπιός at Titane was distant from Sicyon some seven miles only. Dindorf and Bergk ascribe the *Fragment* to Aristophanes. I am disposed to assign it to the *Sicyonius* of Alexis. Menander also wrote a *Sicyonius* : but we are dealing with a piece more in the style of the Old or the Middle

\* Though it is τυροῦ τροφαλίδας (see Aristoph. *Vesp.* l. 838) that makes the joke possible.

Comedy, and rather rollicking, as both Aristophanes and Alexis rollick.

Now let us turn to Cos, the daughter of Merops. The most salient feature—indeed almost the only feature—in her legend, so far as it has come down to us undisguised (though I hope to bring other features to the light from beneath the camouflage of corruption), is that she was turned into a hind by Artemis. This appears clearly from two lines (ll. 381–382) of Euripides' *Helen*. Both lines are corrupt, and I shall deal with the whole context in due course: but the corruption is not of a kind to affect us at this stage. They run:

ἄν τέ ποτ' Ἀρτεμις ἐξεχορεύσατο  
χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν.

That the daughter of Merops is Cos appears from Eustathius (318, 34) and is not disputed.

We thus find things fitting together. A word *τῦρῶ* exists, and the indications are that it means *a hind*. Cos was turned into a hind. Therefore it would be folly to reject the possibility of the collocation *Τῦρῶ Κῶς* as the title, or a title, of a play dealing with the mutation of Cos. I say *mutation*, not *metamorphosis*, because tragedy softened down such legends, when it had to deal with them directly (not indirectly, as in the chorus from the *Helen*). So did painting. Aeschylus does not change Io out and out into a heifer, and Polyxenus' picture of Callisto, in the Lesche at Delphi, represented her, not as a she-bear, but as a woman robed in a bear-skin (Pausanias, x. 31, 3). Similarly tragedy would, we may be sure, content itself with sending out Cos to wander on the hills attired in a deer-skin.

The order *Τῦρῶ Κῶς*, instead of *Κῶς Τῦρῶ*, would be due to the existence of the other play, *Τῦρῶ α'*.

Having brought matters so far, I am now entitled to claim the evidence of Hesychius' *Τυροίῳ* as positive testimony corroborative of my interpretation of the word *τῦρῶ*. Either *Τυροίῳ* is seriously corrupt, or else *τῦρῶ* must inevitably mean *a hind*. Even in Hesychius it is not permissible to assume serious corruption, or indeed anything else, without rhyme or reason. But I hope to carry matters much further.

## K.

*That there exists direct evidence that Κῶς was the wife of Ἀσκληπιός.*

As most of my further argument will hinge on the fact that Κῶς was, at least in one legend, the wife of Ἀσκληπιός, I propose first, in this section, to consider the direct evidence, and afterwards, in other sections, the indirect evidence that, together, establish the fact.

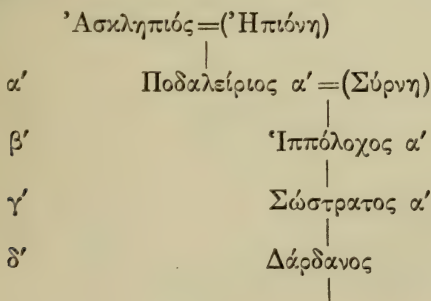
We learn from two *scholia* on the *Iliad* (iv. 195, and xiv. 2), dealing with the parentage of Ποδαλείριος and Μαχάων, the sons of Ἀσκληπιός, that their mother, Ἡπιόνη, called in these *scholia* Ἡπιόνη, was, according to some, daughter of Μέροψ. These *scholia*, in view of the historical connexion of the Asclepiad caste with the island of Cos and the statement of Tacitus (*Annals* iv. 14) that Aesculapius came to that island, put it almost beyond doubt that this Μέροψ is the Coan Μέροψ and that the daughter in question is Κῶς (his other daughter, Clytia, married Eurypylus; see *schol.* on Theocr. *Id.* vii. l. 5). In other words, Ἡπιόνη and Κῶς are identified.

Thus the direct evidence is strong: in so far as it falls short of full conclusiveness, there is indirect evidence to supplement it.

## L.

*That the pedigree of Hippocrates the physician supplies indirect evidence that Κῶς was, in Coan legend, the wife of Ἀσκληπιός, and also that the wife of Ἀσκληπιός was, in Coan legend, a hind.*

The traditional pedigree of Hippocrates, subject to a dispute as to one generation (as to which see below), is as follows:—







The first pedigree from Ἀσκληπίος to Κρίσαμις β' reposes on the sole authority of John Tzetzes (*Chiliad* VII, *History* 155), who however mentions no wives, but from Κρίσαμις β' to Νεβρός on the double authority of the *Epistle to Artaxerxes* (Hippocratis *Opera*, III. 770) and of Tzetzes (*l.c.*), with the important exception that Tzetzes leaves out Κλεομυττάδης β', making Θεόδωρος β' the son, not the grandson, of Κρίσαμις β'. No doubt Tzetzes is intentionally varying from the *Epistle*. The reason for the variation is perhaps indicated by a statement in Suidas (*s.v.* Κρύσαμις) that Crysamis, a large owner of live-stock at Cos, possessed a fine sheep, which was killed by an eel, which eel Crysamis in his turn killed and was warned in a dream to bury, but, failing to bury it, perished παγγενεί. It may well be that this Crysamis was Κρίσαμις β', and that Tzetzes, reading in some fuller account that Κλεομυττάδης β' shared his father's fate, sought an escape in making Θεόδωρος β', who was, I suggest, not recorded among the killed, a son of Κρίσαμις β' and the next link in the chain. From Νεβρός to Ἴπποκράτης β' the first pedigree rests on the same double authority, reinforced from Γνωσίδικος onwards by Suidas (*s.vv.* Ἴπποκράτης Κῶος ἱατρός and Ἴπποκράτης Γνωσιδίκου υἱός), and from Ἴπποκράτης α' onwards by other authority.

With the second pedigree we need not concern ourselves. The third pedigree is of importance. It is made up from statements in the *Oration* of Thessalus (Hippocratis *Opera*). Nebrus and Chrysus are historical personages who fought on the side of the Amphictyons in the Crissaeon war (see *Thessali Oratio*, Hippocr. *Op.* III. 835 *et seq.*, *Epistle to Artaxerxes*, Hippocr. *Op.* III. 770, and Tzetzes, *l.c.*). Ἐλαφος, on the other hand, is a man devoid of fame. It should be particularly observed that neither Χρυσός nor Ἐλαφος was an ancestor of Ἴπποκράτης β'. Χρυσός was his great-great-uncle, and Ἐλαφος his grandfather's first cousin, *i.e.* his own first cousin twice removed. But Νεβρός was his great-great-grandfather. There is no reason to question this portion of the pedigree. It certainly, if we reckon generations from the Crissaeon war, would seem to imply that Ἴπποκράτης β' was born not later than about 490 B.C. : but on various grounds such a date is probable.

In view of these circumstances it becomes imperative to seek an explanation of certain words in Suidas (*s.v.* Ἴπποκράτης Κῶος ἰατρός), who calls the great Ἴπποκράτης a son of Ἡρακλείδης, but continues thus: ἀπόγονος δὲ Χρύσου τοῦνομα καὶ Ἐλάφου τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδός, ἰατρῶν καὶ αὐτῶν. Suidas can scarcely be referring to Χρυσός the great-great-uncle of Ἴπποκράτης β' and to Ἐλάφος his grandfather's first cousin. He himself in the article on Ἴπποκράτης Γνωσιδίκου υἱός (the two articles are inter-connected and by the same hand) carries the descent back as far as Γνωσιδικός, who was brother of Χρυσός, so that he cannot be supposed to be blundering from sheer ignorance. Moreover, if he means that Χρυσός and that Ἐλάφος, his selection of the pair is extraordinary. Νεβρός and Χρυσός, not Χρυσός and the almost unknown Ἐλάφος, were the famous couple, physicians and fighters too. Therefore I conclude that Suidas is going many a generation back to the first founders of the clan, a hero Χρυσός and a hero Ἐλάφος.

We at any rate must so go back in order to account for the occurrence in the family of names so extraordinary as Νεβρός, Χρυσός, and Ἐλάφος. Seeing that we are dealing with Asclepiadae, I make little doubt but that Χρυσός\* is a mystic surname of Ἀσκληπιός, taken from the golden light that surrounded him (compare his Doric name, Αἰγλαήρ), and, seeing that we are dealing with Coan Asclepiadae, I conclude that Ἐλάφος and Νεβρός are appellations of Ποδαλείριος, bestowed on him because he was the son of Κῶς Τυρώ.

Thus all becomes clear and we can amplify the beginning of the pedigree so as to present it in the form

Ἀσκληπιός ὁ καὶ Χρυσός = Κῶς ἡ καὶ Ἡπιόνη καὶ Τυρώ  
 |  
 Ποδαλείριος ὁ καὶ Ἐλάφος καὶ Νεβρός.

It is convenient to mention at this point that in Coan mythology either Ποδαλείριος, or Μαχάων, or a third brother appears to have possessed yet another title. Presumably in the capacity of patron of the prophylactic

\* One name of the father of Ἀσκληπιός seems to have been Τιδάνιος, of *white-earth* (see later sections): a metaphor from mining is perhaps responsible for the name *Gold*, instead of *Golden*.



branch of the physician's art, one of Cos' sons seems to have been called Μέροψ ὁ Πρόφθαξ. Hesychius (*s.v.* Μέροπες) presents : Μέροπες· ἀπὸ Μέροπος τοῦ Πρόφθαντος, Κῶ υἱοῦ. I have not elsewhere come across this legend, which makes a grandson of the original Merops the eponymous hero of the Coan Meropes. This Merops must in any case be kept distinct, if only on grounds of elementary mythological chronology, from a Merops, son of Hyus (apparently the rain-god), from whom human beings (according to a *scholium* on *Iliad*, I. 250) took the name μέροπες, because he μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν πρῶτος συνήγαγε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. I shall have occasion just to mention Πρόφθαξ at a later stage.

## M.

*That valuable evidence may be gathered from the Helen of Euripides.*

When I wrote my 'Αντὶ Μιᾶς, it was not my primary concern to restore corrupt passages to soundness. My main business was to discuss the existence of corruption. Incidentally, but almost always with a view to pointing out simply the probability of corruption, I attempted a very large number of emendations. But I seldom so much as tried to clear up a passage completely, preferring to restrict myself to my proper task. Nor, indeed, in view of the enormous field that I had to cover, was it possible for me, in most cases, to offer more than, so to speak, preliminary suggestions. As a consequence of all this I now find that, when I return for other purposes to corruptions which for a particular purpose I then partially attacked, I am compelled to carry my treatment much further.

Also I have learnt much since then and am able to correct errors due to inexperience. I retract not one syllable of my general conclusions; but to-day I could greatly improve my incidental treatment.

I make these observations as a prelude to returning in this book to the second chorus of the *Helen*, which in my other book I discussed at length. I consider that my discussion of that chorus was the most difficult piece of work that I attempted, and I am far from dissatisfied

with the general result. But I see now that my methods stopped short of their logical complement, and I have into the bargain to reproach myself with an inexcusable blunder, which however not one of my critics appears to have detected. I actually confused Amphidamas with Milanion !

The third member (the only member with which we are now concerned) of the chorus in question runs thus in the mss. (Euripides, *Helen*, ll. 375–385):

ὦ μάκαρ Ἀρκαδίᾳ ποτὲ παρθένε Καλλιστοῖ, Διὸς 375  
 ἃ λεχέων ἐπέβας τετραβάμοσι γυίοις,  
 ὥς πολὺ ματρὸς ἐμᾶς ἔλαχες πλέον,  
 ἃ μορφῇ θηρῶν λάχνα γυίων (Reiske λαχνογυίων)  
 ὄμματι λάβρω σχῆμα λεαίνης  
 ἐξάλλάξας ἄχεα (Hermann ἄχθεα) λύπης· 380  
 ἂν τέ ποτ' Ἀρτεμις ἐξεχορεύσατο  
 χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν  
 καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας  
 ὤλεσεν ὤλεσε πέργαμα Δαρδανίας  
 ὀλομένους τ' Ἀχαιοῦς. 385

My treatment of it, revised, and also recast somewhat, so as to form part of this chapter, is as follows.

This member consists of a clearly discernible (but first discerned by me in my Ἀντὶ Μιᾶς) strophe and antistrophe. Near the beginning of the strophe a couple of erroneous words have replaced original writing almost identical to the eye but of totally different meaning. Hence a destruction of correspondence with the antistrophe and of all really coherent sense. Later in the strophe a line from some other tragedy, presumably interlineated as a reference, has been incorporated in the text. Finally the last two lines of the antistrophe have been rewritten, but apparently not without considerable regard to the *ductus literarum* of the original (the general sense of which can be gathered from the context). This re-writing took place either because the copyist responsible for it entirely failed to grasp the train of thought of the whole passage, or because he considered (as indeed anyone not brought up in the atmosphere of Greek mythology might well do) Euripides' real meaning to be ludicrous, if not indecent, beyond the limits of toleration.

Bothe suggests that the reference in l. 379, *σχῆμα λεαίνης*, is to Atalanta, not to Callisto. Callisto was turned into a she-bear: it was Milanion and Atalanta that were transformed into a lion and lioness.

But I think that Pearson, interesting as is the discussion of the passage which he provides in his *Helen*, is mistaken in supposing that we have a mention first of Callisto and secondly of Atalanta. On his view, he changes *ὥς* in l. 377 to *καί*, and makes consequential alterations.

It seems to me that it is not consistent with Greek usage to apply to the wife the words *Διὸς λεχέων ἐπέβας*. Zeus, on the contrary, would be said *Καλλιστοῦς λεχέων ἐπιβῆναι*. Now if, as would thus seem to be the case, *τετραβάμοσι γυίοις* really refers to the husband, that husband cannot be Zeus. But it can well be Milanion, because not only did Atalanta become a lioness but Milanion a lion.

Therefore with full confidence I read ll. 375-376 thus :

ὦ μάκαρ Ἀρκαδίᾳ ποτὲ παρθενικά,  
λὺς λιὸς ᾗς λεχέων ἐπέβα τετραβάμοσι γυίοις.

*παρθενικαλισλιος* has become *παρθένε Καλλιστοῦ*, *Διὸς*. Thus Callisto has wrongly crept in, and the genitive *Διὸς* has necessitated the solecistic sense in which *λεχέων ἐπέβας* is employed by the vulgate. *λὺς*, *λὶν*, *λίες*, as against *λῦς*, *λῆν*, *λῆες*, are guaranteed by Aristarchus.

In any case *Ἀρκαδίᾳ ποτὲ παρθένε* or *παρθενικά* must almost certainly, for quite another reason, refer not to Callisto but to Atalanta. The legendary reason for the name of Parthenopæus, son of Atalanta, was too well known for such words to be applied to anyone but his mother. One has only to quote Sophocles (*O. C.* ll. 1320-1322):

ἔκτος δὲ Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκὰς ὄρνυται,  
ἐπώνυμος τῆς πρόσθεν ἁδμῆτης χρόνῳ  
μητρὸς λοχευθεῖς, πιστὸς Ἀταλάντης γόνος.

We can now divide with certainty into strophe and antistrophe, though much spade-work remains to be done. Read provisionally :



ὦ μάκαρ Ἀρκαδία ποτὲ παρθενικά,  
 λῖς λιὸς ἄς λεχέων ἐπέβα τετραβάμοσι γυίοις, στρ. γ'  
 ὡς πολὺ ματρός ἐμᾶς ἔλαχες πλέον, [375  
 ἃ μορφᾷ θηρῶν λαχνογυίων  
 [ὄμματι λάβρῳ σχῆμα λεαίνης]  
 ἐξאלλάξας ἄχθεα λύπης. 380  
 ἂν τέ ποτ' Ἀρτεμις ἐξεχορεύσατο <-> ἀντ. γ'  
 χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν  
 καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας  
 ὤλεσεν ὤλεσε πέργαμα Δαρδανίας  
 ὀλομένους τ' Ἀχαιοῦς.

The simplest supposition as to l. 379, which is metrically superfluous, is that it is a non-lyrical (note the form *λεαίνης*) anapaestic dimeter from some other tragedy, very possibly from the *Meleager* of Euripides, interlineated by way of reference. Even so, the line is sufficient to show, if further proof be needed, that we are dealing with Atalanta, not with Callisto.

The words *ματρός ἐμᾶς* have perplexed editors; but surely the obvious meaning is, however strange it may sound to modern ears, that wedlock with a *λέων* is preferable to wedlock with a *κύκνος*. And the reason is supplied sufficiently in ll. 257-259 of this same play:

γυνή γάρ οὐθ' Ἑλληνὶς οὔτε βάρβαρος  
 τεῦχος νεοσσῶν λευκὸν ἐκλοχεύεται,  
 ἐν ᾧ με Λήδαν φᾶσιν ἐκ Διὸς τεκεῖν.

Therefore in l. 380 I read with confidence:

ἐξελόχευσας ἄχθε' εὐνᾶς.

The vivipara and the ovipara are being contrasted, and it will become evident that in ll. 384-385 Helen contrasts the method of her own birth with that of the birth of Parthenopaeus.

In l. 381 the middle *ἐξεχορεύσατο* is impossible and a final long syllable is lacking. Attending to the *ductus*, we might read *ἐξεχόρευσ' ἀπολιν* or *ἐξεχόρευσ' ἀπόνουν*. For reasons that will appear later I prefer *ἀπόνουν*.

As Hermann has noted, the daughter of Merops is Cos (see e.g. Eustathius 318, 34). Neither Merops nor Cos' mother, Ethemeia, was a Titan or of Titanic lineage.

Consequently Τιτανίδα in l. 382 is surprising. Moreover Τιτανίδα κούραν has to correspond to the strophic τετραβάμοσι γυίοις, and, if I proved anything in my Ἀντὶ Μιᾶς, it was that such a correspondence must, to say the least (I go much farther), be viewed with grave suspicion. We have seen earlier in this chapter that Coan legend made Cos the wife of Ἀσκληπιός. Now no known legend makes Cos the wife of anyone else, or attributes to her any children save by Ἀσκληπιός. As in the *Helen* she is the wife of someone, or at least has a child by someone, we may postulate that that someone is Ἀσκληπιός. Grant this and all difficulty vanishes instantly. One of the most famous shrines of Ἀσκληπιός was at Titane, close to Sicyon. Read :

χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιταναΐδα κούραν.

But now we have come suddenly into the middle of Aesculapian mythology. It must be borne in mind that the metamorphosis of Cos was a metamorphosis subsisting at the time she was delivered of a child : otherwise the introduction of her case is meaningless. Therefore either she was a hind when Ἀσκληπιός married her, and remained a hind (surely an impossible supposition), or else she was turned into a hind after her marriage with Ἀσκληπιός, but before child-birth. This is clearly Euripides' meaning. But it involves, almost of necessity, an important corollary. She can scarcely have been turned into a hind, considering the position and power of her husband, except as a part or as a sequel of his own punishment. Nor would Artemis in any case have been very ready to punish her, as, according to the ordinary legend, Ἀσκληπιός was Artemis' nephew, and, according to a common version, had behaved extremely handsomely in the matter of Hippolytus. Things will become a little plainer when I pass to Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* ; but for the moment I will content myself with suggesting on general grounds that, after the blasting of Ἀσκληπιός with lightning, Artemis intervened to save Cos from a similar fate by turning her into a hind and so depriving her of her memory of her husband's medicinal secrets. The widow of Ἀσκληπιός underwent metamorphosis, not καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν, but μναμοσύνας ἔνεκεν. That is a

very slight alteration in so corrupt a chorus as this. It will now be seen why I prefer ἀπόνουν to ἄπολιν.

Nothing more calls for comment till we come to the last two lines of the antistrophe. There the *non sequitur* of meaning is complete, and the expression ὤλεσεν ὁλομένους Ἀχαιοὺς childish. Words indicating the method of the birth of Helen are required. I would read :

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας  
ῥῶν ῥῶν ἔργμα διδύμους τ'  
ἀμφέβαλεν νέους ἀδελφούς.

But this particular point I have discussed at greater length in my Ἀντὶ Μιᾶς, and my remarks upon it do not appear to me to require revision.

I present the whole member thus :

ὦ μάκαρ Ἀρκαδίᾳ ποτὲ παρθενικά, 375 στρ. γ'  
λὺς λιὸς ἄς λεχέων ἐπέβα τετραβάμοσι γυίοις,  
ὥς πολὺ ματρὸς ἐμᾶς ἔλαχες πλέον,  
ἃ μορφᾷ θηρῶν λαχνογυίων 378  
ἐξελόχευσας ἄχθε' εὐνᾶς. 380  
ἂν τέ ποτ' Ἀρτεμις ἐξεχόρευσ' ἀπόνουν ἀντ. γ'  
χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιταναΐδα κούραν  
μναμοσύνας ἔνεκεν· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας  
ῥῶν ῥῶν ἔργμα διδύμους τ'  
ἀμφέβαλεν νέους ἀδελφούς. 385

I would call particular attention to the very high probability of Τιταναΐδα and to the attractive possibility of μναμοσύνας. Why I do so will appear later.

## N.

*That valuable information may be gathered from the Agamemnon of Aeschylus.*

The second strophe and antistrophe (ll. 1001–1034) of the fourth chorus of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* run thus in the vulgate (which at this point is represented by *Codex Florentinus* exclusively) :

μάλα γέ τοι τᾶς πολλᾶς ὕγιείας στρ. β'  
ἀκόρεστον τέρμα· νόσος γάρ [1001–2  
γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει,  
καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν 1005  
ἀνδρὸς ἐπαισεν ἄ-  
-φαντον ἔρμα.



καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων  
κτησίῳν ὄκνος βαλὼν  
σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου, 1010  
οὐκ ἔδυ πρόπας δόμος  
πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,  
οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος.  
πολλὰ τοι δόσις  
ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλαφῆς τε καὶ ἐξ ἀλόκων ἐπετειᾶν 1014-5  
νῆστιν ὤλεσεν νόσον. [αντ. β' 1017-1018  
τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν πεσόνθ' ἄπαξ θανάσιμον  
πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἶμα τίς ἄν 1019-1020  
πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων;  
οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ  
τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν  
Ζεὺς αὐτ' ἔπαυσ' ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ.  
εἰ δὲ μὴ τεταγμένα 1025  
μοῖρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν  
εἶργε μὴ πλεον φέρειν,  
προφθάσασα καρδίᾳ  
γλῶσσαν ἄν τάδ' ἐξέχει.  
νῦν δ' ὑπὸ σκότῳ βρέμει 1030  
θυμαλγῆς τε καὶ  
οὐδὲν ἐπελπομένα ποτὲ καίριον ἐκτολυπεύσειν 1032-1033  
ζωπυρουμένας φρενός.

It will be observed that in the strophe the difficulties, indicatory of corruption, are glaring indeed, but still not numerous. In ll. 1001-1002 the metre is clearly by no means what it ought to be; in l. 1003 the sense of ἀκόρεστον appears incompatible with the context; in ll. 1008-1009 the *nominativus pendens* is impossible; and in l. 1010 the last syllable of εὐμέτρου is kept long, in defiance of synapheia, before a vowel. Also in ll. 1011-1013 one would expect to find a *cargo*, not a *house*, spoken of as neither itself sinking nor causing the ship to founder. But the general run of the strophe, both as regards sense and as regards metre, seems eminently secure. My objective is the antistrophe: but, as a preliminary, with a view to showing that the strophic metre, as a whole, can be relied on, I desire to point out that quite slight changes will remove all the difficulties above mentioned. I propose:

μαλά γέ τοι τὸ ταέας ὑγέτας  
 ἀόριστον τέρμα· νόσος γάρ  
 γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει,  
 καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν  
 ἀνδρὸς ἔπαισεν ἄ-  
 -φαντον ἔρμα.  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων  
 μή τις ὦν ὀκνοῖ βαλεῖν  
 σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτροι',  
 οὐκ ἔδω πρόπας γόμος  
 πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,  
 οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος.  
 πολλά τοι δόσις  
 ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλαφῆς τε καὶ ἐξ ἀλόκων ἐπετειᾶν  
 νῆστιν ὤλεσεν νόσον.

Of ταέας I have spoken in my 'Αντὶ Μιᾶς. ἀχόρεστον comes *via* ἀνόριστον: the corruption is post-uncial, involving probably ν and certainly ε. καὶ is a post-uncial corruption, implying the writing ν. The ν of χρημάτων, duplicated, forms the κ of κτησίων: the rest, τησίων, is a depravation of μή τις ὦν, the μ being read as a τ with a long tail and a wavy top. This is again much post-uncial. But I must not linger over such points.

The only other *codex* of this part of the *Agamemnon* is *Farnesianus*, a Triclinian document. In the strophe it agrees with *Florentinus*; but in the antistrophe it diverges widely. The tide of recent fashion has set strongly in the direction of discrediting Triclinian readings as arbitrary emendations, and unskilful emendations into the bargain. But in this case—and it seems to me both crucial and typical—Triclinius, far from emending, appears to have selected from some source unknown to us a corrupt and obviously mutilated reading for the sole reason that a good part of it conformed, unlike the vulgate, to his own theories of metre, though some of it did not. When one begins to emend the Triclinian reading, the true text is, in my opinion, almost immediately restored. One has to do little more than eliminate a patent impossibility. But Triclinius seems not even to have attempted to emend.

The critical variations present themselves in lines 1017–1021, where *Codex Farnesianus* gives:

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν πεσόνθ' ἄπαξ θανάσιμον  
 προπάροιθ' ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἷμα  
 τίς τ' ἀγκαλέσσαιτ' ἐπαείδων;

This reading varies from the strophic metre (granted the metrical scheme, which is not really in dispute, of ll. 1001-1002) in two points only, whereas the vulgate shows enormous divergence. The two points are that πεσόνθ' answers to a strophic ∪ ∪ and that αἷμα answers to a strophic — —. πεσόνθ', which is given by the vulgate also, must on grounds of elementary grammar be changed to πεσόν (Pauw first proposed this), and, for αἷμα, we should read αἷμ' οὐ (the corruption in post-uncial script is facility itself), eliminating the subsequent mark of interrogation.

Thus we see that a text, of which Triclinius presents a slight distortion, once ran :

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν πεσόν ἄπαξ θανάσιμον  
 προπάροιθ' ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἷμ' οὐ  
 τίς τ' ἀγκαλέσσαιτ' ἐπαείδων.

But the τ after οὐ τίς is an impossibility, and (whatever may be said by editors) προπάροιθ' ἀνδρὸς is nonsense in the context. For τίς τ' ἀγ- read Τιτάν. He is the Titan of Titane, the Sicyonian seat of Aesculapian worship. This Titan was reputed to be a brother of the Sun and to have lived at Titane (Pausanias, II. 11). I shall have more to say about him later. If we read Τιτάν, we become able to correct προπάροιθ' ἀνδρὸς. I propose with much assurance :

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν πεσόν ἄπαξ θανάσιμον  
 πρόπαρ ὄρθανδρος μέτ' ἄν αἷμ' οὐ  
 Τιτάν καλέσσαιτ' ἐπαείδων.

Translate *But blood, when once in death it has fallen on the ground, Titan, though ere that strong to succour, cannot afterward summon by his spells.* It should be noticed that the middle, καλέσσαιτ', does not, as would the active, need the support of ἀνα-.

*Codex Farnesianus* continues thus :

οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῖ  
 τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν  
 Ζεὺς αὖτ' ἔπαυσ' ἐπ' ἀβλαβείᾳ γε.



Now

Ζεὺς αὖτ' ἔπαυσ' ἐπ' ἀβλαβείᾳ γε,

or the vulgate version,

Ζεὺς αὖτ' ἔπαυσ' ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ,

is commonly thought to be a gloss, dealing with the suppression of Ἀσκληπιός, that has got into the text. But I have shown in my Ἀντὶ Μιᾶς (*passim*) that glosses do not stray without special reason into verse texts. It is much more probable that the line is an interlineated quotation. I can hardly doubt but that it stands for

Ζεὺς αὖτ' ἐπάυσεν ἐπ' Ἀβλαβίᾳ τε,

the τε being retained in the quotation because it completed the hexameter, apparently a Doric hexameter. Now Ἀβλάβιος is one of the most ordinary proper names distinctive of members of the Asclepiad clan, so that we may conclude with safety that it is an epithet or surname of Ἀσκληπιός. That is as much as to say that Ἀβλαβία is Cos Epione.

Read (including the previous group of lines):

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν πεσὼν ἄπαξ θανάσιμον  
 πρόπαρ ὀρθανδρος μέτ' ἄν αἴμ' οὐ  
 Τιτάν καλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων,  
 οὐδ' ἔτ' ἄν ὀρθοδαῆ  
 Κῶν φθιμένους ἀνά-  
 γειν ἐπαύσαι.

The last two lines were divided thus:

Κῶν φθιμένους ἀνάγειν  
 ἐπαύσαι.

A reader interlineated, above ἐπαύσαι, part of another line in which the same verb, though in a different sense, is used with reference to the same person. Hence

Κῶν φθιμένους ἀνάγειν  
 Ζεὺς αὖτ' ἐπάυσεν ἐπ' Ἀβλαβίᾳ τε  
 ἐπαύσαι.

Not unnaturally ἐπαύσαι fell out and corruption crept in. The last syllable of ἐπαύσαι is short by synapheia before a succeeding vowel.

These suggestions of mine stand or fall with the effects they produce on the rest of the antistrophe. As it runs in its old context, it is sad rubbish, though admirably worded. With the minutest of alterations it makes perfect and poetical sense throughout, if only my introduction of Cos be accepted. The two *codices*, it should be noticed, are here unanimous. I read :

εἰ δὲ μὴ τεταγμένα  
μοῖρ' ἄμοιρ' ἄνευ θεῶν  
εἴργε μὴ πλέον φέρειν,  
προφθάσασα καρδιᾶν  
λύσσαν ἅδ' ἂν ἐξέχει.  
νῦν δ' ὑπὸ σκότῳ βρέμει  
θυμαλγῆς τε καὶ  
οὐδὲν ἐπελπομένα ποτὲ καίριον ἐκτολυπέουσιν  
ζωπύρου μόνας φρενός.

I would call special attention to the words προφθάσασα and ζωπύρου. Cos, as we have seen, was mother of Prophthas, and Zopyrus is (like Ablabius) one of the characteristic names employed in the Asclepiad clan.

I cannot retain ζωπυρουμένας φρενός. It is far too violent, whereas the scarcely differently spelt ζωπύρου μόνας φρενός gives exactly the meaning appropriate in the case of Cos deprived of her (shall I say ?) ψυχὴ λογιστική in order that she may no longer be able to raise the dead. It supports my suggestion, μναμοσύνας ἔνεκεν, in the *Helen*.

I claim that I have reduced the antistrophe to sense and coherence. But important questions emerge. Why did Titan call on Cos, not on Ἀσκληπιός ? Whom had Cos raised when she was deprived of her *fiery soul* ?

We have seen from the *Helen* that the metamorphosis of Cos must have taken place after her marriage to Ἀσκληπιός but before the birth of a child. Moreover the metamorphosis would have been useless, if Ἀσκληπιός had been still alive—alive that is to say, as a man, and not exalted to heaven and so secured on the side of the gods. One of two consequences follows inevitably. Either Cos simply shared, as his wife, in the punishment of Ἀσκληπιός, or else she raised, or took measures to raise, some person after his death. The former alternative

is negatived and the latter established by the fact that the *Agamemnon* (I assume the correctness of my reading of the passage) manifestly deals with the independent action by Cos, Ἀσκληπιός being not so much as mentioned. Whom then did Cos raise, or set about raising, after the death of Ἀσκληπιός? She acted, it must be borne in mind, on the summons of Titan.

Titan, we have seen, was a brother of the Sun and lived at Titane, a chief seat of the Aesculapian cult. This is next door to proof that, in the legend prevailing at Titane, Titan was father of Ἀσκληπιός. In later times the Sun is frequently called Titan. In earlier days that would have been thought absurd, unless indeed one were to go back to a period before the identification of Ἥλιος and Apollo. It is that identification which perplexes matters. Ἀσκληπιός was (witness the blaze of light that surrounded him) properly the son, not of Apollo, but of Ἥλιος. Now, where, as at Titane, Ἥλιος was specifically called Τιτάν, he could not be identified with Apollo, although Apollo had become the sun-god. Therefore Τιτάν ceased to be Ἥλιος, and was converted into a brother of Ἥλιος. In the next section we shall see a further development.

The position then seems to be this. Ἀσκληπιός is dead, stricken by lightning by Zeus for raising or attempting to raise some mortal. Cos his widow, who shares the secret of raising the dead, survives him. Titan, father of Ἀσκληπιός, calls upon Cos to raise some person from the dead.

Surely that person must be Ἀσκληπιός himself. This answer meets every difficulty. Any other answer would involve some raising or attempted raising unrecorded in extant mythology. Moreover, seeing that Ἀσκληπιός was not merely raised (whether by Cos or not), but also deified, the assumption that *after his deification* his wife was turned into a hind is most improbable. I take it then that in the island of Cos and at Titane, the legend ran that, when Zeus blasted Ἀσκληπιός, his widow, Κῶς, at the instance of his father Τιτάν, raised, or at least essayed to raise, him, and that thereupon the gods intervened, Apollo elevating Ἀσκληπιός to heaven, where the regularity of his practice would be assured, and Artemis



protecting Kῶς from a severer doom by turning her into a hind and so depriving her of her medicinal memory. The scene I should lay at Titane, chiefly on the ground of Τιταναΐδα κόυραν in the *Helen*.

## O.

*That valuable information may be gathered from an inscription.*

A poetic inscription found by Foucart at Sparta, which figures as *Epigram 420* in *Caput II* of Cougny's *Appendix* to the *Anthology* (being wrongly included among the *Epigrammata Sepulcralia*), throws light on the blood-relationship between Apollo, Titan, and Ἀσκληπιός as presented in the legend current at Titane. The poem, as appears from its mention of the *island of the blessed*, does not relate, as Foucart and Cougny fancied, to the death of a young Asclepiad, of classical or post-classical times, named Titanus: Titanus is Titan, a hero and father of Ἀσκληπιός.

The poem (so far as it is extant and subject to a question as to the right decipherment of words in ll. 4 and 6) runs:

πάση κοσμηθεὶς ἀρετῇ, Τιτάνιε δῖε,  
 ἔγγονε Παιδῶνος, νῆσον ἔχεις μακάρων·  
 ὁστέα δ' ἱερὰ σεῖο περικλυτὸς ἀμφιβεβήκει  
 Φοῖβος ἔτης ὁ ἑοῖς τίμια πάντα νέμων,  
 ὄφρ' Ὑακίνθῳ μὲν γουνὸς περίβωτος Ἀμύκλης, 5  
 σοῖ δέ, Λυκαόνι, ᾗ ἔνδιον ἦ Τιτάνη.

παῖσιν ἱστορίης ἀπ' ἐμῆς Ἑλλησιν ἀμύνων,  
 ὅῃ ἐπαρκέσσαι ὃς μόνον ο[ὗ] δυνάμην,]

*	*	*	*	*	*
	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*
	*	*	*	*	*

10

As it is Titanus that is addressed in ll. 1-6, so it must be Titanus that replies in ll. 7-12. Therefore not only Titanus, but also Titanus' son (see l. 8), died. On this account I cannot follow Foucart in taking the inscriptional indications of l. 4 as pointing to

Φοῖβος ἐπ' ἡιθέοις τίμια πάντα νέμων.

Titanius was not *unmarried*: in a worn inscription ETHCOEOIC (which I read) and ΕΠΗΘΕΟΙC are scarcely to be distinguished. ἔτης, not ἔτης or ἔτησ', must be read: Apollo was an ἔτης of Titanius, but Hyacinth ranked only among Apollo's εἰοί, not among his ἔται.

In l. 6 Foucart presents :

σοῖ δὲ Λυκαονίῃ ἔνδιον ἦ Πιτάνῃ.

It is fairly clear that he has misread TITANH as ΠITANH. Moreover in none of its senses will Λυκαονίῃ suit either Τιτάνῃ or Πιτάνῃ. But we learn from Apollodorus (III. 8, 3) that Titanas (according to inferior texts the name is Titan or Titanys) was a son of Lycaon. As the list of Lycaon's sons, in which Titanas comes, ends with Τιτάναν, Μαντίνου, Κλείτορα, Στύμφαλον, Ὀρχόμενον, plainly a group of eponymous heroes, we must obviously identify this Titanas with the Titan or Titanus of Titane, and read in the epigram :

σοῖ δὲ, Λυκαόνι', ἦ ἔνδιον ἡ Τιτάνῃ.

In a somewhat late inscription iotas "subscript" need not trouble us; and I suspect they did not trouble Foucart.

I am unaware of the present whereabouts of the inscription, if indeed it is still in existence: so I have to argue on general grounds of palaeography. I wonder whether in l. 8 μόρον ought not to be read for μόνον: the juxtaposition of μόνον οὐ, not in the sense *almost*, seems to me suspicious.

What information do we gather from the poem? Titanius, who died and whose bones were buried at Titane, which became his ἔνδιον (*almost house not built of hands*), was a kinsman (a grandson, if the ἑγγονε of ἑγγονε Παιδῶνος be taken in its most usual sense) of Apollo Paeon and father of a son, likewise dead, who is unnamed, but who in the circumstances must surely be Ἀσκληπιός, which son he had unsuccessfully attempted to help by his medicinal skill. He was himself a son of Lycaon, so that it is evidently on his mother's side that he was of the kindred of Apollo. As Pausanias tells us that Titan of Titane was brother of Helios, and as, according to the generally received view, Helios was son of Hyperion and Thia

and had no brother, but two sisters, Aurora ("Εως) and Luna (Σελήνη), and as, further, Titan appears to have been a mortal, not a god, it seems natural to infer that, at least in the developed legend of Titane with which we are dealing, Titan was a son of Thia indeed, but by Lycaon, not by Hyperion, and that, in the same legend, Thia herself was a daughter of Apollo. Thus, and, so far as I can see, thus alone, is it reasonably possible to harmonise our scattered fragments of information. I need not labour the fact that this conclusion fits in completely with the belief that the Arcadians existed "before the Moon."

It must be remembered that there are various quite contradictory legends as to the parentage of Ἀσκληπιός and that until now no real attempt has been made to probe the obscure mythology peculiar to Titane.

In l. 8 of the epigram the completion of ο[ὐ δυνάμην] is Foucart's. I would continue somewhat as follows:

κἄν μακάρων νήσω κεν ἐπένθεον ἄκριτον αἰεῖ,  
 εἰ μὴ διπλασίην Φοῖβος ὕπασσε χάριν, 10  
 ὅστ' ἐμὲ μὲν τίμησε, θεῶν δὲ τὸν ἦκ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.  
 εἰ δὲ πατὴρ Τιτάνην, παῖς Ἐπίδauρον ἔχει.

That this poem has to do with Titan of Titane is, I venture to submit, sufficiently established. But the indication afforded by the mention of *the island of the blessed* may to some readers familiar with the *Appendix* to the *Anthology* appear insecure. The facts seem to be that, on the one hand, there is in Cougny's *Appendix* (II. 188, 189 and 190) evidence of the apotheosis—I can use no weaker term—of a physician, more or less distinguished, with non-Greek influence at work, and also (II. 529) of another physician, unless the piece dealing with the latter be, as it should be, taken as a disguised Christian composition; yet that, on the other hand, there exists no evidence either that, in a truly Greek environment, such an apotheosis was ever attempted, or that, in any environment, the spirit of an ordinary Asclepiad of honest life was supposed to proceed, not to Elysium but to *the island of the blessed*.

It will be well to pay attention to the epigrams which come in question.



One Glycon, a physician of Pergamum, very possibly identical with the Glycon who attended C. Vibius Pansa (43 B.C.) and who was imprisoned on suspicion of having murdered him, was son of Philadelphus and husband of Πάνθεια. Philadelphus died, and afterwards Πάνθεια. Glycon erected at Pergamum a sepulchre in which he buried the body of Philadelphus and subsequently that of Πάνθεια also. He added sepulchral inscriptions quite extraordinary in their character. In them not only does he eulogise Philadelphus beyond all reason, even putting into the mouth of his ghost a vaunt that he was no less famous than Hippocrates, but he moreover actually apotheosises him. Of himself he speaks in terms of extravagant vanity. Concerning Πάνθεια he has left an inscribed poem, which constitutes indeed a magnificent and most artistic tribute to her memory (I doubt whether in one sense there is a finer epitaph in existence), but which sets her at the same time on an almost impossible pinnacle, exalting to the utmost her domestic virtues and extolling—a singular feature—her medicinal skill. It should be noted that neither *Philadelphus* nor *Glycon* is known to us as an Asclepiad name, and that it may well be doubted whether an Asclepiad would have permitted himself such a reference to Hippocrates as that which I have mentioned. The name Πάνθεια is scarcely Greek. An Agrigentine indeed bore it (Diogenes Laertius, I. 69), but the Πάνθεια best known to history is the consort of Abradatas of Susa. It is doubtless after that Πάνθεια, though perhaps at many removes, that Glycon's wife was named. There was also Πάνθεια, wife of Mark Antony. Drusilla, wife of M. Lepidus, was surnamed Πάνθεα (a mere shortening of Πάνθεια), and the ὕβρις involved in the appellation appears plainly from the words of Dion Cassius (LIX. 11): Πάνθεά τε ὠνομάζετο καὶ τιμῶν δαιμονίων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡξιοῦτο. Further it should be observed that a female physician Πάνθεια is somewhat suggestive of Πανάκεια, daughter of Ἀσκληπιός.

We know but little of the Pergamene temple of Ἀσκληπιός and its traditions. It seems clear that Glycon, in a place where those traditions, and not Greek traditions proper, were operative, endeavoured (not, I rather gather, being of Asclepiad stock) to set up his father, Philadelphus,

as more than a new Hippocrates, as, in fact, a new Titan, himself, at least by implication, as something like a new Ἀσκληπιός, and his wife, Πάνθεια, as a new Πανάκεια, hedging however in the language of his compositions just sufficiently to avoid the likelihood of an accusation of blasphemy.

I will in a moment set forth the epigrams. They are numbered by Cougny 188, 189, and 190 of *Caput II* of his *Appendix*: they are all on one stone, and Cougny seems to me in part to divide them wrongly. My A is his II. 188, ll. 1-8; my B is his II. 188, ll. 9-11, plus one line entirely missing from the marble, plus the whole of his II. 189; my C is his II. 190, ll. 1-12; and my D is his II. 190, l. 13, plus one line entirely missing from the marble, plus a tentative restoration, including the filling up of a lacuna of one complete line, of fragments given by him in his notes on II. 190, but not in his text. The supplements in A, ll. 2, 5, 6 and 8, in B, ll. 1, 8, 12, 13 and 14, and in C, l. 11, are Cougny's or adopted by Cougny: those in B, ll. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 11, and in D, ll. 1, 2, 4 and 5, are my own: in A, l. 1, in B, ll. 2, 7 and 9, and in C, l. 12, they are composites of Cougny's text and my own work: in D, ll. 3 and 6, they are composites of Kaibel's work and my own. In B, l. 6, where Cougny presents γον . . . α . . . ην, I read γομφοπαγῆ ῥώμην: no Greek word beginning with γον- will scan in the first place of a pentameter: γόμφωσις bears in Galen (iv. 11) the anatomical sense of a species of articulation. In B, l. 11, where Cougny presents αλα . . . , I read ἄδακρυ μόνον: the possibility in a worn inscription of confusing Λ and Δ is obvious. In C, l. 3, I follow Cougny's text: he states in his note that "lapis habet TOIH . . . ZYTIHNIΔEN, ubi ζυγίην ad ἄλοχον pertinere videtur": I take it, though without full certainty, that he means *inter alia* that ΑΛΟΧΟΝ is presented in the inscription at the point where in the note he puts four dots, especially as in the text he gives no indication of a lacuna. To turn to a matter of a slightly different nature, in B, l. 7, where Cougny reads

οἷον δὲ ὑπνώοντος] ἐρεῖθεται ἄνθεα μῆλ[ων]

translating his reading as *qualiter autem dormientis rubescunt flores malorum*, I, being unable to take the

view (*pace* certain dictionaries, which do not prove their point) that *μηλα* in Greek is capable of meaning *malae* (*cheeks*) as well as *mala* (*apples*), which is what Cougny, though he does not write *malarum*, in substance suggests (fancying perhaps that the meaning *breasts* is a sufficient analogy), propose with some confidence :

οἶον δ' εὖ πνώνοντ' ἐνερεύθεται ἄνθεα μήλων.

Etymologically πνώνοντ' is on all fours with πλώοντ', though classical tradition, when it wanted an initial long syllable, used πνειόντ'. D throughout is most uncertain : I have only attempted a possible reconstitution : in l. 3 ἐκοίνων appears hardly avoidable, and, if it is right, κοινάω, a rare enough verb, would seem to be here employed as an equivalent of κοινωνέω.

The epigrams are these :—

## A.

τύμβον μέν, Φι[λάδελφε, μεθ' ὧν] σοι δείματ' ἐτά[ων]  
 ὄν τ' ἔλιπες τῆς [σῆς ἔξοχον] υἷα τέχνης·  
 ὅσπον γὰρ σὺ κράτιστος ἱητρῶν ἔπλεο πάντων,  
 τόσπον τῶν ἄλλων ἔξοχος ἐστὶ Γλύκων·  
 ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων παταμένη μ[ε]τὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους 5  
 ἤλ[υ]θε σή, ναίεις δ' ἐν μακάρω[ν] δαπέδῳ.  
 ἴλαθι καὶ μοι ὄπαζε νόσων ἄκος, ὥς τὸ πάροιθεν·  
 νῦν γὰρ θειοτέρην μοῖραν ἔχεις βίото[υ].

## B.

ἄξιον, ὦ Φιλάδελφ', ἀρετ[ῆς πότ]μον ἔλλαχες αἴσῃ,  
 [σῆς τ'] ἱητορίας ἔξοχε καὶ σοφίης·  
 οὐ γὰρ δὴ νοῦσός [σε πικρῆς ἐδάμασσ' ὀδύνησιν,]  
 [αἰκίζουσα δέμας τηκεδόνι στυγερῇ·]  
 [ὠμογέρων δ' ἔκαμες σὺ καὶ εὐμορφος, μελέ]ων δέ 5  
 γομ[φοπ]α[γῆ ῥώμ]ην ν[ωθρ]ὸς ἔλυ[σε χρό]νος·  
 οἶον δ' εὖ πνώο[ντ'] ἐν[ε]ρεύθεται ἄνθεα μήλ[ων],  
 τοῖος καὶ νέκυς ὧν κ[εῖ]σο κατὰ [λ]εχέων.  
 νῦν σ[ε, πάτερ,] δύναμαι θαρβῶν εὐδαίμονα κλήζειν,  
 ὀλβιε καὶ ζωῆς, ὀλβιε καὶ θανάτου. 10

εἰ θάνεν Ἴπποκράτης ἄδα[κρυν μόρον,] οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔγωγε  
 τοῦ πάλαι Ἴπποκ[ρά]τους οὐδὲν ἀσημότερος·  
 ἀλλ' ἔτυμον ψυχὴ μένει [ἀθανάτ]η Φιλαδέλφου,  
 σῶμα δὲ [θνητὸν ἐ]ὸν χθὼν ἱερὴ κατέχει.



## C.

χαῖρε, γύναι Πάνθεια, παρ' ἀνέρος, δς μετὰ μοῖραν  
 σὴν ὀλοοῦ θανάτου πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχω·  
 οὐ γάρ πω τοίην ἄλοχον ζυγίῃ ἶδεν Ἥρη  
 εἶδος καὶ πινυτὴν ἥδ' εὖ σαοφροσύνην.  
 αὐτὴ μοι καὶ παῖδας ἐγείναο πάντας ὁμοίους, 5  
 αὐτὴ καὶ γαμέτου κήδεο καὶ τεκέων,  
 καὶ βιοτῆς οἶακα κατευθύνεσκες ἐν οἴκῳ  
 καὶ κλέος ὕψωσας ξυνὸν ἱητορίης·  
 οὐδὲ γυνή περ ἐοῦσα ἐμῆς ἀπελείπεο τέχνης,  
 τοῦνεκά σοι τύμβον τεῦξε Γλύκων γαμέτης, 10  
 ὃς γε καὶ ἀθ[ανά]τοιο δέμας κεῖθει Φιλαδέ[λφου],  
 [ἔ]ν[θα] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κείσο[μαι ἄ]γχι σεθέν].

## D.

[τοὺς ἐναγ]ισμοῦ[ς τούσδε τεῶ, Πάνθει', ἐνὶ τύμβῳ]  
 [θῆκα, φυτῶν δρέψας φυλλάδας ἀενάων.]  
 αἶ κ' ἔθ[α]νον σὺν σοί, ζωῆς ὥς σὺν] σοὶ ἐκοίνων,  
 ῆς καὶ [μοῖραν ἔχεις ἀφθιτον ἐν φθιμένοις·]  
 [ἀλλ', οὐ γάρ τόδ' ἔην γε, φέρω τάδε σοί—σὺ δὲ πρόφρων] 5  
 ὦδε δέκ[ευ—ξ]υνὴν γαῖαν ἐφessάμενος.

The disguised Christian epigram (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* II. 529) relates to St. Luke and must formerly have been affixed to the house once occupied by the Evangelist at Rome. Rightly read and corrected—the engraver was a trifle illiterate—it runs as follows :

ἀνέρος, δς πάρος Αὐσονίων πέδον ἔκετο, ξείνου  
 βαιὸν ἐπὶ τραφερῇ χθονὶ δερκομένου, τότε δῶμα,  
 ἀνδρὸς ὀπιζομένου Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο·  
 ὃς ποτ' ἔδειξε βροτῶν πολυπλάγκτοισιν πραπίδεςσιν 5  
 ψυχὴν ἀθανάτην καὶ ἀγήραον ἐκ Διὸς αἵσης,  
 μάρτυρα Φοῖβον ἅμ' ὕμνοισιν σελίδεσσι χαράξας.  
 οὐδ' ἄρα θνητὸς ἔην, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης δ' ὑψιμέδοντος  
 τύμβῳ εἰναλίῳ πεπεδημένος ἤνυσεν οἶμον·  
 ἐκ ρεθέων δ' ἄλλα λείπων σεμνὸν ἔβη Διὸς οἶκον  
 Λητοῖδῃ καὶ ἄνους λῆς βωμὸν ὑπ' ἥερι τεύξας· 10  
 ἱητῆρ δ' Ἀσκληπιάδης μακάρων τρίβον ῥῆι,  
 χρημοσύνην δ' ἔλιπεν πολυκῆριον ἐν νεκύεσσιν.

Editors, wrongly reading in l. 10 Λητοῖδῃ καὶ ἄνους λῆς as Λητοῖδῃ καὶ Μούσαις, a phrase scarcely susceptible of a Christian application, have hopelessly missed the

drift of the inscription. ΑΝΟΥCAIC and ΜΟΥCAIC are most similar. The ἄνους λίς is the *baptizatus leo*, the legendary lion of St. Paul and St. Thecla. Φοῖβον in l. 6 of course means *Christ* and Αητοῖδῃ in l. 10 *Son of Mary*. The *tuus jam regnat Apollo* of the Fourth *Eclogue* is no doubt in a manner responsible for such expressions. The words in ll. 1 and 2,

ξείνου  
βαιὸν ἐπὶ τραφερῇ χθονὶ δερκομένον,

*a stranger in the land and a sojourner*, who has but to wait a little before he go hence and be no more seen (though δερκομένου is active in sense), are unmistakeably Christian. ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένου is imitated from Homer's ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο (*Iliad*, I. 88): τραφερῇ does not mean *dry*, but has its late signification, equivalent to that of the Homeric πουλυβοτείρῃ, as seen in Aratus (*Phaen.* l. 1027). The ὕμνοι of l. 6 are the *Magnificat*, the *Benedictus*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*. ἤνυσεν οἶμον in l. 18 is distinctively Christian: the Evangelist *finished his course* (cf. *Acts of the Apostles*, xx. 24 and 2 Timothy iv. 7). As for the term Ἀσκληπιάδης in l. 11, it is likely that the *beloved physician* was literally of that stock: the preface to his Gospel is based on Hippocrates and Dioscorides\*, and the close imitation of Thucydides (II. 2) in Ch. III. vv. 1-2 is a fact not to be neglected, though I have nowhere seen it pointed out. L. 12, no doubt spiritual in application, is adapted from an epigram on Hippocrates (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 53, l. 2). Hitherto the inscription has commonly been deciphered thus:

ἀνέρες, οἳ πάρος Αὔσονίων χθόνα ἔχετε, ξεῖνοι,  
βαιὸν ἐπὶ τραφερῇ χθονὶ δερκομένοι τόδε δῶμα  
ἀνδρὸς ὀπιζομένου Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο·  
ὅς ποτ' ἔδειξε βροτῶν πολυπλάγκτοις ἐν πραπίδεςσιν  
ψυχὴν ἀθανάτην καὶ ἀγήραον ἐκ Διὸς αἵσης, 5  
μάρτυρα Φοῖβον ἀμυμνίσιν σελίδεσσι χαράξας.  
οὐδ' ἄρα θνητὸς ἔην, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης δ' ὕψιμέδοντος  
τύμβῳ εἰναλέῳ πεπεδημένος ἤνυσεν οἶμον,  
ἐκ ῥεθέων δ' ἀναστείχων σεμνὸν ἔβη Διὸς οἶκον,  
Αητοῖδῃ καὶ Μούσαις βωμὸν ὑπ' ἡέρι τεύξας 10  
ιητὴρ δ' Ἀσκληπιάδης μακάρων τρίβον ἦει,  
χρημοσύνην δ' ἔλιπεν πολυκήριον ἐν νεκύεσσιν.

\* Or on some source from which Dioscorides drew.

On this treatment the first clause lacks a main verb, in l. 6 ἀρρύνισιν is a *vox nihili* (clearly YMNICIN is an iotacism for the phonetically identical YMNOICIN), and towards the end the subject of the epigram is both made to go to heaven twice over and also represented as erecting an altar after, not before, his death. Further the address to men from abroad is impossible in a supposed epitaph: it must be the deceased who came from abroad: though there be no epitaph, this hint is helpful.

It only remains to speak of the legend of the lion. That a story existed that the lion was baptised we know from a statement of St. Jerome (*D. Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, Ch. vii.), read in the second nocturn of the feast of St. Luke in the *Roman Breviary* (St. Jerome is rejecting the tale on the ground of the improbability that St. Luke *hoc solum ignoraverit*, not, I wish to make clear, connecting the lion with St. Luke): "Igitur periodos Pauli et Theclae et totam baptizati leonis fabulam inter apocryphas scripturas computamus." The lion was connected with St. Paul and St. Thecla (St. Jerome's *hoc solum*, not *haec sola*, shows that the *periodi* and the *fabula* formed one single whole): it figures in the *Ethiopic Contending of St. Paul* (v. and vii.). In the *Ethiopic* legend it was originally a golden idol, in the form of a hawk, in a temple at Aleppo, but St. Paul turned it (at least in appearance) into a live lion, and, after it had done him good service, sent it, in answer to a request made by it to him, into the desert, there to await his further need. Afterwards, St. Paul with a disciple, named Sacentes, was cast into a fiery furnace at Acre (Ptolemais), and, while they were therein, the lion presented itself to their persecutors and exhorted them to become Christians. It then addressed St. Paul and Sacentes, calling them forth from the furnace. Here it disappears from the story. There is clearly no difficulty in attributing to such a lion the erection of an altar, and a *baptizatus leo* would, I suppose, be seen safely to heaven by its inventors. In the existing Greek *Acts of Paul and Thecla* the same animal seems to occur, but in a most etiolated form. When St. Thecla is exposed to wild beasts, a lioness protects her, killing a bear, but subsequently succumbing to the attack of two lions.



The legendary connexion of the lion with St. Luke would, but for the epigram we are considering, be unattested : but it must be remembered that St. Luke was one of St. Paul's most intimate and constant companions. The manner of St. Luke's death is to a singular degree doubtful. According to the legend printed in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* he was martyred, and his body was thrown into the sea, but afterwards recovered and buried in an island. That suits the epigram.

I think I may claim that I am right in reading ἄνους λῆς, and that the epigram lends no countenance to any theory of Asclepiad apotheosis. The reader would do well to consult the Planudean group of epitaphs on physicians (*App. Plan.* 267–274), of which the whole tenour is such as to confirm my argument. Other epigrams exist of various degrees of relevancy (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 61, 62, 64, 92, 108, 109, 135, 363, and 681–688, together with *App. Plan.* 31), some of which support me and none of which contradict me.

Yet one epigram (Cougny's *Appendix Anth. Graec.* ii. 461) might conceivably be used against my contention. It takes the form of an epitaph on Aelia Prima, the seven-year-old daughter of one P. Aelius Abascantus : Abascantus is—at least more probably than not—a distinctive Asclepiad name. In the epitaph the maiden is assigned to *the islands of the blessed*, and those *islands* are identified with *the Elysian plains* (in the plural : compare Horace, *Epode* xvi. ll. 41–42 :

Arva, beata

Petamus arva divites et insulas),

while *Olympus* is spoken of as nigh at hand. The lines, which are quite charming, run :

οὐκ ἔθανες, Πρώτη, μετέβης δ' ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον,  
καὶ ναίεις μακάρων νήσους θαλίῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ  
ἐνθα κατ' Ἥλυσιων πεδίων σκιρτῶσα γέγηθας  
ἄνθεςιν ἐν μαλάκοισι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων.  
οὐ χειμῶν λυπεῖ σ', οὐ καῦμ'. οὐ νοῦσος ἐνοχλεῖ. 5  
οὐ πεινῆς, οὐ δίψος ἔχεις· ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ποθινός  
ἀνθρώπων ἔτι σοι βίोटος· ζῶεις γὰρ ἀμέμπτως  
αὐγαῖς ἐν καθαράσιν Ὀλύμπου πλησίον ὄντος.

This is resonantly Christian. For οὐκ ἔθανες, Πρώτη, μετέβης δ' in l. 1 compare *The maid is not dead but sleepeth* (Mark, v. 39, Luke, viii. 52): for ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον in the same line compare *They desire a better country* (Hebrews, xi. 16): for σκιρτῶσα in l. 3 compare *He cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills* (Song of Solomon, ii. 8), *Be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bethel* (Song of Solomon, ii. 17), and *Be thou like to a roe or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices* (Song of Solomon, viii. 14): for ἀνθῆσιν ἐν μαλάχοισι in l. 4 compare *He feedeth among the lilies* (Song of Solomon, ii. 16, and vi. 3): for ll. 5-6 compare *They shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the heat nor sun smite them* (Isaiah, xlix. 10): for l. 8 compare *And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it, that is, of the heavenly city* (Revelation, xxi. 24). Pagan parallels, e.g. from Homer, may be adduced: but there is no closeness in them.

## P.

*That there is reason to suppose that Ὑβρις is only another name for Τυρὼ β'.*

Only two fragments are ascribed to the Ὑβρις.

The first of the two (*Fr.* 670) is presented by Stobaeus (*Fl.* 26, 3) thus: Σοφοκλέους Ὑβρεως σατύρου (so *codices* M and A; *codex* S omits σατύρου).

λήθην τε τὴν πάντ' ἀπεστερημένην,  
κωφὴν, ἄναυδον.

Though Hense defends σατύρου, as meaning a *Satyrical drama*, on the strength of the occurrence of the singular in that sense twice in a passage of Demetrius (*De Eloc.* 169), yet the usage is quite foreign to anthologies and cannot even be found in the lexicographers. The most regular expression, the term of art in fact, even with a title in the singular, is σάτυροι. We should expect Ὑβρεως σατύρων, though Ὑβρεως σατυρικῆς would be a permissible variation. This consideration is so weighty that I propose for Ὑβρεως σατύρου the emendation Ὑβρεως ἵσα Τυροῖ ("Hybris = Tyro"), taking Ὑβρεως as the original lemma of Stobaeus and ἵσα Τυροῖ as the explanatory addition of a copyist.

So far, I have merely submitted a possibility, though a possibility that seems to commend itself. Moreover the possibility is that the Ὑβρις is identical with a play called Τυρώ : there is nothing yet to suggest Τυρώ β' rather than Τυρώ α', or *vice versa*. But a consideration of the words of the *Fragment* will take us a long way further.

In l. 1 editors vary, for the most part, between ἀπαντ' and πάντων as corrections of the unmetrical πάντ'. All such corrections sin against a usage of Stobaeus, with regard to which I am about to lay down a canon of the last importance. Stobaeus in his *Florilegium* never abbreviates any verse quotation (and a like strictness appears to govern his quotations in prose) either by beginning it or by ending it at such a point as to cause it to appear without a full grammatical construction, save that three times he admits a certain laxness in the case of a nominative, but a nominative only. The three exceptional occasions are these :

(1) (Stobaeus, *Fl.* 31, 20 ; Hesiod, *Op.* 318) :

αἰδώς, ἥ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἡδ' ὀνίνησιν.

(2) (Stobaeus, *Fl.* 46, 1 ; Euripides, *Syleus*, *Fr.* 692) :

τοῖς μὲν δίκαιοις ἔνδικος, τοῖς δ' αὖ κακοῖς  
πάντων μέγιστος πολέμιος κατὰ χθόνα.

(3) (Stobaeus, *Fl.* 74, 20 ; Euripides, *Medea*, ll. 13-15) :

αὐτὴ δὲ πάντα συμφέρουσ' Ἰάσωνι·  
ἥπερ μεγίστη γίγνεται σωτηρία,  
ὅταν γυνὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα μὴ διχοστατῇ.

Once also the fact that he is quoting from a dialogue hides the construction of a nominative (Stobaeus, *Fl.* 99, 15 ; Euripides, *Orestes*, ll. 398-399) :

λύπη μάλιστά γ' ἡ διαφθειρουσά με.  
δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ θεός, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἰάσιμος.

Here the full passage, so far as we are concerned, is (Euripides, *Orestes*, ll. 395-399) :

Μενέλαος. τί χρῆμα πάσχεις ; τίς σ' ἀπόλλυσιν νόσος ;

Ορέστης. ἡ σύνεσις, ὅτι σύννοιδα δειν' εἰργασμένος.

Με. πῶς φῆς ; σοφόν τοι τὸ σαφές, οὐ τὸ μὴ σαφές.

Ορ. λύπη μάλιστά γ' ἡ διαφθειρουσά με.

Με. δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ θεός, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἰάσιμος.



The same phenomenon is presumably observable in one other passage, though no context is extant (Stobaeus, *Fl.* 98, 7; Menander, *Fr.* 263):

ἄνθρωπος, ἱκανὴ πρόφασις εἰς τὸ δυστυχεῖν.

I do not mean to say that Stobaeus may not sometimes cut a quotation short at a point which leaves the grammatical construction, though full, yet somewhat different from that which further quotation would show it to have been in the original. I certainly suspect that he does this once (Stobaeus, *Fl.* 34, 10; Euripides, *Telephus*, *Fr.* 723):

Σπάρτην ἔλαχες· κείνην κόσμει.  
τὰς δὲ Μυκήνας ἡμεῖς ἰδίᾳ.

Subject to the limitations expressed, the canon is absolute; and it reposes on a very great multitude of examples. It is the summing-up of a practice manifestly prompted by a nice sense of literary propriety. But, besides the quotation from the *Hybris* with which we are dealing, there are two places in which *prima facie*, though only as a result of patent corruption, it is violated. (1) In the *Florilegium* (47, 5) the mss. present *Fr.* 250 of Euripides, from his *Archelaus*, thus: τοῦ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Εὐριπίδου) Ἀρχελάφ.

τυραννίδα ἡθῶν (so *codex* M: for ἡθῶν *codex* A gives ἡ θεῶν) β̄ νομίζεται.  
τὸ μὴ θανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, τᾶλλα δ' ἔχει.

*Codex* S omits the whole passage, but to the next quotation, which is from Euripides' *Aegeus*, prefixes Ἀρχε̄, so that there is no reason to suspect an interpolation. With a wrong, though taking, presentation of Gaisford's in l. 1 and a right emendation of Grotius' in l. 2, the *Fragment* is now read thus:

τυραννίδ', ἡ θεῶν δευτέρα νομίζεται.  
τὸ μὴ θανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔχει.

Here we have, as in the mss., the accusative τυραννίδα without the inclusion in the quotation of any verb to govern it. But *next best to the gods* is not a really articulate

way of saying *next best to the condition of the gods*: the analogy of κόμαι χαρίτεσσιν ὅμοιαι must not be ridden to death. Read:

τυραννὶς ἀλθῶν δεύτερον νομίζεται  
τὸ μὴ θανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔχει.

Translate: "It is commonly held that the second-best medicine is a crown: it is a recipe, not indeed for immortality, but for everything else." (2) In the *Florilegium* (103, 10) the mss. present *Fr.* 320 of Sophocles, from his *Ion*, thus: Σοφοκλέους "Ιωνος"

ἐν Διὸς κήποις ἀροῦσθαι  
μόνον (*codex A* μόνον) εὐδαίμονας ὄλβους.

In the text, as it stands, the construction of ἀροῦσθαι is not supplied; but the first line is undeniably corrupt. The second line shows the metre there to be ionic *a minore*, but the first line will not scan in that metre either with or without the help of anaclasis. Neither, save by violent methods, can it be altered into that metre. But it can by a mere touch be transformed into a dactylic tetrameter, a metre employed in conjunction with the ionic *a minore*. Read:

ἐν Δίοις κάποις πάρ' ἀροῦσθαι  
μόνον εὐδαίμονας ὄλβους.

Compare Euripides' *Bacchae* (ll. 519-520; see my treatment of the whole passage in 'Ἀντὶ Μιᾶς):

Ἀελίου θύγατερ <φάεθοντος>,  
πότνι' εὐπάρθενε Δίρκα,

where the first line, the metre of which may sufficiently be fixed from the antistrophe, although that too is corrupt, has been depraved into the absurd

Ἀχελώου θύγατερ,

an attempt at an ionic line.

Thus the infinitive in the *Fragment* from the *Ion* is subjected to governance. M. Schmidt proposed κάποις.

Applying the canon to the first *Fragment* of the *Hybris*, I find it impossible, in view of the conditions of the problem, to introduce a verb at the point required, viz.

where there is a gap in the metre, in any other way than by reading :

λήθην τε τῇ τὴν πάντ' ἀπεστερημένην,  
κωφὴν, ἄναυδον.

I doubt indeed whether this was the full construction in Sophocles : δέχου or the like may have followed after an interval. But at any rate it was a full construction to Stobaeus and his readers. In Homer τῇ is of course always employed semi-interjectionally, without an accusative, and followed by another imperative : but even in Homer its meaning is *take* (singular). Attic comedy agrees with Homer (Cratinus, *Odysses*, *Fr.* 6 ; Eupolis, *Fr. Incert. Fab.* 29), except that Eupolis (*l.c.*) puts the following imperative into the plural. Later Greek apparently felt itself at liberty to treat the word as an ordinary transitive imperative (though it is not so used in Callimachus). Unfortunately I have so far been unable to trace the ramifications of usage in unindexed authors, as—an extraordinary circumstance—Dindorf's Stephanus fails one here. In that Thesaurus τῇ indeed occurs at its proper place ; but one is simply referred to τάω. Now there is no entry τάω. There is an entry τέω, but it supplies no information. The omission has evidently (though not admittedly) non-plussed Liddell and Scott.

For the multiple iteration of τ, compare a line conveying a like sense of deprivation (Sophocles, *O. R.* l. 371) :

τυφλὸς τά τ' ὦτα τὸν τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματ' εἶ.

The couplet, with τῇ in it, suggests most strongly that it is the sentence, in the mouth of Artemis, by which Cos was deprived of memory. μναμοσύνας ἔνεκεν, ζωπύρου μονὰς φρενός, and this couplet would thus constitute a memorable trio. Add to this the solecism of Ὕβρεως σατύρου plus the facility of Ὕβρεως ἴσα Τυροῖ, and you have a strong case for equating the Ὕβρις with Τυρῶ β'.

With the second *Fragment* I shall deal later.



## Q.

*That there exist indications that the situation treated in Τυρῶ β' arose out of the raising of Γλαῦκος.*

If Sophocles wrote a Τυρῶ Κῶς dealing with the fate that befell Cos, wife of Ἀσκληπιός, because of her having raised, or essayed to raise, Ἀσκληπιός to life, after he had been slain by Zeus for having himself raised, or essayed to raise, someone else to life, it is clear that the play must have contained some account of the particular action of Ἀσκληπιός which led up to the situation.

Hippolytus, Orion, and Glaucus are variously stated to have been the patients—if I may so call them—on whose account Ἀσκληπιός suffered. If Τυρῶ β' is concerned with the fate of Cos, *Fr.* 654 appears to indicate that Glaucus is the patient who figured in the Sophoclean version of the legend.

That *Fragment* is certainly from Τυρῶ β', and it can hardly, as we have seen, be read otherwise than as

κᾶν μέσῳ τις ὄρνις Ἦρας ἔξεδρον χώραν ἔχων.

In view especially of the augural term ἔξεδρον, it must refer to some oenoscopy. Now neither in the case of Hippolytus nor in that of Orion (nor yet in any of the cases in which Ἀσκληπιός raised the dead without, in any extant legend, recorded punishment) was there an opening for oenoscopy: the dead had died, and Ἀσκληπιός simply came and raised, or attempted to raise, them. But in the case of Glaucus the body was missing and had—there is no variation on this point—to be discovered by means of augury.

Thus there arises a *prima facie* presumption that the raising of Glaucus by Ἀσκληπιός was the circumstance which led to the action of Τυρῶ β'. But there arises a seeming, though not a substantial, difficulty. It may be objected that Sophocles in his Μάντις, which treats the Glaucus legend, represents Polyidus, not Ἀσκληπιός, as at work, and that he is not likely to have violently contradicted himself.

But we must examine the facts more closely. According to all versions of the legend it was Polyidus that found the body of Glaucus by means of augury: but at this point unanimity ceases. Hyginus in one

place (*Fab.* 136) attributes the raising to Polyidus, but in another (*Poet. Astr.* II. 14) to Ἀσκληπιός. Identically, Apollodorus in one place (III. 17-20) attributes the raising to Polyidus, but in another (III. 10) to Ἀσκληπιός. It is from this last-mentioned passage in Apollodorus that we learn the story that it was on this occasion that Ἀσκληπιός was killed by lightning.

There is nothing whatever in the extant *Fragments* of the Μάντεις to exclude even the direct action of Ἀσκληπιός. But more probably Sophocles reconciled the two legends by representing Polyidus as acting, when it came to the raising, under the instructions and on behalf of Ἀσκληπιός.

The phantom, so to speak, of a difficulty being thus removed, we are at liberty to look for further indications that the plot of Τυρῶ β' is a sequel to that of the Μάντεις. They certainly exist.

A feature of the Glaucus legend was the appearance of two serpents. Now Athenaeus (XI. 475 A), in part of a long patch from the Epitome, presents us with a *Fragment* (*Fr.* 660) of the Τυρῶ of Sophocles, without specifying which Τυρῶ he means, thus: Σοφοκλῆς δὲ Τυροῦ·

προστῆναι μέσσην  
τράπεζαν ἀμφὶ σιτία τὰ καρχήσια,

πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν προσεληλυθῆναι φάσκων τοὺς δράκοντας καὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ καρχήσια. Macrobius (*Saturn.* V. 21, 6) says: "Sophocles in fabula quae inscribitur Tyro :

πρὸς γῆν δειμι  
τράπεζα ἀμφὶ σῖτα καὶ καρχήσια."

Hence there is read :

προσπτῆναι (so Bergk) μέσσην  
τράπεζαν ἀμφὶ σῖτα καὶ καρχήσια.

That the reference is to serpents is expressly stated by Athenaeus. Now no one has been able to suggest why serpents should appear in a play relating to the daughter of Salmoneus. Surely the *Fragment* is from Τυρῶ β' and the serpents are those of the Glaucus legend.

But, seeing that we have to do with Ἀσκληπίος, I would suggest that they are specialised as the two well-known serpents of Ἀσκληπίος, and that they are sent by him to help Polyidus.

Again, Athenaeus (III. 99 F), this time also omitting to specify which Τυρώ he means, preserves a *Fragment* of a Τυρώ (*Fr.* 666) thus : Σοφοκλῆς τε ἐν Τυροῦ·

οἱ τοῖσι παγχόρτοισιν ἐξενίζομεν.

Porson rightly emended to

σίτοισι παγχόρτοισιν ἐξενίζομεν.

The context in Athenaeus shows that *human* food is in question, the example being cited to justify χορτασθῆναι in the sense of κορεσθῆναι. But obviously παγχόρτοισιν must refer in Sophoclean Greek to food of a very special nature. A vegetarian banquet can scarcely have been introduced into Τυρώ α', but it is just what must have been set before the μάντεις of Crete, one of whom we find declaring (Euripides, *Cretes*, *Fr.* 472, ll. 18-19):

τὴν τ' ἐμψύχων  
βρῶσιν ἐδεστώων πεφύλαγμαi.

Thus again the Glaucus legend is indicated.

Once more, the second *Fragment* (*Fr.* 671) of the *Hybris* can very reasonably be set beside *Fr.* 654 as forming part of the account of the oenoscropy. That *Fragment* is presented by the existing text of Athenaeus (xiv. 657 A) in the course of the following sentence : δέλφακα δὲ ἄρσενικῶς εἴρηκε Πλάτων ἐν Ποιητῇ·

δέλφακα δὲ ῥαιότατον·

Σοφοκλῆς Ὑβρει·

ἐσθίειν ἐθέλων (for ἐθέλων *codex* P gives ἐθέλω) τὸν  
δέλφακα·

Κρατῖνος Ὀδυσσεῦσι·

δέλφακας μεγάλους·

Θηλυκῶς δὲ Νικοχάρης ἔφη·

κύουσιν δέλφακα,



καὶ Εὐπολὶς Χρυσῷ Γένει·

οὐκ ἄλλεῦθιον δέλφακα ὠδονθ ἡστια  
καὶ μάλα καλήν,

καὶ Πλάτων Ἴοϊ·

πρόσφερε δεῦρο δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς δέλφακος·

Θεόπομπος Πηνελόπῃ·

καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἡμῶν σφάττουσιν δέλφακα.

I have not recorded variants, other than that in the *Hybris* fragment, from the apographs: they do not affect us. The sentence, corruptions apart, is not in its full original form. Not only are the quotations huddled together as if in a catalogue, but also, though we have ἐν Ποιητῇ, we have, without ἐν, the titles Ὑβρει, Ὀδυσσεῦσι, Χρυσῷ Γένει, Ἴοϊ, and Πηνελόπῃ. Whenever Athenaeus' text omits ἐν in such a case, we should do well to be suspicious: even the restorations that we know to be taken from the Epitome do not normally disdain the use of the preposition, but rather show that the epitomiser aimed at some modicum of literary form. I rather imagine that the sentence, after the initial quotation, was taken at an early date from some summary more concise than that which we call the Epitome. In any case it is obvious that there is a fair amount of corruption: yet it does not patently extend to the passage from the *Hybris*. This both Dindorf and Nauck take as a senarius with a lost beginning. To get rid of the resulting anapaest in the fourth foot, Dindorf changed ἐθέλων to θέλων, but Nauck, though he afterwards recanted, at one time transposed ἐθέλων and ἐσθίειν. Of the two, though I think neither right, I prefer Nauck's treatment. Whereas in the case of the almost adjacent quotation from Plato's *Io* a transposition (of ἡμῶν and σφάττουσιν) is, it would seem, inevitable, so that neither here is transposition out of the question, it is very harsh to assume the corruption after Athenaeus' time, when ἐθέλειν, except as a preciousness, had become obsolete, of θέλων into ἐθέλων. But, if we take the *Fragment* as part of a description of the oenoscopia relating to Glaucus in Τυρῶ β', which

description I infer from *Fr.* 654 to have been couched in trochaic tetrameters, then we are able, by means of an almost imperceptible modification of the text, to present :

ἔσθίειν  
εἴθ' ἐλὼν τὸν δέλφακ'.

εἴθ' stands for εἴτο, the third person singular of the aorist of ἔμαι, *I desire*. The reference in the *Hybris* is clearly not to a man, but to some creature, such as a bird of prey, that was able to devour a whole porker : δέλφαξ does not mean a *sucking-pig*. Compare the Μάντεις (*Fr.* 396) :

τοὺς γλαμυροὺς κατὰ φορβάν.

I imagine that a victim was exposed to attract augural birds.

If it be objected that the use of the word δέλφαξ implies that the *Hybris* was a Satyric drama, I reply that, even in tragedy, a sacrificial or augural context would amply justify the employment of a term sanctified by religion. That δέλφαξ was so sanctified is clear from the quotation, cited above, from Eupolis, which should be read as :

οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἔθουον δέλφακ' ὦνον θήστιά  
καὶ μάλα καλὴν (so Meineke, except that ὦνον is  
my suggestion)

and from that from Theopompus,

καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν . . . δέλφακα.

Side by side with *Fr.* 654, 660, and 671 I would set *Fr.* 399, preserved by Hesychius and ascribed by him to Σοφοκλῆς Πολυεῖδω (*s.v.* ἀραιόν) :

ὁ πρόσθεν ἐλθὼν ἡνάραιός μοι νέκυσ.

The received and right correction is :

ὁ πρόσθεν ἐλθὼν ἦν ἀραιός μοι νέκυσ.

Πολύειδος, or, more properly, Πολύιδος, is a recognised alternative title of the Μάντεις : but this line looks for all the world as if it were in the mouth of Cos in Τυρῶ β',

and as if she were saying in effect : " The raising of the corpse of Glaucus has brought a curse upon us. How then can I venture to raise a second corpse, that of my husband ? " But this view would imply that Polyidus figures in Τυρῶ β' as well as in the Μάντεις.

With such questions I will deal in my next section.

For the moment it is enough to say that I have shown reasons for supposing Τυρῶ β' to be a sequel to the Μάντεις.

## R.

*That further inferences with regard to Τυρῶ β' may be drawn.*

The proposition that Τυρῶ β' dealt with the legend of Cos is, as we have seen, supported by some direct evidence. It is not contradicted by evidence of any kind. If accepted, provisionally, as a fact, it is found to square in a striking manner with other facts, *viz.* the contents of three *Fragments* labelled Τυρῶ. Moreover it offers an explanation of peculiarities in two *Fragments* labelled Ὑβρις. It is therefore reasonable to accept the direct evidence as true.

But this conclusion necessarily involves the further proposition that in Τυρῶ β' Cos is represented as raising or essaying to raise her dead husband, Ἀσκληπιός, who has been slain by Zeus for raising, by himself or by an agent, Glaucus son of Minos : on no other hypothesis will scattered facts cohere. Therefore it is reasonable to accept this proposition also.

Accepting the two propositions, we see from what has been said in previous sections that the *dramatis personae* include Cos, Artemis, and probably Titan, and that the scene is probably laid at Titane.

We may further infer from *Frr.* 654, 660, 666, and 671 (or from any one of them that may be regarded as more clearly from Τυρῶ β' than the others) that at least one character in Τυρῶ β' had been present in Crete and gave an account of the events that had happened there. It would be not unnatural to suppose that both Minos and Polyidus repaired to Titane to return thanks to



'Ασκληπιός for his intervention. Now *Fr.* 666 (with ἐξενίζομεν in the first person plural) rather suggests Minos, certainly not Polyidus, as the speaker, while on the other hand the ascription of *Fr.* 399 (if indeed, as I am tempted to believe, it comes from Τυρῶ β') shows that Polyidus was a character in the play. Therefore I suggest that the visitors from Crete were two, Minos and Polyidus. But the fact that some visitor or visitors came from Crete is all that we can clearly predicate.

That we can predicate this clearly I regard as substantially certain. The only alternative would be to lay the scene of Τυρῶ β' in Crete itself. That would involve two separate improbabilities. In the first place it would disregard the direct connexion of Cos, in her capacity of (to coin a phrase) Κῶς Μεταμορφουμένη, with Titane and with Titan, and so contradict the apparent evidence both of the *Helen* and of the *Agamemnon*: in the second place it would imply the direct action of 'Ασκληπιός in the raising of Glaucus, and so introduce a complication, subversive of unity, into the Μάντις. This double improbability is tantamount to a moral impossibility.

The plot then seems to be this. Some person or persons, preferably Minos and Polyidus, repair to Titane to return thanks to 'Ασκληπιός for having, from a distance, enabled Polyidus to raise to life in Crete Glaucus, son of Minos. Meanwhile 'Ασκληπιός at Titane has been slain by Zeus with lightning for his share in the business. When the mission from Crete arrives, it finds Cos, wife of 'Ασκληπιός, bewailing her husband's death and presumably ignorant of its cause. She is advised (*Fr.* 653), probably by the Chorus, to conceal her bereavement, but apparently does not do so. The mission enlightens her, relating the whole story of Glaucus. Then it would seem that Titan, in the legend current at Titane brother of Apollo and father of 'Ασκληπιός, urges Cos to use her medicinal knowledge and restore her husband to life. Cos at first refuses, dwelling on the calamity that has already accompanied the raising of Glaucus. Finally however, doubtless setting her wifely duty before other considerations, she consents. She is interrupted in her task by the appear-

ance of Artemis, who announces that at the intercession of Apollo the soul (compare Seneca, *H. O.* ll. 1968–1970) of Ἀσκληπιός has been taken up to heaven, and who proceeds to confer on Cos the boon of oblivion, sending her forth to wander like a hind upon the mountains, in order that she may no longer be tempted to exercise her forbidden art.

It is obvious that we have here the makings of an excellent tragedy in the manner of Sophocles. The working out of the details would partly depend on the character of the Chorus. As to this there is not a scrap of direct evidence. But I infer from the almost certain necessity that Cos must have been attired in a deer-skin at the time when Artemis appeared and drove her forth (this necessity appears, not only from general considerations, but also from the title Τυρώ, it being scarcely tenable that Artemis can have put a deer-skin on her) that she was dressed as a huntress before she met her fate. From this it would naturally follow that the Chorus was composed of huntress maidens, her fellows. If so, there would probably be much mention of Artemis throughout the play, and the friendship of Ἀσκληπιός and Artemis would doubtless be a choric theme.

In the earlier part of this discussion I suggested that Ἀργη may be the true original of a mysterious Ἀρχή which appears, apparently as a sub-title of Τυρώ β', in a *scholium* on Aristophanes (*Aves*, l. 275). Arge, according to Hyginus (*Fab.* 205), was a huntress who was turned into a hind by the sun-god for saying that, even if a stag ran faster than the sun, she could overtake it. This story resembles that of the metamorphosis of Cos by Artemis; and I rather suppose that Ἀργη is really the original of Ἀρχή, and that by Ἀργη the scholiast meant Κῶς. But I altogether refuse to conclude that Cos had offended either Apollo or Titan. Such legends take all sorts of forms.

Glaucus' body was found in a jar of honey. The augury of a peacock, the bird of Samos (see Antiphanes, the only *Fr.* of the *Homopatrii*), in a quarter of evil omen may have served to connect his death with a vessel of Samian ware.

Such are the further inferences.

## S.

*That Τυρῶ β' does not deal with the daughter of Salmoneus, but with Κῶς, wife of Ἀσκληπιός.*

I have so far confined myself to such propositions as that it is reasonable to form certain conclusions. In other words, I have, to use the language of a law-court, submitted to the jury evidence that Τυρῶ β' does not deal with the daughter of Salmoneus, but with Κῶς, wife of Ἀσκληπιός.

So far I have gone no further than to invite the jury to take my view of the evidence and give a verdict in my favour. But two juries, dealing with the same facts, may—neither of them in defiance of reason—come to opposite conclusions. In such a case the Court of Appeal will let both findings stand, however inconsistent.

Nevertheless a finding must not be against what is called *the weight of evidence*: a finding against the weight of evidence is not allowed to stand.

That weight of evidence is what I claim I have. I maintain that the cumulative proofs adduced by me constitute a weight of evidence such that it is not at the discretion of a jury to reject it. If it be rejected (as a consequence, it may be, of my own lack of skill in advocacy), in that case I appeal, like many a better man than myself before me, from the Court of the Present to the Court of the Future—

ἀμέραι δ' ἐπίλοιποι μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι.

## T.

*That, of the two plays called Τυρῶ, it is Τυρῶ α', and Τυρῶ α' only, that deals with the daughter of Salmoneus.*

It has been shown that Sophocles composed a Τυρῶ, otherwise called Πελλίας, dealing with the Tyro-Sidero-Pelias legend. It has also been shown that Sophocles wrote both a Τυρῶ α' and a Τυρῶ β'. It has further been shown that Τυρῶ β' deals with a plot unconnected with the legend above-mentioned. It follows that, of the two plays called Τυρῶ, it is Τυρῶ α', and Τυρῶ α' only, that deals with that legend.



## V.

*That Fragment 671, from the Ὑβρις, need not disturb us.*

The second *Fragment* of the Ὑβρις, as I said at the beginning of this chapter, presents a group of words which may alternatively be scanned either as senarian, but with a comic anapaest in the fourth foot, though emendation would be easy, or else as lyric. The comic anapaest, on the senarian hypothesis, conflicts with my conclusions as to Sophoclean possibilities in a Satyric drama, and, as we have seen, the Ὑβρις is labelled as Satyric. Hence all this chapter. Of course the anapaest would be impossible in a tragic senarius.

The *Fragment*, as we have seen, runs (it comes, as I have pointed out, from a patched passage of Athenaeus)

ἐσθίειν ἐθέλων τὸν δέλφακα.

As I have stated, Dindorf proposed θέλων for ἐθέλων, while at one time Nauck wished to transpose ἐσθίειν and ἐθέλων, of which proposals Nauck's appears to me the better.

A possible lyric scansion would be

ἐσθίειν ἐθέλων τὸν  
δέλφακ',

identical with that of the Pindaric

ἔλδαι, φίλον ἦτορ,  
μηκέτ'.

But we are not driven to this in any way. I have shown reasons for not regarding the Ὑβρις as Satyric, and I have pointed out that δέλφαξ might in a sacrificial or augural context be employed in tragedy. I have assigned the *Fragment*, with a minute correction, to a tragic oenoscopia known *ab extra* to have been composed in trochaic tetrameters, reading :

ἐσθίειν  
εἴθ' ἐλὼν τὸν δέλφακ'.

That is to my mind the most probable solution ; but we see that others are open, and in no case need the *Fragment* disturb us.



# SOPHOCLIS INDAGATORES



## [ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΙΧΝΕΥΤΑΙ]

## [ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ]

[ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ]

[ΣΙΑΗΝΟΣ]

[ΧΟΡΟΣ ΣΑΤΤΡΩΝ]

[ΚΤΑΛΛΗΝΗ]

[ΕΡΜΗΣ]

## APPARATUS CRITICUS

Codex Indagatorum unicus est volumen papyraceum, ultima, ut videtur, alterius post Christum saeculi parte in Aegypto scriptum, circa annum post Christum MCMVII<sup>mum</sup> effossum, inter textus Oxyrrhyncheos 1174 numeratum, ab Arthurio S. Hunt Oxoni editum anno MCMXII. Quod volumen in folia divisum est, sed servata voluminis ratione, ita ut intermisso tantum spatio aliquantulo et sine ulla papyri sectione, nisi falce quam tempus effecerit, folium folio succedat. Folia nonnulla adhuc integritatem quandam conservant: alia autem foedissime lacerata sunt, et sunt quae in fragmenta pro maiore parte abierint.

In papyro duae manus distingui possunt. Primam equidem P appello, alteram P<sup>2</sup>. Utrum autem P<sup>2</sup> unum tantum scribam anne plures indicet scribas nolo iudicare.

# SOPHOCLES

## THE FOLLOWERS OF THE FOOTSTEPS

THE PARTS PERFORMED ARE THOSE OF

APOLLO  
SILENUS  
A QUIRE OF SATYRS  
CYLLENE  
MERCURIUS

Notas diacriticas fere omnes, e.g. spiritus, accentus, quantitates, adjecit P<sup>2</sup>: iota illud quod subscriptum hodie vocatur ab ipso P nonnunquam adscribitur, sed plerumque a P omissum a P<sup>2</sup> suppletur.

Quoties hoc in apparatu doceo lecturam aliquam, signum diacriticum vel signa diacritica amplectentem, a P<sup>2</sup> exhiberi, intellegendum est, nisi aliter explicite declaro, eandem lectionem et a P exhiberi, sed signis diacriticis prorsus omissis.

Si quando ipsum papyri textum immuto, crucem loco praefigo et in apparatu rem totam aperio. Crucem autem haud praefigo si de orthographia tantum agitur.

*Titulus.*

Periit titulus a papyro, ubi ante v. 1 nihil nunc extat. Aderat autem olim, id quod docet fabulae stichometria (vide notam apud v. 92.)

## Folium 1.

## [ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ]

[Πᾶσιν θεοῖς καὶ πᾶσι]ν ἀγγέλλω [β]ροτο[ῖς].  
 [χρυσοῦν ἐγὼ λέβηθ' ὑπισ]χνοῦμαι τελεῖ[ν]  
 [βοτῶν ἐμῶν λυτῇρι τῶν ἀ]πόπροθεν.  
 [δειν]ὸν [γάρ ἐστ' ἐμῇ τε δύσ]λοφον φρενί  
 [ἄκραν]τ' ἀ[εὶ ποθεῖν με βο]ῦς ἀμολγάδας, 5  
 [μῶσ]χους [βοῶντας ἡδ' ἄημ]α πορτίδων.  
 [ἀ πᾶν]τα φρ[οῦδα, καὶ μάτη]ν ἰχνοσκοπῶ  
 † [λαθ]ραῖ' ἰόν[τα τῇ]λε βου[στάθμου] κάπης  
 [πλά]νωσ τε χνα[ύοντ'· εὖτ' ἐ]γώ'υκ ἂν ῥόμην -  
 [οὔτ' ἀ]ν θεῶν τιν' [οὔτ' ἐφημ]έρων βροτῶν 10  
 [τλῆν]αι τόδ' ἔργ[μ', ἢ νηὶ] πρὸς τόλμην πεσεῖν.  
 [τοῦτ'] οὖν ἐπέιπερ [ἔπα]θον, ἐκπλαγεῖς ὄκνω  
 [σκοπ]ῶ ματεύω, παντελὲς κήρυγμ' ἔχων  
 [θεοῖς] βροτοῖς τε μηδέν' ἀγνοεῖν τόδε,  
 † [δ ξὺν θ]υεῖα παρ' ἐμ' ἄνις κυνῆς ἔπω. 15  
 [Λοκρ]ῶν δ' ἐπῆλθ[ο]ν φ[ῦ]λα τ[οῦ] παντὸς  
 στρατ[οῦ],

## Folium 1.

Fons principalis est folium primum papyraceum, quod versus 1-17 exhibet. Accedunt et duo fragmenta, tam aperte autem et condicionis physicae et, quantum ad prius spectat, tractatae rei rationibus huc revocanda ut ipse Hunt locet in folio. Quorum alterum priores, posteriores alterum partes versuum, quos equidem 20-25 numero, continet, nisi quod versus 20 pars nulla in primo est.

V. 1. P αγγελω : P<sup>2</sup> αγγελλω . Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 2. P<sup>2</sup> χνοῦμαι . Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 5. Post finem hujus versus P<sup>2</sup> addit notam, cujus nihil restat praeter primam literam α .

v. 6. Quartae literae sedes extat in papyro.

v. 7. Post hunc versum scribit P<sup>2</sup>, praefixo puncto, aliquid cujus remanet solum διασ : hoc videtur velle διασκοπῶ ut alteram pro ἰχνοσκοπῶ lectionem. Quartae hujus versus literae sedes extat in papyro.

v. 8. P<sup>2</sup> ...ραῖαιον.....στάθμουκ'ἄπης . Post versum P<sup>2</sup> addit λα[ et in linea inferiore ο'ην[ . Credibile est λα[ velle λαθραῖ' ἰόντα, et ο'ην[ brachygraphia est (ut inferius passim apparebit) pro οὔτως ἦν (? ἐν τῷ Θέωνος).

v. 9. P<sup>2</sup> νῶσπεχνα et γώ'υκ . P ωομην : P<sup>2</sup> ωιομην .

v. 11. P<sup>2</sup> τόδ' .

v. 12. P<sup>2</sup> ουνεπέπερ . .

v. 13. P ματευων : P<sup>2</sup> ματευων in ματεύω mutat et colon verbo praefigit. P<sup>2</sup> κήρυγμ' .

v. 14. P<sup>2</sup> μηδέν' . P ταδε : P<sup>2</sup> τοδε .



## Column 1.

*Apollo.* Unto all gods and unto all mortal men be it known :

A bason of gold I hereby covenant to deliver  
Unto him that shall bring back my cattle that are afar off.  
For a hard thing is it and grievous unto my spirit  
That I yearn continually for my milch kine with a  
fruitless<sup>1</sup> yearning, 5

For the noise of my bullocks, and the sweet breath of  
my heifers.

These are all departed ; and for their footsteps do I  
make vain search,

While they wander secretly far from the crib of the  
place of their stalling,

And going astray seek pasture : whereas I had never  
thought

That any either of the gods or of men that live but for  
a day 10

Thus far had presumed against me without shipwreck  
on the rock of his presumption.<sup>2</sup>

Since therefore this thing befell me, astonished in my distress  
I have gone forth, yea, I have made search, with the  
ceremonies of perfect proclamation

To gods and to mortal men, bidding none be ignorant  
of the business

That mortar in hand, unlike unto myself, I conduct  
with my head discovered. 15

I have made visitation of the tribes of the whole host  
of the Locrians,

<sup>1</sup> *Wisd.* xv. 4. <sup>2</sup> *Esth.* xiii. 2 ; *ii Mac.* v. 18.

v. 15. *Docet Hunt P exhibere* [ . . . . ] *υθιαιγαρεμμανεισκυνηγετω*, nisi quod dubium esse iudicat θ litteram septimo loco positam : indicat idem P<sup>2</sup> *εμμανεισ* in *έμμανις* convertisse. Quae quidem correctio tam manifeste incompleta est et versum in verba Graeca adeo relinquit indivisum ut suspicer signo aliquo, hodie fortasse oblitterato, aut primam aut secundam μ litteram P<sup>2</sup> delevisse haereamque incertus an monstratura sit investigatio curiosior, vel quia, excepto *έμμανις*, P sic scripserit, vel quod P<sup>2</sup> ita correxerit, vel partim ex hac partim ex illa causa, [ . . . . ] *υθιαιπαρεμμανιςκυνησεπω* citra emendationem posse legi.

v. 16. Lacuna in fine versus octo fortasse litterarum, quantas scribit P, capax est ; sed addit versui notam P<sup>2</sup>, cujus superest nihil nisi finis του et colon : in lacuna igitur stabat olim et hujus notae prior pars.

[Ὅποῦν]τι σ[υνέδρους τ' Ὀζολίς θ' ὅσους τρέφει]  
 [ὅσους τε Κνημὶς ἀμφὶ Κηφισοῦ ῥόας].  
 [τρέχω δ' ἄν' Αἰτωλοὺς τε κάκαρνανικόν]  
 [ἔς Ἄργος· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Δωδώνης] [τάχα] 20  
 [καθαλ]λ[όμεσθα Ζηνὸς ἐς κατάσ]κιο[ν]  
 [φύλλο]ισ[ιν ἄλσος μαντικοῖς. ἔ]πειτα [δέ]  
 [τ]ὰ Θεσσαλῶν [τ' ἔγκαρπα πεδί' ἐ]πεσσύθ[ην]  
 Βοιωτίας τε γ[ῆς πολυκτῆτους πό]λ[εως].  
 [κάπει]τα δ[ρομάδην Ἀτθίδ' ἰκνοῦμαι χθόνα] 25  
 [σεμνάς τ' Ἀθῆνας· οὐδαμῇ δὲ βοῦς ὀρῶ].

*Folium 2.*

[ἔς Ἄργος ἐξῆ]ς Δωρικὸν[ν καθικόμεν]  
 [λόφον τε γεί]τον'· ἐνθ[εν ἐκθορῶν ἐγώ]  
 [Στυμφηλίδ'] ἤκω ξὺν [τ]α[ρχεῖ πηδήματι]  
 [λίμνην τὸ Κυλ]λήνης τε δὴ[σβατον λέπας] 30  
 [πισσόρροόν] τε χῶρον, ἐς δ' ὕ[λην λέγω],  
 [ὥς, εἴτε ποι]μὴν εἴτ' ἀγρωστή[ρων τις ἦ]  
 [μαριλοκαυ]τῶν ἐν λόγῳ παρ[ίσταται]  
 [ἦ τῶν ὀρ]είων νυμφογεννή[του σποροῦς]

v. 17. Undetricesimae literae sedes extat in papyro. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 20. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 21. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 22. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 23. P<sup>2</sup> πεσσύθ . Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 24. Literae, quae, si duo fragmenta justo supplemento conjuncta sunt, quarta et vicesima stat in versu, sedes extat in fragmento secundo. Lacuna in fine versus quinque fortasse literarum, quantas scribit P, capax est; sed versui adscribit P<sup>2</sup> notam, cujus superest ο', indicans aliquid "οὕτως" esse scriptum in aliquo exemplari: in lacuna igitur stabat olim et hujus notae prior pars.

v. 25. Literae, quae, si v. 24 bene reconstitutus est, ultima verbi ἰκνοῦμαι stat, sedes extat in fragmento secundo. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

*Folium 2.*

Fons propemodum unicus est folium secundum papyraceum, fragmento duarum tantum literarum adjecto, quod Hunt ob condicionem physicam huic papyri parti et propter duas paragraphos versui, quem ego 49 numero, dat. Hoc in folio uniuscujusque in fine versus, versibus 31, 33, 38, serieque 42-51 exceptis, est lacuna talis ut careat termino ad quem. In fine versuum 38, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50 lacuna nulla est: in fine versus 31 est lacuna viginti fortasse, quantas scribit P, literarum capax, sed inde vestigium notae a P<sup>2</sup> scriptae, quae partem lacunae olim implevit: in fine versus 33 est lacuna viginti fortasse, quantas scribit P, literarum capax, sed inde vestigium notae a P<sup>2</sup> scriptae, quae partem lacunae olim implevit: in fine versus 44,

Such as dwell together at Opus and the children of  
the land of Ozolis

And of the land of Cnemis beside the waters of Cephisus.  
Throughout Etolia have I hastened, and to Argos that  
is in Acarnania.

And thence went I leaping swiftly and lighted in the  
grove of Jupiter, 20

Even the grove Dodona, that is overshadowed from  
above

With leaves that are leaves of prophecy. Afterward  
made I haste

And gat me to the plains of Thessalia rich in harvest  
And the wealthy cities of the land Beotia. [25

Thereafter running quickly I came unto the Attic country  
And the holy city, Athens : but my oxen could I nowhere  
behold.

*Column 2.*

In course from thence I came unto Argos of the Dorians  
And the hill that is hard by : and therefrom did I spring  
forth

And leaping speedily am come to the Lake Stymphalus  
And to the mount of Cyllene hard to climb, 30

A land flowing with rosin, and unto the forest do I lift  
up my voice,

That, if there be any shepherd or any countryman,  
That prepareth coals by fire, standing where he can hear,  
Or any of the satyrs of the mountains, of the seed of  
the goddesses of the rivers,

quamvis nulla in materia papyri lacuna memoretur, unam ait Hunt  
esse posse post  $\tau\epsilon\phi\epsilon$  literam : in fine versus 46 post  $\beta\lambda$  sive  $\beta\alpha$  duarum  
literarum lacuna est, inde unius literae sedes, inde lacuna quatuor  
literarum capax : in fine versus 48 est lacuna duarum literarum  
capax : in fine versus 51 est lacuna literarum, quantas scribit P,  
septem capax ; sed sequitur sine intervallo pars ulterior notae a P<sup>2</sup>  
scriptae, cujus ab initio tres periisse literae satis probabile est, ita  
ut, cum marginalis scriptura scriptura textuali multo sit arctior sed  
spatium tamen inter textum et notam relinquendum sit, lacuna  
maxima, quantum ad P spectet, quinque literarum esse videatur.

V. 28. P<sup>2</sup>  $\tau\omicron\nu'\epsilon\nu\theta$  .

v. 29. Duodevicesimae literae sedes extat in papyro.

v. 31. P<sup>2</sup>  $\epsilon\sigma\delta'\upsilon$  . Post hunc versum addit notam P<sup>2</sup>, cujus sola  
litera  $\theta$ , quae inter alias stabat, superest.

v. 33. Huic versui addit notam P<sup>2</sup>, cujus nihil superest nisi litera  
ultima  $\upsilon$ .

v. 34. P<sup>2</sup>  $\nu\mu\phi\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta$  .



[θηρῶ]ν τίς ἐστι, πᾶσιν ἀγγελ[ῶν τάδε]. 35  
 [βούφ]ωρα τοῦ Παιῶνος ὅστις ἄ[ν λάβη],  
 [σῶς αὐ]τόχρομα μισθός ἐσθ' ὁ κε[ίμενος].

## [ΣΙΑΗΝΟΣ]

[ἐπηκ]όου φώνημα τῶς ἐπέκλυον  
 [βοῶ]ντος ὀρθίοισι σὺν κηρύγματος[ι],  
 [σ]πουδῇ τὰδ', ἡ πάρεστι πρεσβύτη, [πέρι] 40  
 [σ]οί, Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλον, προσφιλὴς εὐε[ργέτης]  
 θέλων γενέσθαι, τῷδ' ἐπεσσύθη δρ[όμω],  
 ἄν πως τὸ χρῆμα τοῦτό σοι κυνηγ[έ]σω.  
 τ[ό]τ' αὖ γέ[ρα]ς μοι κείμενον χρ[υ]σ[ὸν σ]τέφε  
 μά[λι]στ' ἐπ' [εὐθύν]αισ[ι π]ρὸς θεσ[μοῦ] σταθμό[ν].

[45]

παῖδας δ' ἐ[μοῦ]ς ὅσοισι [σύν]δυ' ε[ὔ] βλ[έπειν]  
 [φράσαιμ]' [ἄ]ν, εἴπερ ἔκτε[λ]εῖς ἅπερ λέγεις.

[ΑΠ.]

[ταῦτ' ἐκτελῶ γ]ώ· μοῦνον ἐμπ[έδου τ]ὰδ[ε].

[ΣΙ.]

τὰ[ς βοῦς ἀνάξω σ]οι· σὺ δ' ἐμπέδου [δόσι]ν.

[ΑΠ.]

[ῥάβδον λάβ'. ἄ]ρ' ὧνός τι[ς]; ε[ἴσ]θ' ἐς [θού]-  
 μ[όσ]ε; 50

[ΣΙ.]

[ἀλλ]ότρια τ[άμ]α, π[ί]σ[τιν] ε[ἰ] ζήτ[ε]ῖς ἄρα.

[ΑΠ.]

[ἀλλότρια μὴ καλεῖν τὰ δὴ π]εσό[ντα σοί].

v. 36. P<sup>2</sup> ὅστις .

v. 37. P<sup>2</sup> ἐσθ' . Quintae literae sedes extat in papyro.

v. 38. P, ut suspicor, [...]ου: Hunt autem dat [...]σου, σ tamen literam dubiam esse notans. P<sup>2</sup> τῶσεπέκλυον .

v. 40. P πουδηταδη: P<sup>2</sup> πουδητὰδ' ἡ .

v. 41. P<sup>2</sup> φοιβ' .

v. 42. P γενεσθαιτωδ: P<sup>2</sup> γένεσθαιτῶιδ .

v. 43. P<sup>2</sup> ἄνπωσ .

v. 44. P, ut suspicor, αυγε[.]σ: sed Hunt dat αγγε[.]σ, notans tamen secundam literam dubiam esse et ρ aut σ posse legi. Statim post χρ[.]σ unius literae sedes extat in papyro. Anceps est versus cum τεφε claudatur necne.

v. 45. P<sup>2</sup> ρόσθεσ . Statim post θεσ unius literae sedes extat in papyro.

v. 46. P οσοισι: P<sup>2</sup> ὅσοισι . Ubi ego [σύν]δυ' ε[ὔ] βλ, Hunt docet legi [...]αυε[.]β: notat autem dubiam esse et primam et secundam α literam. Nonae hoc in versu literae sedes extat in papyro et sedes ε: in βλέπειν diphthongi.

v. 47. P<sup>2</sup> [...]νιπερεκτε[.]εἰσἅπερλεγεισ .

v. 48. P<sup>2</sup> ὦ·μουν et ἄδ . Decimae literae sedes extat.

v. 49. Ante et post hunc versum paragraphum exhibet P. τα literae cum duabus paragraphis fragmentum, de quo supra dixi, constituunt. P<sup>2</sup> οἰ·συ .

Unto all of these I may announce this my declaration : 35  
If any man shall apprehend the thief of the oxen of the  
healer,

The prize which I have set for his winning standeth  
certain altogether.

*Silenus.* As soon as thou spakest in mine audience  
and I heard thy speech,

Whiles thou criedst aloud, thy voice lifted up in pro-  
clamation,

With an old man's uttermost speed, as touching these  
matters 40

Desiring to approve myself a friend and a doer of good  
Unto thee, Phebus Apollo, I came running hither,

If so be that for thee I might accomplish this chase.

Then do thou in turn mete to me my reward, even all  
that gold which thou hast offered,

With the perfect measure of justice, remembering the  
account that thou must make. 45

And each of my children will I command to look well  
with both eyes open,

If in truth thou meanest to fulfil the thing whereof thou  
speakest.

*Ap.* That will I fulfil surely : only do thou confirm  
thy promise.

*Si.* Thine oxen will I bring back unto thee : but do  
thou confirm the gift thou offerest.

*Ap.* Take this staff. Is there traffick between us ?  
Wilt thou consent together with me ? 50

*Si.* My goods belong to another, if in truth thou  
seekest an earnest.

*Ap.* Call not those things another's that verily  
have fallen to thy lot.

v. 50. P ε[.]θεσ, ut suspicor, ubi pro σ Hunt dubiam τ literam dat: P<sup>2</sup> post θ addit apostropham. Notandum est, ubi exhibeat papyrus lacunam uni literae idoneam, eo in spatio ει diphthongum bene contineri posse, illam enim diphthongum, et illam solam, pro una litera, quantum ad rem graphicam spectet, accipi. Quare hic, qua ε scriptum habemus et inde unius literae lacunam, tam parva est discrepantia inter spatia literae ε et diphthongo ει concedenda, ut nullo modo difficilior sit εις quam εσ legere. Statim ante ε literam, quae verum claudit, unius literae sedes extat in papyro.

v. 51. P[.....]ισ[.]ε[.]ζητ[ : P<sup>2</sup> notam addit, cujus superest οριατ : suspicor αλλοτριατ in initio versus stetisse.

v. 52. Statim post εσο unius literae sedes extat in papyro.

*Folium 3.*

[ΣΙ.] ἴ[σθ' ὥς ἅπαντα τὰμὰ δεσπόταις πίτνει].

[ΑΠ.] δ[ούς] ἄ[λλο δῶρον ἐπιβεβαιώσω τοδ]ί.

[ΣΙ.] τί τοῦτο; πο[ίαν δωρεά]ν ἄλ[λην λέγ]εις; 55

[ΑΠ.] ἐλεύθερος σύ [τοι ξὺν] ἐλά[ταις εἷ βο]ῶν.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ ΣΑΤΥΡΩΝ

ἴθ' ἄγε [τᾷδ' ἴδ'] εἰ [βοῶν ἔκτυπον] [στρ.]

πόδα βά[σιν τέ που 'στ' ἄθρεϊ]ν. ἀπαπαπ[αί].

*Folium 3.*

Fons principalis est folium tertium papyraceum. Sed accedunt et duo fragmenta. Fragmentum 1 litteram initialem tantum utriusque duorum versuum exhibet, inter hos versus interposita paragrapho, quae docet non eandem personam ambos dicere. Quandoquidem Hunt huic totius papyri parti fragmenta 1–10 pro maiore saltem parte, assignat, quamvis ille finibus potius quam principiis foliorum attribuere velit, hoc equidem fragmentum in versibus 54 et 55 non sine fiducia pono, praesertim cum caeteros locos in quibus voluerit fortasse ponere quispiam penitus perspexerim et perspectos rejecerim. Fragmentum 3 in tribus lineis tria vestigia ostendit, ναλ, ελα, et ει, sic :

]ναλ[

]ελα .[

]ει[ .

Tam probabiliter, sine auctoritate fragmenti, δωρεάν ἄλλην in versu 55 suppleri debet, ut ναλ illud in prima fragmenti linea pro parte hujus δωρεάν ἄλλην accipere ausus sim, et deinde deinceps in duobus versibus sequentibus ελα et ει scripserim, non ita ut in quovis loco vel temere interponerem, sed accuratissime observata positione ea in utroque versu quam postulat litterarum in fragmento inter se exacta distributionis ratio.

V. 53. Hic periit prorsus folium : fragmento tantum nitimur.

v. 54. In fragmento 1 paragraphus ante hunc versum personae mutationem indicat. Ultimum versus verbum, quod ego [τοδ]ί scripsi, nulla ex parte in textu superest ; sed versui addit P<sup>2</sup> notam, cujus littera extrema ι sola servata est. Censeo veri simile esse P τοδε exhibuisse, et P<sup>2</sup> τοδι praetulisse. Quartae versus litterae sedes extat in folio. Lacuna inter α in textu et ι in nota litterae tam videtur esse ingens ut quadraginta fortasse litterarum, quantas scribit P, capax sit.

v. 55. Post τοῦτο colon adecit P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 56. Ante hunc versum paragraphum exhibet P.

vv. 57–70. Post v. 56 P paragraphum scribit, infra autem hanc paragraphum alteram coronide praefixa paragraphum ; ante autem coronidem signum ita compositum, nempe circulum quam minimum e summa cujus circumferentia ascendit linea verticalis et ex ima cujus circumferentia descendit altera linea verticalis. Ante primum chori versum dat P χ°σατ° . Post versum undecimum (ut versus in papyro dividuntur) chori exhibet P paragraphum. Ultimo chori versui praefigit P crucem, cujus brachia verticalia, inter se aequalia, longiora sunt, brachia lateralialia, etiam inter se aequalia, breviora : sub hoc versu scribit P sine coronide paragraphum.



## Column 3.

*Si.* Know thou that all my possessions fall unto the lot of my masters.

*Ap.* By the giving of another gift I will further confirm the former.

*Si.* What is this? What manner of present is the other whereof thou speakest? 55

*Ap.* Verily thyself shalt go free together with the drivers of the oxen.

*Quire of Satyrs.* Oh come look thou hither if in any place thou canst spy out the print of the footsteps and the goings of the oxen. 57, 58

Totum hunc chorum ita offert P:

†—χ°σατ° ιθαγε[. . . . .]  
 ποδαβα[. . . . .]ν  
 απαπαπ[. . . . .]  
 ωωσεται[. . . . .]  
 επιθικλωπ[. . . . .]  
 υπονομακ[. . . . .]  
 διανυτωνο[. . . . .]  
 πατρικανγηρ[. . . . .]  
 πωσπαϊταλαθρι[. . . . .]  
 κλεμματαποσσι[. . . . .]  
 ειπωσαντυχωπο[. . . . .]  
 πατριτελευθερονβ[. . . . .]μετ[. . . . .]  
 συναμαθεσ  
 πονουσπροφηνασαριζηλα  
 + χρυσουπαρადειγματα .

Hoc autem modo exhibet P<sup>2</sup>:

†—χ°σατ° ιθ'άγε[. . . . .]ν  
 πόδαβά[. . . . .]ν ταιχ°  
 απαπαπ[. . . . .]  
 ώώσεται[. . . . .]  
 επιθικλωπ[. . . . .]  
 υπόνομακ[. . . . .]  
 διανύτωνό[. . . . .]  
 πατρικανγηρ[. . . . .]  
 πωσπαϊταλαθρι[. . . . .]ιανυ°ο°τοα  
 κλεμματαποσσι[. . . . .]πεγεγ°εν°θεω  
 ειπωσαντυχωπο[. . . . .]  
 πατριτ'ελευθερονβ[. . . . .]μετ[. . . . .]  
 ξυνάμαθεσοφοιλοσανετω  
 πονουσπροφήνασαρίζηλα  
 + χρυσουπαρადειγματα .

Adde quod, fragmentum si tertium suum recte in locum redegi, reliquiae primi in choro versus exprimi debent sic:

ιθαγε[. . . . .]ει[ . . . . .]

[τόδ' ἔπος αἰεῖς; ἰή,] ὦ· σέ τοι  
 [φάμ'· ἐπάκουε δέ]. 60  
 ἐπιθι κλῶπ', [ἰώ, θεοῦ, θήρ, βοῶν] [ἀντ.]  
 ὑπόνομ' ἀκ[άλως, ἐλῶν δὲ πίεσον],  
 διανύτων δ' [δρᾶς· μηδὲ σὺ] πατρικὰν  
 γᾶρ[υν ἄτιζέ] πῶς.  
 >πᾶ τὰ λάθρια νύχ[ια] κλέμματα ποσσὶ [κίχῳ],  
 εἴ πῶς, ἄν τύχῳ, πό[ρον ἐμοὶ τιθῶ] [65]  
 πατρί τ' ἐλεύθερον β[αῖτας] μέτ[α];  
 ξυνάμα θεὸς ὁ φίλος ἀνέτω  
 πόνους, προφήνας ἀρίζηλα  
 χρυσοῦ παραδείγματα.< 70

ΣΙ. θεοί, Τύχῃ [κ]αὶ δαῖμον ἰθυντήριε,  
 τυχ[ε]ῖν με πράγους οὗ δράμημ' ἐπείγεται,  
 λείαν ἄγραν σὺλη[σ]ιν ἐκκυνηγέσαι  
 Φ[ο]ίβου κλ[ο]παίᾳς βοῦς ἀπεσπερημένο[υ].  
 [τ]ῶν εἴ τις ὀπτήρ ἐστι[ν] ἢ κατήκοος, 75  
 † [ἐ]μοί τ' [ἄ]ν [ε]ῖη προσφιλή[ς] φράσας τάδε  
 † [Φοίβῳ τ'] ἀνακτι παντελὴς εὐεργ[έ]της·  
 [ὁ δ' ἐὼν ἐν] ἄ[σ]τ[οι]ς τοῦ λό[γου θ'] ἅμα[ρτάνων]

#### Folium 4.

μῆνυ[τρον οὐκ ἄροιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' ἔχθος θεοῦ].  
 [XO.] ἰώ· σ[πεῦδε πᾶς, εἴ τις ὅπωπε βοῦς] 80  
 ὑπο[κλόπους θεοῦ, πρόφαιν'· ἦν στέγῃς] δ',  
 οὐδ[ὲν ἀρῇ, δι' ἔχθρας δὲ μολῇ θεῶ].

v. 71. P<sup>2</sup> ἰθυντηριε . P<sup>2</sup> addit notam ε[.]υντηριε·αρ .

v. 72. P πραγος : P<sup>2</sup> πραγους . P<sup>2</sup> οὐδραμημ' .

v. 73. P<sup>2</sup> ἄγραν .

v. 74. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 75. P<sup>2</sup> εἴτις . Huic versui addit notam P<sup>2</sup>, cujus prima tantum litera λ superest.

v. 76. P [.]μοιτ[.]ν[.]ιηπροσφιλή[.]δρασαστοδε : P<sup>2</sup> [.]μόιτ[.]ν[.]ιηπροσφιλή[.]δρασασταδε . Hunt post μοι legit dubium γ .

v. 77. P [.....]ανακτιπροστελησευεργ[.]της : P<sup>2</sup> [.....]'ανακτιπροστελησευεργ[.]της .

v. 78. Papyrus α[.]τ[.]σ, i.e. αἰστοῖς . Statim ante ἀμα duarum literarum sedes extant in papyro. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 79. Lacuna undetriginta fortasse literarum capax est.

#### Folium 4.

Fons unicus est folium quartum papyraceum, fragmentis adjectis nullis.

V. 80. Sub versu praecedenti paragraphum exhibet P. Huic versui notam addit P<sup>2</sup>, cujus superest finis ηεν'θε". Lacuna in fine versus viginti septem fortasse literarum, quantas scribit P, capax est; sed partem nota occupabat.

Tush,<sup>1</sup> hearest thou this my saying ? Ha, ho : thee I call ;  
do thou hearken. 59, 60  
Up and seek for the thief of the oxen of the god, thou satyr,  
in darkness and in silence. 61, 62  
Seize and choke him, accomplishing thy labour : and  
despise not thou the utterance of thy father. 63, 64  
[Where with my feet shall I overtake the secret thefts  
of the night watches, 65  
That succeeding I may win a free path for myself and my  
father with my nursing mother ? 66, 67  
Therewithal may the god, the beloved, put an end unto  
my toils, 68  
Having showed of his gold beforehand as a proof of the  
excellency of the residue.] 69, 70  
*Si.* O ye gods, even Chance and thou spirit that  
leapest in the right way,  
Grant that I attain unto the matter the race whereof  
is run quickly,  
Even that I hunt and overtake the prey, the spoil, and  
the booty :  
For Phebus hath lost his oxen ; they have been taken  
from him by theft.  
Of these things if there be any eyewitness or one that  
hath knowledge by hearing, 75  
He would approve himself a true friend unto myself by  
making declaration of the matter,  
And unto my lord Phebus a perfect benefactor :  
But if one leave the thing in darkness and abstain from  
speech,

*Column 4.*

He shall win not a recompense for good tidings but the  
enmity of the god.

*Qu.* Ho, hasten every man, declare if any hath seen  
the god's oxen that are stolen. 80

If thou hide the truth, thou shalt gain nothing, but  
betwixt thee and the god shall be enmity. 81, 82

<sup>1</sup> Ps. (B.C.P.) x. 6, 12, 14, lxxiii. 11, and xciv. 7.

v. 81. P<sup>2</sup> ὑπο . Huic versui notam addit P<sup>2</sup>, cujus superest finis γυνεὺ θεῶ . Quod in fine hujus versus ego δ' lego in initio versus subsequentis dat papyrus. Lacuna in fine versus viginti sex fortasse literarum capax est ; sed partem nota occupabat.

v. 82. P<sup>2</sup> δ' οὐδ . Lacuna in fine versus viginti quinque fortasse literarum capax est.



- [ΣΙ.] φησίν τις, ἥ [οὐδείς φησιν εἰδέναι τάδε];  
 ἔοικεν ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ἔργ' ὀρμαῖν με δεῖν]. 85  
 ἄγ' εἶα δὴ πᾶς σ[τ]ῖγ' ἀνὴρ ἰχνοσκοπεῖ],  
 ῥινηλατῶν ὁσμ[αῖσι τὸν κυνῶν τρόπον],  
 αὔρας ἐάν πη πρ[ῆσμ' ὑποχράνῃ βοῶν],  
 διπλοῦς ὀκλάζω[ν ἄρθρ', αἰεὶ βάδην ἰώ]ν  
 ὑποσμος, ἐν χρῶ [σῆμα πᾶν ἀφῶν αἰε].  
 οὕτως, ἔρευναν καὶ π[άρος γὰρ ἤδετε], 90  
 ἅπαντα χρῆσθαι κα[ὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τε]λεῖν.  
 [HMIKXOPION A] θεός, θεός, θεός, θεός, ἔα, [τί φῶ;]  
 ἔχειν εἰογμεν. ἴσχε, μὴ [π]ρ[ο]ηλά]τει.  
 [HMIKX. B] ταῦτ' ἐστ' ἐκεῖνα τῶν βοῶν τ[ἀ] σήματα.  
 [HMIKX. A]† αἰγ[ῶν] θεός τις τὴν ἄποι[ον, ἥ]ν, ἄγει. 95

v. 83. Sub versu praecedenti paragraphum exhibet P. In hoc versu P<sup>2</sup> φησίν τις addito in linea, non super lineam, puncto. Lacuna in fine versus viginti duarum fortasse literarum capax est.

v. 84. P<sup>2</sup> ἤδη. Lacuna in fine versus unius et viginti fortasse literarum capax est.

v. 85. Huic versui P<sup>2</sup> praefigit χ': hoc videtur velle "nota bene." P<sup>2</sup> ἀγ' εἶ. Lacuna in fine versus viginti fortasse literarum capax est.

v. 86. P<sup>2</sup> ρινηλατῶν. Lacuna in fine versus septemdecim fortasse literarum capax est.

v. 87. P εανπη: P<sup>3</sup> εάνπη. Lacuna in fine versus sedecim fortasse literarum capax est.

v. 88. P<sup>2</sup> οκλαῖζω.

v. 89. P υποσμοσενχρω: P<sup>2</sup> ὑποσμοσενχρωι. Statim post χρωι unius literae sedes extat in papyro; sequitur lacuna tredecim literarum capax.

v. 90. P<sup>2</sup> ἔρευναν. Ultimae versus literae sedes et vestigium extant in papyro.

v. 91. P απανταχρησταχα[. . . . .]λειν: versui autem addit notam P<sup>2</sup> χρησθαιονηνενθε.

v. 92. Sub versu praecedenti exhibet paragraphum P vel fortasse P<sup>2</sup>. Lacuna in fine versus novem literarum capax est. Versui praefigit P litteram α linea recta superscripta et altera linea recta subscripta: quod alpha indicat centesimum hunc papyri esse versum. Versum equidem hunc 92 numero, sed in papyro est versus 93; quandoquidem papyrus chorum primum (vv. 57-70), quem ego in quattuordecim versus divido, dividit in versus quindecim. Ergo, ut hic versus centesimus sit, septem aliunde versus includantur necesse est, quos septem versus ego ita suppleo:

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΙΧΝΕΥΤΑΙ  
 ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ  
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ  
 ΣΙΑΗΝΟΣ  
 ΧΟΡΟΣ ΣΑΤΥΡΩΝ  
 ΚΥΛΛΗΝΗ  
 ΕΡΜΗΣ.

*Si.* Saith there any or saith there none that of these things he hath knowledge ?

I must proceed already, it seemeth, to make a beginning of deeds.

Oh come now every man and in silence make search after the footsteps, 85

Hunting by the scent of the nostrils according to the manner of dogs,

If anywhere the breath of oxen shall have lightly defiled the air,

Stooping down with crouching members, walking with slow steps continually

By the guidance of the scent, continually handling every token with diligence.

After this sort, for aforetime also have ye had knowledge of hunting, 90

Proceed ye in all your inquiry and bring it to a worthy fulfilment.

*First half Quire.* O god, O god, O god, O god, lo, what shall I say ?

We have found out the matter, it seemeth. Stand thou still : move not forward.

*Second half Quire.* These are those very tokens, the tokens of the oxen.

*First h. Q.* Lo, some god directeth the path of the she-goat that hath no pasture. 95

Vide cap. vi. A, et notas apud versus 193, 195, 290, 390.

P<sup>2</sup> θεος·εα . .

v. 93. P<sup>2</sup> εοιγμεν·ισχε·μη . Statim ante ρ[...]τει unius literae sedes extat in papyro.

v. 94. Sub versu praecedenti exhibet paragraphum P. P<sup>2</sup> ταυτ' εστ' .

v. 95. Sub versu praecedenti exhibet paragraphum P. In initio hujus versus spatium quattuor literis idoneum vacuum, sive, quod probabilius est, a P<sup>2</sup> exaratum, praebet P : subsequitur lacuna in materia papyri, uni literae congrua : inde P offert alterum spatium vacuum, sed uni tantum literae quod accommodatum sit. Post hoc spatium dat P θεοσιστηναποι[...]ναγει . P<sup>2</sup> versui praefigit signum hujus modi λ : inde in spatio quattuor literis idoneo scribit tres literas σιγ et post has tres literas lineam rectam, paragrapho persimilem. Quid fecerit P<sup>2</sup> ibi ubi nunc prior lacuna in materia est nullo modo liquet : in parvo post lacunam spatio colon scripsit.

[HMIX. B]† στίφρωμ' ἔν, ὦ Πάν, ἥ τὸ δέον [ἐξά]νομεν;  
τί; τοῖσ[ι] ταύτη πῶς δοκεῖ; [HMIX. A] δοκεῖ  
πάνυ.

σαφῇ [γ]ὰρ αὖθ' ἕκαστα σημαίνει τάδε.  
[HMIX. B] ἰδοὺ ἰδοὺ.

καὶ τοῦπίσημον αὐτὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν πάλι[ν]. 100  
[HMIX. A] ἄθρει μάλα.

αὐτ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο μέτρον [ἐ]χμε[τρού]μ[ε]νον.  
[HMIX. B] χ[ω]ρεῖ' χέτ[λη] καὶ τὰ[ρότρω]. σὺ δ' ἐπα[νέ]χου  
[έντ]οπ[ος], ἀκουήν πάντοσ' ἐνδατού[με]νος,

*Folium 5.*

ροῖβδημ' ἔάν τι τῶν [βοῶν κατ'] οὓς [βάλλη]. 105  
'Ροῖβδος.

[HMIX. A] οὐκ εἰσακούω πω [τορῶ]ς τοῦ φθ[έγ]ματος.  
ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ μὴν ἴχ[νη γ' ἔ]χω στίλβος τάδε,  
κείνων ἐναργῇ τῶν β[ο]ῶν μαθεῖν πάρα.

v. 96. Sub versu praecedenti exhibet paragraphum P, sed delet P<sup>2</sup>. In hoc versu praebet P spatium quattuor literis idoneum, non ab ipso P vacuum relictum, sed ita a P<sup>2</sup> aut pumicatum aut alio modo tractatum ut quid scripserit P prorsus ignoremus: deinde pergit P ρωμενωτανητοδεον[...].νομεν, sed, qua hodie stat ωταν, utrum ipse P ita scripserit, an P<sup>2</sup> ωπαν in ωταν mutarit, haud constat. In spatio quattuor literis idoneo scripserat P<sup>2</sup> ετιδ, sed postea ε initiale delevit, et nunc praebet τιδ. Sed idem ille P<sup>2</sup> in fine versus notam addit ετιδρ<sup>ω</sup>[...]τι<sup>κ</sup>. P<sup>2</sup> ὦτᾱν.

v. 97. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P<sup>2</sup>: vide notam de paragrapho apud v. 96. Hunc versum dividit papyrus in duos versus, paragrapho a P separatos, quorum alter est δοκειπανυ. P, quantum discerni potest, τιτοι[...]: P<sup>2</sup> τιτοις[...]. P ταυτη: P<sup>2</sup> ταυτηι.

v. 98. Sub versu praecedenti exhibet P paragraphum.

v. 100. P<sup>2</sup> τοῦπισημον. Lacuna in fine versus unius tantum literarum capax est. P<sup>2</sup> addit notam επισίμωμ'ν.

v. 101. P<sup>2</sup> ἄθρει.

v. 102. Sub versu praecedenti exhibet paragraphum P. P<sup>2</sup> αὐτ' ἐστι.

v. 103. Sub versu praecedenti exhibet paragraphum P. In hoc versu dat P χ[ω]ρειχέτ[λη]κατα[.....].νεχου: legit P<sup>2</sup> χ[ω]ρειχέτ[λη]κατα[.....].νεχου: Atqui super χέτ[λη]κατα[.....] scribit P<sup>2</sup> δρομωιο<sup>ω</sup>ην. Haec nota quam P<sup>2</sup> superscripsit duplici ratione singularis est. Primo, non additur in fine versus: secundo, quamquam scripturae nihil periit, non docet quo in exemplari οὕτως ἦν. Valde equidem suspicor δρόμω nunquam in accepto fuisse textu, sed meram aut ipsius P<sup>2</sup> aut antecessoris cujusdam esse conjecturam.

v. 104. Sextae literae sedes extat in papyro.

*Folium 5.*

Fons unicus est folium quintum papyraceum, fragmentis adjectis nullis, nisi quod Suidas et Photius formam aliquam cujusdam verbi huic fabulae attribuant ejus sententiae ut alibi quam in hoc folio occurrere vix possit, cui tantum in versu 124 idonea lacuna patet.



*Second h. Q.* O Pan, that alone art our strength,  
accomplish we this service aright ?

What ? How think they that are here ? *First h. Q.* We  
think so verily.

For each of these self-same footsteps signifieth it plainly.

*Second h. Q.* Behold, behold ! Here also again is the  
same print of the hooves. 99, 100

*First h. Q.* Look well. The same measure is this,  
if it be measured throughly. 101, 102

*Second h. Q.* For the tail of a plough and the body  
thereof there is room. But do thou continue

In this place, and direct thine hearing by course unto  
every quarter,

*Column 5.*

If so be that any lowing of oxen come into thine ears.  
[*Oxen low.*] 105

*First h. Q.* I cannot yet hear the voice plainly :  
But the footsteps nevertheless, forasmuch as that I have  
them here is plain as the shining light,  
May manifestly be known to be those of the oxen whereof  
we have need.

V. 105. P ροιβδειαντιτων[. . . . .]ουσ[. . . . .] (sed ultimum punctum ultimae lacunae non potest in spatio textus quem scripsisse credibile est P includi, nam id punctum pars est spatii notae a P<sup>2</sup> adscriptae necessario assignandi) : P<sup>2</sup> ροιβδημεάντιστων[. . . . .] . οὖς[. . . . .]οιβδημ'εάν, cujus lectionis οιβδημ'εάν liquet leviter mutilatam esse notam a P<sup>2</sup> adscriptam, et velle ροιβδημ'εάν. Post hunc versum sub literis ιαντιτω scribit P ροιβδος, et sub litera ρ initiali versus hujus (i.e. v. 105) ponit signum aliquod admodum parvum quae coronis, addita paragrapho, videtur esse : ante autem hoc signum et inferius ante spatium in quo post intervallum ροιβδος scribitur dat P longam verticalem lineam in fundo bifurcatam, adjecto puncto, sic λ' .

v. 106. P<sup>2</sup> εισακρύω . P φθ[. . .]ματος, i.e. non φθέγματος sed φθέγγματος, qui modus ejus nominis scribendi mihi quidem rationi philologicae contrarius quamvis esse videatur, ab Herodiano tamen judicatur esse rectus, et in nota versui 206 a P<sup>2</sup> addita hac in papyro invenitur, et ab ipso P versu 252, versu 276 (φ initiali perduto), versu 290, versu 318 exhibetur. Sunt qui dicant hujus scripturae rationem esse quod γμ literae vim γγμ literarum apud antiquos habuerint : quae de re nihil equidem definire ausim.

v. 107. P αλλειταμνηχ[. . .]χωστιλβοσταδε : P<sup>2</sup>, praefixo signo χ', i.e. "nota bene," αλλ'αυταμνηχ[. . .]χωστιλβοσταδε . Satis patet e contextu literas quartam et quintam, quae in αυ detorquet P<sup>2</sup>, olim fuisse ει : mutationis alicujus in papyro manifesta sunt indicia : putat Hunt aut οι aut η scripturam priorem esse.

v. 108. P<sup>2</sup> εναργῆ .

[HMIX. B] ἔα μάλα.

παλινστραφῇ τοι ναὶ μὰ Δία τὰ βήματα 110  
εἰς τοῦμπαλιν δέδορκεν· αὐτὰ δ' εἶσινδε.

τί ἐστὶ τουτί; τίς ὁ τρόπος τοῦ τάγματ[ος];  
εἰ[ς] τοῦπίσω τὰ πρόσθεν ἡλλακται, τὰ δ' αὖ  
ἐναντί' ἀλλήλοισι συμ[πεπλεγ]μένα.

δεινὸς κυκησμός εἴχ[ε τὸν βοη]λάτην. 115

† ξεῖν' αἰγίκνημ', εὖ τηλ[όθεν μ' ο]ὔρει. [ΣΙ.] τίν' αὖ;

† πρὸς Πανὸς ὧδε κεκλιμ[ένον] κυνηγετεῖν  
πρὸς γῆ; τίς ὕμῶν ὁ τρόπος, οὐχὶ μανθάνω.

[ἐ]χῖνος ὥς τ[ις] ἐν λόχμῃ κεῖσαι πεσών,  
[ῆ] τις πίθη[κος] κύβ' ἀποθυμαίνεις τινί. 120

† [τί] ταῦτα; π[οῦ] γῆς ἐμάθετ'; ἐν ποίῳ τρόχῳ;  
[ση]μήνατ'. ο[ὐ γ]άρ ἔδρις εἰμὶ τοῦ τρόπου.

[XO].

ὅ [ῶ], ὅ ῶ.

[ΣΙ.]

τ[ί ῶ ῶ]; ῥικν[οῖ]; τίνα φοβῆ; τίν' εἰσορᾷς;

v. 110. P<sup>2</sup> παλινστραφῇτοιναιμαδία .

v. 111. P<sup>2</sup> εἰστούμπαλιν, et manifesto accentus errore αὐταδ' .  
Statim post finem versus, qui tamen completus est, hiat in materia  
papyri lacuna duabus literis idonea.

v. 112. P τουτι: P<sup>2</sup> ταυτι . P ταγματ[. .]: P<sup>2</sup>, nota versui  
addita, πραγματος . Lacuna in fine versus duarum literarum capax est.

v. 113. P τουμπισω, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>2</sup> ἡλλακται·ταδαῦ .

v. 114. P<sup>2</sup> εναντί' . Undevicesimae versus literae sedes extat in  
papyro.

v. 116. Versus, praefixa paragrapho, nunc currit: -ίν' αὐτεχνηνησுτηλ  
[. . . .]. υρεσ·τιν' αὐ, sed harum literarum aliquas P<sup>2</sup> partim exaravit  
rescripsitque, partim transformavit. Ubi nunc est -ίν', scripsit P  
ξειν, nulla paragrapho: caput literae ξ P<sup>2</sup> in paragraphum mutavit.  
Ubi nunc est αὐτεχνη, quoniam manifestum est scripsisse P non εχ  
sed ικ, puto υτ, levissima mutatione, ex ιγ transformatum esse, et  
literam ν finalem e litera μ, arbitrorque P praebuisse αἰγικνημ . Ubi  
nunc est .υρεσ', manifestum est scripsisse P .υρει .

v. 117. Huic versui praefigit paragraphum P, exarat P<sup>2</sup>. In  
initio versus scriptum nunc est πρόσπαιον, sed litera ι e litera λ vel ν  
manifeste transformata est, ita ut monstrum habeamus προσπαλον vel  
προσπανον . Suspicio equidem, ubi παιον stat, praebuisse P πανος,  
cujus ανος partim transformasse, partim exarasse et rescripsisse P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 118. P προσγη: P<sup>2</sup> προσγη· . P<sup>2</sup> τίς ὑμῶν τροπος· ουχι μανθάνω· .

Minime neglegendus est accentus super ὑμων a P<sup>2</sup> scriptus: et  
ῆμων et ὕμων, quamquam hodie nunquam fere ita scribuntur, antiquis  
quibusdam placuere grammaticis: vide Stephanum Dindorfii sub  
vocibus ἐγώ et σύ.

v. 119. P [·]χῖνος et πεσων· .

v. 120. P κύβ: P<sup>2</sup>, manifesto errore quoniam metrum comicum  
ita infert, κυβδ .

v. 121. P [·]ταυτα π[·] γησεμαθετ εν πο[·] ωιτροπωι :

P<sup>2</sup> [·]ταυτα π[·] γησεμαθετ εν πο[·] ωιτροπωι .

*Second h. Q.* Lo now, let Jupiter be witness, the marks  
of the hooves are turned about 109, 110

And point contrariwise : thou hast only to look upon them.  
What thing is this ? What order is there in the  
disposition ?

The feet that are before are reversed and set backward,  
And the hinder feet are opposed one to the other, and  
their ways are divers.

Marvellous must have been the confusion of the driver  
of the oxen. 115

O friend, that hast the legs of a goat, guard me well  
from afar. *Si.* What new things be these ?

Agreeth it with the ways of Pan to hunt thus bent unto  
the earth ?

What your order is, I cannot understand.

Thou liest as the beast which is clothed upon with needles,  
when it hath fled into the bushes,

Or art like to an ape that stretcheth himself forward  
pouring out his indignation on his foe. 120

What is this ? In what land did ye learn it ? In what  
manner of fair ?

Declare ye : for in this order I have no skill.

*Qu.* Fie on it, fie on it<sup>1</sup> ! *Si.* Why criest thou fie on  
it ? Dost thou bow thyself ? Whom fearest thou ?  
Whom dost thou behold ? 123, 124

<sup>1</sup> Ps. (B.C.P.) xxxv. 21.

v. 122. P<sup>2</sup> [.]μήνατ' .

v. 123. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. In versu 123 ne unum quidem trium hypsilorum per se plene certum est ; primum enim aut υ aut α aut λ esse potest, alterum aut υ aut κ aut γ, tertium aut υ aut κ : sed in combinatione dubitari nequit quin tria sint hypsila.

v. 124. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. In hoc versu P τ[.....]τιναφοβητην εισοραιο : prima versus litera aut τ est aut fortasse ζ, sed si ζ est, linea superior, quae sola exstat, longius solito producta sit necesse est. P<sup>2</sup> φοβῆτίν' εισοραιο . Suidas et Photius isdem verbis aiunt : ῥικνοῦσθαι το διελκεσθαι καὶ παντοδαπῶς διαστρέφεσθαι κατ' εἶδος λέγεται δὲ καὶ ῥικνοῦσθαι (in Photio sunt variae lectiones, ῥικνοῦσθαι et ῥιγνοῦσθαι) τὸ καμπύλον γίγνεσθαι ἀσχημένως, καὶ κατὰ συνουσίαν καὶ ὄρχησιν κάμπτοντα τὴν ὁσφύν Σοφοκλῆς Ἰχνευταῖς. In versu 293 haec papyrus, falsa ut mihi videtur lectione, participium κατερρικνωμενος exhibet, ubi de testudine et testa testudinis agitur illud ad verbum interpretatio duorum lexicographorum non pertinet. Hoc tantum in loco is quem hi notant usus verbi ῥικνοῦσθαι expectandus est, et hoc in loco unica haec lacuna parata est quae quasi portus verbum recipiat.





What aileth thee now ? Why playest thou the madman  
thus continually ? 125

Hath any hawk dropt hard by thee ? Or dost thou  
fear lest I learn

What it was ? Why keep ye silence, that aforetime were  
chief among babblers ?

*Qu.* Nay, be silent. *Si.* What things be there  
yonder that thou puttest from thee continually ?

128, 129

Column 6.

*Qu.* Listen now. *Si.* But how shall I listen, whereas  
I hear the voice of no man ? 130, 131

*Qu.* Give heed to me. *Si.* If only by silence, will  
ye not in anywise help me ? 132, 133

*Qu.* Listen thou again for a little space unto the  
manner of the abomination,

Wherewith we have here been confounded and broken  
as with a tempest, 135

A noise which no man that liveth at any time heard  
before.

*Si.* Why fear ye, I pray you, a noise and are afraid,  
O ye that are but lewd bodies kneaded out of wax,  
Most vile droppings of beasts, ye that in every shadow  
Behold a fear and dread all things, 140

v. 132. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 133. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. In hoc  
versu P δὲ et ὠσονήσετε. Literarum versus septimae et decimae  
septimae sedes extant in papyro.

v. 134. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. Hoc in  
versu decimae quartae literae sedes extat in papyro.

v. 135. P [.]ιωπ[.]αγεντεςεν[...].εξ[.]γισμεθα :

P<sup>2</sup> [.]ιωιπ[.]αγεντεςεν[...].εξ[.]γισμεθα : addit P<sup>2</sup> notam  
ὀιοικπλα'α'ενθαδ'εξε et subter νισμεθαο'ηγμ' et iterum subter εν'θ',  
i.e. οἷφ' κπλαγέντες, Ἀρ- (quis ostendatur grammaticus in dubio est)  
·ενθαδ' ἐξενίσιμεθα, οὕτως ἦν μόνον ἐν τῷ Θέωνος.

v. 136. P ψοφω : P<sup>2</sup> ψοφωι . P<sup>3</sup> π[...].τ' .

v. 137. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. In hoc  
versu P<sup>2</sup> ψ[.]φον' .

v. 138. P<sup>3</sup> ἀναγνασω[...].τ' . P<sup>2</sup> addit notam μενααρν', i.e.  
ἐκμεμαγμένα, Ἀρν' (quisquis hic grammaticus est).

v. 139. P κακισταθρῶνονθ[...].μ[.]ασησικαι, nisi quod litera  
decima quinta dubitanter ab Hunt, contextu ni fallor repugnante,  
pro τ habita est : P<sup>2</sup> κακισταθρῶνονθ[...].ν[.]ασησικαι (sed de litera  
decima quinta, quam haud mutat P<sup>2</sup>, vide quae modo dixi).

ἄνευρα κἀκόμιστ[α] κἀνε[λε]ύθερα  
 διακονοῦντες; [φῦσ]ά τ' εἰ[σ]ιδ[ε]ῖν μόνον  
 κα[ὶ] γ[λῶ]σσα κα[ὶ] ψ[ῶζ'] ἦτε, σεῖ δέ που δέη.  
 τί ἴσοι λόγοισιν ὄντες ἔργα φεύγετε  
 τοιοῦ[δ]ε πατρός, ὃ κἀκίστα θηρίων; 145  
 οὐ πόλλ' ἐφ' ἥβης μνήματ' ἀνδρείας ὑπο  
 † κ[ε]ῖται παροίνοις νυμφικοῖς ἡσκημένα,  
 οὐκ εἰς φυγὴν κλίνοντος, οὐ δειλουμένου,  
 οὐδὲ ψόφοισι τῶν ὀρειτρώφων βοτῶν  
 [π]τήσσοντος, ἀλλ' α[ἰ]χ[μ]αῖσιν ἐξει[ρ]γασμένου 150  
 [ἄ] νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν λάμ[πρ] ὑπορρύπαίνεται  
 [ψ]όφῳ νεώρει κόλακ[ι] ποιμένων π[ο]θέν,  
 [ὄν] δὴ φοβεῖσθε παῖδες ὧς πρὶν εἰσιδεῖν,  
 πλουτον δὲ χ[ρ]υσόφαντον ἐξαφί[ε]τε  
 ὃν Φοῖβος ὑμῖν εἶπε κ[ἄ]νεδέξατο 155  
 καὶ τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν ἦν κατήνεσεν

## Folium 7.

ὑμῖν τε κἀμοί· ταῦτ' ἀφέντες εὔδετε.  
 εἰ μὴ ἄνανοστήσαντες ἐξιχνεύσε[τε]  
 τὰς βοῦς ὅπη βεβᾶσι καὶ τὸν βουκόλο[ν],  
 κλαίοντες αὐτῇ δειλίᾳ ψοφῇ[σ]ετε. 160

v. 141. P<sup>2</sup> κἀκομιστ[.] .

v. 142. P<sup>2</sup> διακονοῦντες[.].[.]ατ' .

v. 143. P κα[.]λωσσακα[.]ψ[.]ητεσειδεπουδεη :

P<sup>2</sup> κα[.]λωσσα·κα[.]ψ[.]ητεσεῖδεπουδεη . Pro ψ legit Hunt dubium φ.

v. 144. In initio versus P dat quatuor literas incertas et inde oi : Hunt legit πιστοι : ego malo τισοι . In fine versus P<sup>2</sup> φευγετε' .

v. 145. P<sup>2</sup> θηριων' .

v. 146. P<sup>2</sup> οὐπολλ' et μνηματ' .

v. 147. P κ[.]ιταιπαροικοισνυμφικοισησκημενα : P<sup>2</sup> nihil mutat, nisi quod in fine versus colon addit.

v. 148. P<sup>2</sup> κλινοντοσ'ουδουλ[.]υμενου' . P<sup>2</sup> notam addit ουδειλου-μενου et subter ν', i.e. οὐ δειλουμένου, N<sup>4</sup> (quicunque fuit ille).

v. 149. P<sup>2</sup> ορειτρώφονβοτῶν .

v. 150. P<sup>2</sup> [.]τησσοντος' . P εξει[.]γασμενα : P<sup>2</sup> εξει[.]γασμενου .

v. 151. P [.]νυνυφημων : P<sup>3</sup> [.]νυνυφυμων .

v. 152. P [.]οφωνεωρει : P<sup>3</sup> [.]οφωινεώρει .

v. 153. P<sup>2</sup> εἰσιδεν' . v. 155. P<sup>2</sup> εἶπε .

v. 156. P κατηνεσεν : P<sup>2</sup> κατηνεσεν, sed P<sup>2</sup> ι addit non in linea sed super versum, id quod, quando de ι agitur, facere non solet.

## Folium 7.

Fons unicus est folium septimum papyraceum, fragmentis adjectis nullis.

V. 157. P αφαντες : P<sup>2</sup> αφεντες .



Doing idle and careless service, even the service of  
bondmen ?

Ye have never been aught else to look upon save belly  
And tongue and itch, while your terrors, as it seemeth,  
put you to shame.

Wherefore, though equal in words, flee ye from the works,  
O ye worst of worms, of such a father as myself, 145  
To the tune<sup>1</sup> of whose courage in youth there stand set  
many memorials,

Even verses recited by men beside their wine, children  
of the bride-chamber,

Declaring that I have not been turned to flight, neither  
been dismayed,

Nor bowed myself at the sound of the braying of beasts  
bred upon the mountains,

But that with my spear I have accomplished deeds of  
renown ? 150

Whereof by you at this time the pride is stained  
For a strange noise, an enchantment of shepherds, that  
cometh from the place where they be.

This now ye dread, like children, before ye have knowledge  
of the matter,

Putting away from you the riches, yea, the glittering gold,  
Whereof Phebus spake unto you, making himself  
surety, 155

And the liberty which he promised both to you and to  
me also.

### *Column 7.*

These things have ye put from you and are fallen on sleep.  
Unless ye will return unto your task and make diligent  
search for the footsteps

Of the oxen, where they be straying,<sup>2</sup> and of the herdman  
thereof,

Ye together with your fearfulness shall be chastened,  
and from yourselves a noise shall go forth. 160

<sup>1</sup> Wisd. xix. 18, Ecclus. xlv. 5.    <sup>2</sup> Ecclus. vi. 2.

v. 158. P εἰμηναννοστησαντες, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>. Lacuna in fine  
versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 159. P οπηβεβασι : P<sup>2</sup> οπηβεβασι . Lacuna in fine versus caret  
termino ad quem.

v. 160. P αυτη : P<sup>2</sup> αυτη.

- [XO.] πάτερ, παρὼν αὐτός με συμποδηγέτε[ι],  
 ἴν' εὖ κατειδῆς εἴ τίς ἐστι δειλία.  
 γνώσῃ γὰρ αὐτός, ἂν παρῆς, οὐδ' ἐν λόγῳ.
- [ΣΙ.] † ἐγὼ πα[ρ]ὼν αὐτός σε προσβιβῶ λόφῳ  
 κυνορτικὸν σύριγμα διακαλούμεν[ος]. 165  
 ἀλλ' εἴ' [ἐ]φίστω τριζύγης οἴμου βάσιν,  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐν [ἐ]ργοῖς παρμένων σ' ἐπευθυνῶ.
- [ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ Α] † ὅ ὕ, ὅ ὕ, ψ' ψ', α̃ α̃, λέγ' ὅ τι πονεῖς.
- [ΣΑ. Β] τί μάταν ὑπέκλαγες ὑπέκριγες  
 ὑπό μ' ἴδες; ἔχεται 170  
 ἐν πρώτῳ τίς ὅδε τρόπ[ω];
- [ΣΑ. Γ] † [σύ' γ'] ἔχῃ, 'λελεῦ, 'λελ[εῦ].  
 [θελ]εμός εἴ' ἀναγοῦ.
- [ΣΑ. Δ] δεῦτ', ὦ, τίς ὅδε [γ' ἐρπησ]τάς;  
 ὁ δρακίς, ὁ γράπης [ῆν, τίη]; 175
- [ΣΑ. Ε] [ο]υρίας οὐρίας ἄδ[αν παρή]κεις  
 παρέβας· μεθυ[σθεις ἀλᾶ].

v. 161. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. P συνποδη-  
 γετε[ι], nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 162. P ινευκατειδης: P<sup>2</sup> ἴν'εὔκατειδης .

v. 163. P γνωσε[ι], nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>. P λεγω[: P<sup>2</sup> λογω[ . Lacuna  
 posterior termino ad quem caret.

v. 164. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. In hoc  
 versu dat P εγωπα[.]ωναυτοσσεπροσβιβωλογω :

P<sup>2</sup> εγωπα[.]ωναυτοσσεπροσβιβωλογωι .

v. 165. Lacuna in fine versus duarum literarum capax est.

v. 166. P αλλiei[.]φιστωτριζυγχοιμουβασιν :

P<sup>2</sup> αλλέi[.]φιστωτριζυγσῶιμουβασιν .

v. 167. P<sup>2</sup> παρμένωνσ' .

v. 168. Versui praecedenti subscribit P coronidem et para-  
 graphum. Huic versui, qui sequitur, praefigit P indicationem χ° .  
 P συυψαλεγοτιπovεισ : P<sup>2</sup> συυψαλεγ'οτιπovεισ . Sed versum esse  
 trimetrum iambicum satis liquet, quo de facto sequitur quantitibus  
 secundi et quarti pedis operam adhibendam esse, nisi in accentibus  
 quis peccare velit.

v. 169. P ματην, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>2</sup> υπέκριγες .

v. 170. P υπεμειδες : P<sup>2</sup> υπεμ'ιδες : sed P<sup>2</sup> addit etiam notam  
 υπομιδες .

v. 171. P επρωτωισοδετροπ[.....]: P<sup>2</sup> ενπρωτωιτισῶδετροπ  
 [.....]: sed ι, quod πρωτω addit P<sup>2</sup>, non in linea sed supra verum  
 scriptum est, id quod P<sup>2</sup>, si de ι agitur, facere non solet.

v. 172. In fine versus praecedentis spatium est aliquibus literis  
 initio hujus versus magis propriis : unde ego σύ γ'. P dat in hoc versu  
 εχειεληλυθενελελ[.....]: P<sup>2</sup> dat εχειεληλυθενεληλ[.....] .

*Qu.* My father, abide thou thyself beside me and  
lead my footsteps,  
That thou mayest know of a surety whether there be  
any fearfulness in me.

For, if thou be present, thou shalt learn it of thyself,  
not by word from another.

*Si.* Myself will be present with thee and will take  
thee unto the mount,  
Calling with divers hissings as unto greyhounds. 165  
Up now, set your feet to go forward in three bands under  
one yoke ;

And I will be present with thee and guide thee aright  
in thy toil.

*First Satyr.* Fie on it, fie on it<sup>1</sup> ! There, there<sup>2</sup> !  
Ah, ah ! Say thou wherewith thou art busied.

*Second Sa.* Why thus idly hast thou shouted amiss  
and amiss cried out, looking amiss upon me with  
jealousy ? 169, 170

Who is he that is holden in this first form of the wrestling ?

*Third Sa.* Thou art holden thyself, ha, ha ! Up,  
go thou forward softly. 172, 173

*Fourth Sa.* Oh come ye hither. What is this, even  
this creeping thing ?

What is it that was once a cockatrice, a creature filled  
with wrinkles ? 175

*Fifth Sa.* Though the wind be favourable, yea,  
favourable, thou hast declined overmuch, and art  
gone out of the straight way, wandering in drunken-  
ness. 176, 177

<sup>1</sup> See reference at l. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. (B.C.P.) lxx. 3.

v. 173. In fine versus praecedentis spatium est aliquibus literis  
huic versui magis propriis: unde equidem hic θελεμός. In hoc versu  
dat P<sup>2</sup> ἐμύσειανάγου .

v. 174. P δευτερωτισοδε.[...].της: P<sup>2</sup> δευτερωτισοδε.[...] .  
της: sed addit P<sup>2</sup> notam δευτεώτισ .

v. 175. Huic versui praefigit P<sup>2</sup> χ°, i.e. "nota bene."  
P<sup>2</sup> ὁδρακισ' ὁγράφισ'[.....] .

v. 176. P<sup>2</sup> [.]υριασουριασ' .

v. 177. P παρεβησ, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>, sed colon post verbum addit.  
Sequitur μεθυ[.....] .



[ΣΑ. ζ]	ὁ τι ποτὲ φέρε[τε], νόμος νόμον ἔποχον ἔχει τι[ν], ὥστε μέλλειν].	
[ΣΑ. Ζ]	στίβος ὅδ' ἐνέσ[τακε δὴ] στράτιος στράτ[ιος, μόνιμος ο]ὔ[χι].	180
[ΣΑ. Η]	δεῦρ' ἔπου. τ[ί] δρ[αθεῖν θέλεις];	
<i>Folium 8.</i>		
[ΣΑ. Θ]	ἐνι β[ο]ῦς, ἐνι πόνου τέλος ἰδεῖν]. μὴ μεθ' ἡ[ρ]ο[κί][διζ] ἔχων]. σὺ τί καλ[ὸ]ν ἐπιδ[ὼν] προθεῖς];	185
[ΣΑ. Ι]	ὁδε γ' ἀγαθὸς ὁ τρέ[χων] κατὰ νόμον ἔπετα[ι] πρόφρων]. ἐφέπου, ῥέπου μ[άλα].	
[ΣΑ. ΙΑ]	ὀπποποῖ· ἄ μιαρὲ γερ[όντων]. ἦ τάχ' ὁπόταν ἀπ[ί]η[ς], ἀπελεύθερος ὢν, ὀλ[ῆ].	190
[ΣΑ. ΙΒ]	ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ πλάκ' [ἀλαθῆς]. ἔπ[ι]θ' [ἔ]πεχ', εἴσιθ' ἔθι. τ[ὸ] δὲ πλάγιον ἔχομ[εν].	

v. 178. P οτιποτεφερε[.....].ι[.]ν .

P<sup>2</sup> notam addit νομοσμον et subter οὔηνενθ' .

v. 179. Lacuna in fine versus undecim literarum capax est.

v. 180. P<sup>2</sup> ὁδ . Lacuna in fine versus undecim literarum capax est.

v. 181. Lacuna in fine versus duarum literarum capax est.

v. 182. P<sup>2</sup> δεῦρέπου . Lacuna altera quindecim literas capit.

### *Folium 8.*

Fons, sed non solus, est folium octavum papyraceum: accedit et unum fragmentum. Fines fragmenti vix satis explicite suo in commentario distinguit Hunt: ibi enim ei nihil aliud attribuit praeter ultimas partes versus quem equidem v. 198 numero sequentiumque versuum. Ita tamen loquitur ut et totam a P<sup>2</sup> scriptam notam, cujus pars prior non post illum versum sed post versum statim praecedentem stat, in fragmento contineri ferme necessario colligendum sit: atqui non indicat quot versus titulo sequentium versuum includat. Papyrus ipsa, ne clarissimi Wilamowitz ab amicis icta de caelo cremaretur, secretis deposita in latebris ne ab Hunt quidem pace non rata potest inspicere: ille autem, memoria fretus, pro comitate sua mihi sciscitanti rescribit credere se et totam notam et omnium fine tenus foli versuum partes ultimas in fragmento contineri. Lacunae in finibus omnium versuum choricorum carent terminis ad quos.

V. 183. P<sup>2</sup> ἐνιβ[.]ῦς .

v. 184. P μηδεθικρ[.]κι[.] : P<sup>2</sup> μημεθικρ[.]κι[.] .

v. 186. P<sup>2</sup> οδεγ' ἀγαθοσότρε[.] .

v. 187. P<sup>2</sup> ἔπετα[.] .

*Sixth Sa.* What law soever ye establish, the statute is joined with another which deferreth the operation thereof : therefore is there a time of waiting. 178, 179

*Seventh Sa.* Already is this pathway appointed to us, a pathway of war, yea of war, so that we may not stand still. 180, 181

*Eighth Sa.* Come after me hither. Why desirest thou to sleep ? We may see the oxen, we may see

*Column 8.*

the end of our labour. 182, 183

*Ninth Sa.* Pluck not thus continually the coverings of thy bed in thy drunkenness. What good thing hast thou spied that thou runnest forward ? 184, 185

*Tenth Sa.* Nay, this man that maketh haste is righteous and according to the commandment doth he pursue diligently. Do thou follow him, I say, do thou follow him. 186, 187, 188

*Eleventh Sa.* This is folly. Ah, thou hateful among old men, soon verily, when thou goest on thy way and hast been freed from thy servitude, wilt thou die. 189, 190, 191

*Twelfth Sa.* Lo, wander thou not by the side of the path : go onward, walk straight forward ; come into thy place, come thou. Now hold we the flank of the foes. 192, 193, 194

v. 188. P εφεπουεφεπουμ[, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 189. P<sup>2</sup> ἄμιαρε .

v. 190. P εἴταχ : P<sup>2</sup> ἡταχ' . P απιη[, unde non liquet utrum P addiderit necne : si omisit P, quid fecerit P<sup>2</sup> pariter ignoramus.

v. 191. Literae decimae sextae extat sedes : subsequitur lacuna.

v. 193. Huic versui praefigit P signum β̄, ducentesium versum indicans : hoc signum postea delevit aut ipse P aut P<sup>2</sup>, et idem signum versui 195 praefixit. Sunt duae numerandi rationes, quarum secundum alteram β̄ versui 193, secundum alteram versui 195 legitime praefigi potest : sed, cum signum γ̄, versui 290 praefixum, et signum δ̄, versui 390 praefixum, contemplamur, manifestum fit versibus et lacunis intervenientibus bene perpensis, β̄ deletum ante versum 193, non alterum β̄ ante versum 195, esse terminum a quo γ̄ illud et δ̄ illud computata sint : numerata in serie necopinato includitur v. 242, quamvis a P in textu omissus. Vide Cap. vi. A. et notas apud versus 92, 195, 290, 390. In hoc versu 193 P<sup>2</sup> ἐπ[.]θι[.]π[.]εχ' εἰσιθιθι[.] .

- [XO.] π[ά]τερ, τί σ[ι]γᾶς; μῶν ἀληθ[ές] οὐκ ἔφην; 195  
οὐ[κ] εἰσακο[ύε]ις, ἧ κεκῶφ[η]σαι, ψόφον; ]
- [ΣΙ.] σ[ι]γα· τί ἔστιν; XO. οὐ μενῶ. ΣΙ. μέν· ἔ[φ]θ' ἔλεϊς.
- [XO.] οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς σὺ ταῦθ' ὅπη θέλεις  
ζήτει τε καὶ ξίχνευε καὶ πλού[τει] λαβῶν] [200  
τὰς βοῦς τε κα[ὶ] τὸν χρυσὸν [ἄμ'· ὀκνοῦμεν δέ σ]ε  
μὴ πλεῖς τ[ὸν] ἔτι γ' [οὐ] ν[ό]στιμον πλοῦν, φθᾶς]  
χρόνον.
- [ΣΙ.] ἀλλ' οὐ τι μ[ή] 'κ] μ[ε] περιίδω λιπόντα σε]  
οὐδ' ἐξυπ[ε]λ[θό]ντ' [αὔ, πρὶν ἂν βροτῶν σα]φῶς  
εἰδῶμεν ὅν[τιν]· ἔνδον ἦδ' ἔχει στέγη].
- [XO.] ἰὼ γ[αμ]όρ· ἔδρας ἀνάσσων, οὐ] 205  
† φθέγμ' ἀφήσεις [σὸν ἐξ ἄντρ]ου,  
[μ]ηδ[έ] σιγ', αἰῶ δ', ἔχων μισ-]

v. 195. Huic versui praefigit P signum  $\bar{\beta}$ : vide Cap. VI. A. et notam apud v. 193 et notas porro apud versus 92, 290, 390. Inter hoc signum et ipsius versus textum inserit P<sup>2</sup> χ', i.e. "nota bene," quod equidem ad signum  $\bar{\beta}$ , non ad versus verba, respicere suspicor.

v. 196. P<sup>2</sup> ἧκεκῶφ[η].

v. 197. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. V. 197 dividit P in versus quattuor, quam distributionem non corrigit P<sup>2</sup>, sic:

σ.[...] | τιςστιν | ουμενω | μενε[.]θελεισ |.

Unicuique horum quattuor versuum subscribit paragraphum P. In ultimo P<sup>2</sup> dat μεν'.

v. 198. P ουκεστιναλλαυτοσσυταυθ[:

P<sup>2</sup> ουκεστιν'αλλαυτοσσυ,ταυθ[.

In separato fragmento (vide notam ad caput hujus folii), non in ipso, nisi fallor, folio, addit P<sup>2</sup> ]'οπηδυναιβε', et subter, certe in fragmento, ]'οπηθελεισ'. Legendum cum Hunt ταῦθ' ὅπη δύναι· βέλτιον ταῦθ' ὅπη θέλεις. Sequitur ut P versum post ταῦθ' terminaverit verbis ὅπη δύναι. Unde probabilissime inter ταυθ [et] 'οπη statuere possumus lacunam tredecim fere literarum, quantas scribit P, capacem, cujus tamen tria spatia literis minoribus quas in notis scribit P<sup>2</sup> assignanda sunt: fit haec lacunae magnitudo ferme certa si subsequentem versum consideramus.

v. 199. P<sup>2</sup> ζήτει et πλού[ . Vide notam apud v. 198. Pars altera scripturae marginalis ibi expositae post hunc versum venit. Quandoquidem nihil brevius quam υτειλαβων suppleri hic potest, confirmatur magnitudo lacunae post v. 198, et liquet hunc alterum post versum, ante extantem notae marginalis partem, lacunam esse duodecim fere literarum, quantas scribit P, capacem, cujus tamen quattuor spatia literis minoribus quas in notis scribit P<sup>2</sup> assignanda sunt.

v. 200. Inter folium et fragmentum (vide notas apud vv. 198–199) est lacuna tredecim fere literarum capax. In fine versus est lacuna unius literae capax.



*Qu.* My father, why art thou silent? Can it be that thou thinkest that I spake not words of truth? Hearest thou not (or are thine ears waxed dull of hearing?) the noise? 196

*Si.* Be thou silent. What is it? *Qu.* I will abide here no longer. *Si.* Abide thou. Fine gold wilt thou receive.

*Qu.* I cannot; but do thyself in what way soever thou art minded

Make search and inquisition for the footsteps and get thee riches, receiving [200

The kine and the gold together: but I am afraid for thee, Lest, preventing the bidding of Time, thou have begun the voyage whence there is no return hereafter.

*Si.* Lo, verily I will not suffer thee to depart from me Neither to steal away privily, or ever we know of a surety What man it is that this dwelling hath within it.

*Qu.* Ho, lord of the land and master of the house, from the cave send out thy voice: 205, 206

Keep thou not still silence, but rather, receiving a reward,

v. 201. Ubi ego γ, Hunt legit σ dubium. Inter folium et fragmentum (vide notas apud vv. 198–200) est lacuna sedecim fere literarum.

v. 202. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. In versu 202 P<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' οὐτι. Stat μ[...]μ, i.e. fortasse μηεμ. In fine versus columnaris ante vacuum fragmenti partem est lacuna septemdecim fere literarum capax (vide notas apud vv. 198–201).

v. 203. Extat octava sedes. Inter folium et fragmentum (vide notas apud vv. 198–202) est lacuna sedecim fere literarum.

v. 204. P<sup>2</sup> ὅν. Sequitur lacuna trium capax literarum, deinde unius literae vestigium, denique lacuna inter folium et vacuum fragmenti partem (vide notas apud vv. 198–203) sedecim fere literarum capax. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 205. Post ωγ est unius in folio literae sedes, deinde inter folium et vacuum fragmenti partem (vide notas apud vv. 198–204) septemdecim fere literarum lacuna.

v. 206. P<sup>2</sup> φθεγ[ . ου et, post ου, nota a P<sup>2</sup> addita, de qua mox loquar, in fragmento stant (vide notas apud vv. 198–205), intercedente lacuna sedecim fere literarum capaci. P<sup>2</sup> notam addit in margine, praefixo signo simili crescentis lunae convexa curvaminis parte in orientem versa: φθεγγμαφυσ[.]ις. Suspicio scripsisse P φθεγγμαφησεισσοιζαντρον, diphthongo ει in spatium unius literae compresso. P<sup>2</sup> scribit φθεγγμα sine elisione, ne φθέγγμα φύσεις intellegatur: idem fortasse φθέγγμα φήσεις, non φθέγγμ' ἀφήσεις, a P indicatum esse putavit. Quoniam quam dat P<sup>2</sup> lectionem (ea enim sola superest) mutavi, quamvis fieri possit ut nihil in perdita primae manus lectione mutaverim, hunc versum cruce notavi.

v. 207. Post ηδ est inter folium et vacuum fragmenti partem (vide notas apud vv. 198–206) lacuna quindecim fere literarum capax.

*Folium 9.*

† θό[ν, δ]όμοισιν ὀλβιεῖς;  
 [ΣΙ.] ὅ[τ' ο]ὐ φαν[ῆ] λιτοῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τάχα  
 φ[έρ]ων κτύ[π]ον πέδορτον ἐξαναγκάσω 210  
 π[η]δῆμασιν κραιπνοῖσι καὶ λακτίσμασιν  
 ὦ[ς] σ' εἰσακοῦσαι, κεῖ λίαν κωφός τις εἶ.

## [ΚΥΛΛΗΝΗ]

Θῆρες, τί [τό]νδε χλοερὸν ὑλώδη πάγον  
 † ἀν[θ]ηρὸν ὠρμήθητε σὺν πολλῇ βοῇ;  
 τίς ἤδε τέχνη, τίς μετάστασις πόνων 215  
 οὓς πρόσθεν εἶπες δεσπότη χάριν φέρων,  
 ὑμῖν δς αἰεῖ, νεβρίνῃ καθημμέν[ο]ς  
 δορᾷ χερ[ο]ῖν τε θύρσ[ο]ν εὐπαλῇ φέρων,  
 ὅπισθεν εὐιάζετ' ἄμφι τὸν θεόν  
 σὺν ἐγγόνοις νύμφαισι καίπόδων ὄχλῳ; 220  
 νῦν δ' ἄγνοῶ τὸ χρῆμα, ποῖ στροφαὶ νέ[ω]ν

*Folium 9.*

Fons unicus est folium nonum papyraceum, fragmentis adjectis nullis, nisi quod in versibus 227 et 228 Fragmentum 6, neque omnino temere, ausus sum ponere.

V. 208. P θο[.]ομοισινολβισηις: nihil mutat P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 209. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. In versu 209 P ο[.]υφαν[.]λιτοισιν, ubi tamen pro prima in λιτοισιν litera dubiam α literam indicat Hunt: puto φανῆ in forma φανεαι scriptum esse: vide v. 321. P<sup>2</sup> ὁ[.]υ exhibet et post λιτοισιν colon addit.

v. 210. P<sup>2</sup> πέδορτον.

v. 212. Huic versui praefigit P lineam verticalem, et alteram lineam verticalem praefigit versui 213 subsequenti: inter autem hos duo versus ponit paragraphum. Si signum versui 70, qui chorum concludit, quod signum crucis in formam factum est, respicimus, sique aliud signum quod ante coronidem et paragraphum quae versum 57, ejusdem chori primum, a versu 56 separant, intuemur, quod signum certe non crux est, sed pro linea crucis transversa circulum exhibet ita ut linea recta superior et linea recta inferior non in unum coeant, adducimur ut ambo haec signa asterisci immutationes esse suspicemur. Id enim quod in fine chori stat asterisci vice fungitur, et alterum non dissimile est, quamquam locus in quo apparet asteriscum non proprie admittit. Lineae versibus 212 et 213 praefixae similes sunt signo quod spatio versus 56 et 57 separanti praefixum est, nisi quod circulo carent. Hic sequitur paragraphus tantum, ibi paragraphus cum coronide. Ibi intrat in scenam Chorus, hic Cyllena. Novae personae aditum utroque loco credo indicari. In hoc versu 212 incipit P, ut arbitror, ω[.]σ, sed indicat Hunt dubiam esse ω literam, et pro σ litera dubiam dat τ literam: P<sup>2</sup> post eam literam ponit apostropham.

## Column 9.

Do thou make thy life happy in thine habitation.

*Si.* Now that thou wilt not reveal thyself in answer to words of supplication,

Myself straightway, by means of a noise that no longer is as that of a feast-day, 210

Will yet compel thee with swift leapings and stampings To hearken unto me, though thou be a man dull of hearing exceedingly.

*Cyllene.* Satyrs, why unto this mountain, green with grass and covered with trees,

To this mountain of blossoms, have ye sped with much shouting ?

What business is this, yea, what change of the labours 215 Which of old thou wast wont to accomplish, executing the service of thy master,

Who with thee and thy fellows continually, clothed in the hide of a young deer,

And bearing in his hands a wreathen rod, easy to carry, Went with riot and revelling<sup>1</sup> behind in the presence of the god,

With the goddesses of the rivers, that be his kinsfolk, and the multitude whose feet are like goats' feet ?

220

But now I understand not the matter, knowing not whither the tempest

<sup>1</sup> ii Mac. vi. 4 and Wisd. xiv. 23.

v. 213. Vide notam apud versum 212. P<sup>2</sup> addit notam in margine χωρον[.....]ν' .

v. 214. P εν[.]ηρονωρμηθητεσυμπολλημβοη, quod non mutat P<sup>2</sup>, nisi quod in fine versus colon addit.

v. 215. P τισηδετεχνητισμετασισπονων :

P<sup>2</sup> τισηδετεχνητισμετασισπονων .

v. 217. P υμειν, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>2</sup> καθήμμέν[.]σ .

v. 218. P<sup>2</sup> ευπαλῆ .

v. 219. Huic versui praescribit P<sup>2</sup> ζ', i.e. ζήτει. P ευιαζεταμφι : P<sup>2</sup>, sive unius personae sive universitatis personarum id est nomen, hanc lectionem notis diacriticis ita ampliavit ut exhiberet ευιάζετ'αμφι : hoc autem mutavit postea in ευιάζεσαμφι .

v. 220. P<sup>2</sup> in fine versus colon addit.

v. 221. P<sup>2</sup> νυνδ'αγνωω dat, colon post χρημα addit, exhibetque στροφαῖ i.e. στροφαί, non στροφᾶ.



μανιῶν στρέφουσι· θαῦμα γὰρ κατέκλ[υ]ον,  
† ὁμοῦ πρέπον κέλευμα, τῶς κ[υ]νηγετ[ῶ]ν  
ἐγγὺς μολόντων θηρὸς εἶναι[ῶν] τρό[χ]ης·  
ὁμοῦ δ' ἂν αὖ τι [καὶ βί]α φωρ[ᾶν βέλη] 225  
γλώσσης ἐτείνε[τ' ε]ἰς κλοπὴν [τ' ἐσταλκ]έναι·  
αὖτις δ' ἄ[θρακ]τ[ο]ς π[ρε]υ[μενῶν] [μ' ἀνδρῶν ἱ]α,  
κῆρυκ[ος ὥς,] ἱ[αν'] ἱ[δρει] κηρύγμα[τι].  
καὶ τ[α]ῦτ' ἀφεῖσα [ξύν] ποδῶν λακ[τίσμασι]  
[χ]λήδων ὁμοῦ πάμφυρ[τ'] ἐγειν[ί]ας' ἄχνη]. 230  
[καὶ] ταῦτ' ἂν ἄλλως ἢ κλ[οπέων] ὁ[μ]ιλίαν,  
[ρύθμ]ῶν ἀκο[ύ]σας' ὥδε παραπεπαισμέν[ων],  
[τί δῆτα] φ[αί]η[ν, ἢ φρε]νῶν ὑμᾶς νοσεῖν  
† νό[σον; τί τᾶλ]ι[ν ἐπτοεῖτ' ἀναιτίαν;

v. 222. P<sup>2</sup> dat μανιῶν et colon post στρέφουσι addit. Idem super εκλ[.]ον scribit ηλυθ[.]ν: ita mutat, ut secundum hodiernam scribam consuetudinem, θαῦμα γὰρ κατέκλυον in θαῦμα γὰρ κατήλυθ' οὔν. Deinde, omisso unius literae spatio, pergit, contra morem solitum nota in margine hanc supra textum scriptam lectionem commendare: addit enim οὔηνενθ'.

v. 223. P εμουπρεπκελευμαωσκ[.]νηγετ[.]ν: P<sup>2</sup> mutat εμου in ομου.

v. 225. P εμουδαν: P<sup>2</sup> ομουδ'αν. Post αυτι est lacuna trium literarum capax, deinde sequuntur duarum literarum vestigia. Post φωρ est lacuna trium literarum capax, deinde sequuntur duarum literarum vestigia, denique stat lacuna duarum capax literarum.

v. 226. In fine hujus versus P<sup>2</sup> colon addit. Ultimae ante εναι literae sedes extat in papyro.

vv. 227–228. P:

αυτισδα[....]τ[....].μενων[.....]α  
κηρυκ[.].ι[.]..... κηρυγμα[.....].

Est autem exile Fragmentum 6, quod ita, ut opinor, currit:

.σπ[.].  
]ι...[.].

Indicat Hunt eam quam ego σ lego literam dubiam esse, sed λ exhibet. Hac in papyro, et alibi, secunda pars λ literae saepius ita curvatur ut σ literae, qualis in papyro scribatur, simillima sit. Quare in loco mutilo λ et σ aliquando inter se minime dignosci queunt. Nullam prorsus tota in fabula lacunam, ut de iis tantum loquar quae aliquam completori materiam offerant, reperire possum ubi hoc fragmentum, ratione contextus habita, si λ legamus, probabiliter inseram, et unam hanc reperio lacunam ubi, si σ legamus, eadem habita ratione, probabiliter inseram. Hic igitur insero, et lego:

αὖτις δ' ἄ[θρακ]τος π[ρ]ευμενῶν [μ' ἀνδρῶν ἱ]α,  
κῆρυκ[ος] ὥς, ἱ[αν'] ἱδρει κηρύγμα[τι].

Of this present madness tosseth you : for I heard a  
 marvellous thing,  
 At the same time a loud commandment as of men that  
 were masters of greyhounds,  
 Who had drawn nigh to the couching place of a wild  
 beast, yea, of a badger :  
 At the same time again heard I arrows shot out from  
 the tongue, for a search even by violence 225  
 And for a going forth immediately in pursuit of some  
 theft.  
 But anon a quiet voice of peaceable men,  
 Even as the voice of a herald, refreshed me with expert  
 proclamation.  
 Afterward, turning from these ways, with much stamping  
 of feet  
 The whole scum of the off-scourings approached dis-  
 orderly. 230  
 Lo, what thing other could I call it but a company of  
 robbers,  
 Having heard the measures of your musick expressed  
 thus falsely,  
 Unless I should say that ye are taken with a disease of  
 your wits ?  
 Wherefore have ye thus affrighted a damsel that doeth  
 no harm ?

Notandum est inseri non posse fragmentum nisi ε, tertia in πρεσμενῶν litera, partim in columna partim in fragmento contineatur. Utrobique vestigia scripturae sunt ; sed unam divisam literam, non duas literas, meae lectionis postulat necessitas. Notandum etiam ει in ἔδρει diphthongum unius tantum literae implere spatium.

v. 229. P<sup>2</sup> τ[.]υτ'αφεισα . Ubi ξὺν scripsi, trium literarum vestigia extant in papyro. In fine versus est lacuna novem literarum capax.

v. 230. P<sup>2</sup> πᾶμφυρ[.]'εγειν[.....] .

v. 231. P<sup>2</sup> ταυτ'ἀνάλλωσ . Post κλ est lacuna unius literae capax, deinde deinceps quinque literarum vestigia, μ litera, lacuna octo capax literarum.

v. 232. In fine versus est lacuna sex capax literarum.

v. 233. P ...[...].φ[.]....νωνομασνοσειν[ . Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem : versus autem videtur jam esse completus.

v. 234. P νο[.....]νετιποειταναιτιαν : P<sup>2</sup> post ποειτ apostropham addit. Huic versui subscribit P coronidem et paragraphum.

*Folium 10.*

- [XO.] νύμφα βαθύζωνε, π[αῦσαι χόλου] [στρ.] 235  
 τοῦδ', οὔτε γὰρ νεῖκος ἀ[λεόφρον]  
 δᾶ[ο]υ μάχας οὐδ' ἄξενος σέθεν  
 γλ[ῶ]σσ' ἂν μάταιός τ' [ἀπ' ἐμοῦ θίγοι].  
 μή με μὴ προψαλ[άξης κακοῖς],  
 ἀλλ' [εὐ]πετῶς μοι πρ[ᾶσσε χρῆ]μ'. 240  
 ἐν [τ]όποις τοῖς[δε τίς ποθ' ὦδ' ἄγα]σ-  
 τῶς ἐγάρυσε θέσπιν αὐδά[ν];
- [KY.] ταῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκείνων νῦν [τρόπων πεπαίτερα],  
 καὶ τοῖσδε θηρῶν ἐκπύ[θοιο πλέον ἂν ἤ]  
 ἀλκασμάτ[ω]ν δ[ι' ἄνο]σ[ίων ἀκηράτου] 245  
 νύμφης· ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς βοήν σε δεῖ  
 ὀρθοψάλακτον ἐν [λ]όγο[ις]ιν [ίστάναι].  
 ἀλλ' ἥσυχος πρόφαινε καὶ μ[ή]νυ[έ] μοι  
 ὅτου μάλιστα πράγματος χρεῖαν ἔχεις.
- [XO.] τόπων ἄνασσα τῶν[δε], Κυλλήνης σθένος, 250  
 ὅτου μὲν εἶνεκ' ἤλθ[ο]ν ὕστερον φράσω·  
 † τὸ φθέγμα δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ[θ'] ὁ περιφανεῖ φθάσον  
 † καὶ τίς ποτ' αὐτῷ δι[α]κανάσσεται βροτῶν.

*Folium 10.*

Fons unicus est folium decimum papyraceum, fragmentis adjectis nullis. Quot hoc in folio lacunae in finibus sunt versuum, tot carent terminis ad quos : animadvertendum est eo in numero includi versus 240 et 241, quorum tamen utrique unam ab initio versus succedentis sumptam addidi litteram.

V. 235. Huic versui praescribit P χ°. P νύμφη, nec mutat P².

v. 236. P τοδουτε : P² τοῦδ' ουτε . Papyrus νεικοση[ .

v. 237. P² δαῖ[.]υ et ουδ' ἄξενος .

v. 238. P² ματαιόστ[ .

v. 239. P μηδεμεμη : P² μημεμη .

v. 240. Litteram μ, quae secundum meam lectionem ultima est nominis χρῆμ', non in hoc versu, sed in initio versus subsequentis 241, exhibet papyrus ; et huic litterae μ addit apostropham P².

v. 241. Vide notam apud v. 240. Litteram σ, quae in lectione quam ego a Wilamovitz et Hunt mutuatus sum quarta est adverbi ἄγαστῶς, non in hoc versu, sed in initio versus subsequentis 242, exhibet P², qui solus illum versum habet.

v. 242. Vide notam apud v. 241. Versum hunc 242 prorsus omittit P, quamquam ad numeros centenarios, quos exhibet ipse in margine, necessarius est : supplevit P², haud autem suo in loco, sed in capite folii ante versum 235 : atqui ubi stare debeat docet manifeste versus antistrophicus 288.

v. 243. Praescribit huic versui P signum /. Quandoquidem hac in papyro coronis cum paragrapho non habet formam )————, sed formam /————, suspicor hoc signum nihil aliud esse quam sine paragrapho coronidem. P² ταυτ' εστεκινων .



## Column 10.

*Qu.* O thou that art goddess of a river, thou whose raiment reacheth to the ground, make an end of this thine indignation ; 235

For verily there is not come unto thee the strife of the battle of the enemy,

Neither from me shall any word that becometh not guests or is idle assault thine ear. 237, 238

Prevent me not, I pray thee, with this loud musick of reproach ; but accomplish thou my business (it is but a light thing for thee). 239, 240

Who, I ask, is it that in this place hath uttered thus marvellously a voice miraculous <sup>1</sup> ? 241, 242

*Cy.* These thy latter ways are more amiable than thy former conversation,

And, if thou thus make search, thou wilt attain unto greater knowledge

Than by doing of unholy violence to a virgin, a goddess of a river. 245

For it is not any ways right that thou shouldest raise against me

A clamour, as of loud musick, what time thou speakest.

Rather do thou quietly declare and make known unto me

What thing it is in particular whereof thou hast need.

*Qu.* Queen of this place, Cyllene excellent in power, 250

The reason of my coming hither will I afterward expound :

But expound thou to us, preventing me, this voice that soundeth round about,

And from what living man it issueth forth with a noise like the gushing of waters.

<sup>1</sup> ii Mac. iii. 30.

v. 244. P<sup>2</sup> εκπύ[ .

v. 245. Huic versui praefigit P<sup>2</sup> χ', i.e. "nota bene."

v. 246. Post νυμφησ colon P<sup>2</sup>. Extat sedes decima quinta.

v. 247. P<sup>2</sup> ορθοψάλακτον . v. 248. P<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ἥσυχος .

v. 250. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 251. P οτουμενουνεκηλθ[.]ν : P<sup>2</sup> ετουμενδυνεκ'ηλθ[.]ν .  
P<sup>2</sup> in fine versus colon addit.

v. 252. P τοφθεγγμαδημιντου[.]οπερφωνειφρασον : P<sup>2</sup> nihil mutat, sed addit notam in margine : τουτοπως, et subter φωνειφρασον, et iterum subter ο'ηγεν'θ .

v. 253. P καιτισποταυτωιδι[.]καρασσεταιβροτων : P<sup>2</sup> nihil mutat, nisi quod post ποτ apostropham addit.

- [KY.] ὕμᾱς μὲν αὐτοὺς χρὴ τάδ' εἰδέναι σαφῶς  
 ὥς εἰ φανεῖτε τὸν λ[ό]γον τὸν ἐξ ἑμοῦ, 255  
 αὐτοῖσιν ὕμῃ[ν ζ]ημία πορίζεται.  
 καὶ γὰρ κέκρυπ[ται] τοῦργον ἐν [θ]ε[ῶ]ν ἔδραις,  
 Ἥραν ὅπως μ[ὴ πύ]στ[ι]ς ἔξετα[ι λ]όγου.  
 Ζ[εὺς] γ[η]κρυφ[ῇ γὰρ ἐς τέ]γην Ἀ[τ]λαντίδος  
 [ἔβη τε κᾶξέπραξεν ἄβουλ]εύσατο. 260  
 [νύκτας δὲ δώδεχ' ἡ κόρης ε]ὔ[ν]η[ι] φίλας

*Folium 11.*

- [ἔχει σφε] λήθη τῆς βαθυζώνου θεᾶς·  
 [κατὰ σπέ]ος δὲ παῖδ' ἐφίτυσεν μόνον.  
 [τοῦτον δὲ] χερσὶ ταῖς ἑμαῖς ἐγὼ τρέφω·  
 [μητρὸς γ]ὰρ ἰσχύς ἐν νόσῳ χειμᾶζεται. 265  
 [κᾶσθῆτ]α καὶ ποτῆτα καὶ κοιμήματα  
 [πρὸς σ]αργάνοις μένουσα λικνῖτιν τροφήν  
 [ἐξευθ]ετίζω νύκτα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν.  
 [ὅς δ' α]ὔξεται κατ' ἡμαρ οὐκ ἐπεικότα  
 [μέγισ]τος, ὥστε θαῦμα καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει. 270  
 [οὐπω γ]ὰρ ἔκτον ἡμαρ ἐκπερασμένος  
 [φθάσας] ἐρείδει παιδὸς εἰς ἥβης ἀκμήν.

v. 254. Versui praecedenti subscribit paragraphum P. In hoc versu P<sup>2</sup> τάδ' εἰδεναι .

v. 255. P<sup>2</sup> dat φανεῖτε et in fine versus plenum quod aiunt punctum ponit.

v. 256. P<sup>2</sup> in fine versus colon addit.

v. 257. P<sup>2</sup> τοῦργον .

v. 258. P<sup>2</sup> dat ἥραν et μ[...!]στ[.]σῆξετα[...]ογου· .

v. 260. In fine versus colon addit P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 261. Statim ante φίλας P ]υ.[.] .

*Folium 11.*

Fons est folium undecimum papyraceum, sed non est fons omnino unicus: quamquam enim fragmenta ex papyro adiecta sunt nulla, nisi quod apud v. 284 tres literas, quae Fragmentum 2 constituunt, recte, ut opinor, sed dubitanter tamen exhibui, versus tamen 273, cujus ab initio quinque in papyro desunt literae, et primum versus 274 verbum, quod prorsus in papyro deest, servantur et apud Athenaeum (II. p. 62), qui hanc fabulam nominatim indicat, et apud Eustathium (De Iliade, p. 899, 17), qui fabulam non nominat.

V. 263. P<sup>2</sup> dat παιδ' ἐφίτυσεν et in fine versus colon ponit.

v. 265. P νοσω: P<sup>2</sup> νοσωι .

v. 267. P<sup>2</sup> μένουσα λικνῖτιν .

*Cy.* It is right that ye for your parts know one  
 thing of a surety,  
 Namely that if so be ye declare the word which ye shall  
 hear from me, 255  
 There is prepared a rod even for your own backs.  
 For the matter is kept hidden in the habitations of the  
 gods,  
 To the end that no news of the thing be brought unto  
 Juno.  
 For Jupiter came into the dwelling that is hidden under  
 the earth,  
 The dwelling of the daughter of Atlas, and accomplished  
 that which he purposed. 260  
 And for twelve nights, even nights of love, did the  
 damsel's bed contain him

*Column 11.*

Without the knowledge of the goddess whose raiment  
 reacheth to the ground :  
 And in the cave he begat but one child, even a son ;  
 And the same do I nourish up with mine own hands :  
 For his mother's strength is shaken by sickness as by a  
 storm. 265  
 And raiment and drink and the things that pertain unto  
 his rest,  
 Even the nurture of babes in their baskets, abiding  
 beside his plaited bed,  
 I set in order for him by night and by day.  
 But he day by day after a manner that is not meet  
 Waxeth great exceedingly, so that wonder and dread fills  
 me. 270  
 For though it be not yet the sixth day since he came  
 forth from the womb,  
 Yet untimely he presseth onward to the fulness of a  
 young child's stature :

v. 268. P<sup>2</sup> dat [...] ἐτίζω et in fine versus colon ponit.

v. 270. P<sup>2</sup> [...] στοσ' .

v. 271. P ἐκτονῆμα ρεκιπεφασμεν[.]σ : P<sup>2</sup> nihil mutat, sed in  
 margine notam addit ἡμερας πεφασμενος .

v. 272. P<sup>2</sup> in fine versus colon addit.



κάξορμενίζει κοῦκέτι σχολάζεται  
 βλάστη· τοιόνδε παῖδα θησαυρὸς στέγει.  
 [ὁ μὲν στα]τ[ὸς γ' ἔτ]' ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρὸς θέσει· 275  
 ἀφ[ανεῖ δ' ὁ πεύθη φ]θέγμα μηχανῇ βρέμ[ον],  
 καὶ [τοῦτ'] ἐθα[ς δὴ σκύλακο]ς ἡμέρα μιᾷ  
 ἐξ ὑπτίας κ[τῆμ' εὔ 'ξεμηχ]ανήσατο.  
 τοιόνδε θη[ρὸς ἐκ θανόντ]ος ἡδονῆς  
 ἔμμεστον ἄ[γγος ἔκαμε κ]αὶ κάτω δ[ονεῖ]. 280

[XO.]

ἄφρασ[θ' ὁ Δῖος γ' ἔθη] παῖς βοᾷς [ἀντιστρ.]  
 παιδός[ς τ' ἀήθη δῖωξ'· ἀκ]μάζεις  
 θήρευμ' [ἄωρόν που λύνειν]. λέγε[ις]  
 φώνημ[ά πως ἄστ]ον· ὅ[πω]ς ἔθου  
 τόνδ' ἄφ[αντόν γ' ὑμνωδ]όν, [φράσον]. 285  
 τὼς ἐξεφ[ράζω τοι τὸν εὐ-]  
 ρόντ' ἄπα[ργμ' ὦδε θηρὸς] ἐ[κ θανόν-]

v. 273. P [.....]μνειζεικουκετισχολάζεται : P<sup>2</sup> mutat  
 [.....]μνειζει in [.....]μνειζει . Supplent et Athenaeus (II. p. 62) et Eustathius (De Iliade, p. 899, 17) lacunam hujus versus et versus subsequentis 274. Scribit Athenaeus : 'Αττικοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ὀρμενον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κράμβης ἐξηνηθηκότα. Σοφοκλῆς Ἰχνευταῖς

κάξορμενίζει κοῦκ ἐπισχολάζεται  
 βλάστη

παρὰ τὸ ἐξοροῦειν καὶ βλαστάνειν. Eustathius ubi locum laudat eandem (nisi κάξορμενίζειν οὐκ pro κάξορμενίζει κοῦκ) quam Athenaeus praebet lectionem, quae differt a lectione papyri: papyrus enim ἐπισχολάζεται, Athenaeus et Eustathius ἐπισχολάζεται. Eustathius nomen fabulae non indicat.

v. 274. Vide notam apud versum 273. In hoc versu 274 P dat [.....]τοιονδεπαιδαθησαυροστεγει : P<sup>2</sup> mutat θησαυροστεγει in θησαυροσστεγει, addit colon in fine versus, adjicitque in margine, post signum ut antea (vide v. 206) lunatum, notam τ[...].φει, i.e. τρέφει .

v. 275. P<sup>2</sup> [.....]τ[...].[...]'εστι dat et in fine versus colon addit.

v. 276. P αφ[.....]θεγγμμηχανηβρεμ[ : P<sup>2</sup> nihil corrigit aut addit, nisi fortasse in margine deperdita deperditam scripsit notam. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 277. Initium versus hoc est και[...].εθα[ . P ημεραιμια : P<sup>2</sup> ημεραιμια .

v. 278. In fine versus colon addit P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 280. P<sup>2</sup> ἔμμεστον . Huic versui subscribit P coronidem et paragraphum.

v. 281. P<sup>2</sup> ἀφρασ[.....]παισβοησ .

v. 282. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem, sed versum jam esse suspicor completum.

v. 283. Statim ante λεγε addit colon P<sup>2</sup>. Post λεγε extat sedes unius literae ; sequitur lacuna quae caret termino ad quem. Locum

Yea, his branch shooteth forth and tarrieth not any longer.

This is the manner of child that the treasure-house containeth.

He indeed still abideth by the crib by reason of the ordinance of his father. 275

But as to the voice whereof thou inquirest, that roareth by means of an invisible device,

This also, being already expert in the matter, in the space of one day

He fashioned unto himself aright for a possession, making it of a whelp turned upside down.

Such a vessel formed he out of a dead beast,

A vessel filled with delight, and thereon he playeth below. 280

*Qu.* Wonderful are the ways of utterance that the child of Jupiter hath pursued, yea, contrary to the nature of children.

Verily it is high time that thou stay him from thus hunting before the due season. 282, 283

Thou speakest of a voice invisible. Declare on what manner thou hast disposed this singer who thou sayest cannot be seen? 284, 285

Hast thou thus verily shut up one that as the first-fruit of his finding hath found out how after this manner to bring forth from a dead beast such a sound as we have heard? 286, 287, 288

hujus versus, tres literas versus 284, locumque versus 285 exhibere arbitrator Fr. 2. Hoc in fragmento unusquisque versus scripturam offert, sed, nisi medius versus, haud qualis legi possit. Fragmentum hoc est :

] . . [  
] ο ν ' ο [  
] . . [ .

285

Fragmentum, omnibus in fabula exploratis lacunis, hic demum collocavi quia colon a P<sup>2</sup> inter ο ν et ο interpositum ne uni quidem ceterarum lacunarum complemento probabili congruere videtur, lacunarum, id est, quae ejusmodi sunt ut hoc fragmentum continere possint.

v. 284. P + P<sup>2</sup> φωνήμ[.....]σεθου : sequitur lacuna sine termino ad quem. Vide etiam notam apud v. 283.

v. 285. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem. Vide etiam notam apud v. 283.

v. 286. P<sup>2</sup> τώσ .

v. 287. P<sup>2</sup> ροντ'άπα[.....]ε[ . Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

*Folium 12.*

- τος πορίζειν τοιάνδε γᾶρυν;  
 [KY.] μὴ νῦν ἀπίστε[ι]. πιστὰ γάρ σε προσγεῶ θεᾶς ἔπη.  
 [XO.] καὶ πῶς πίθωμαι τοῦ θανόντος φθέγμα τοιοῦτον  
 βρέμειν; 290  
 [KY.] πιθοῦ· θανῶν γὰρ ἔσχε φωνήν, ζῶν δ' ἀναυδος  
 ἦν ὁ θήρ.  
 [XO.] ποῖός τις ἦν εἶδος; περ[ο]μήκης, ἥ 'πίκυρτος, ἥ  
 βραχύς;  
 [KY.] † βραχὺς χυτροίδης πο[ι]κίλῃ δορᾷ κατεῤῥίνωμένος.  
 [XO.] ὥς αἰέλουρος εἰκάσαι πέφυκεν, ἥ τῶς πόρδαλις;  
 [KY.] πλεῖστον με[τ]αξύ· γογγύλον γὰρ ἔστι καὶ βραχυ-  
 σκελές. 295  
 [XO.] οὐδ' ὥς ἰχνευτῇ προσφερὲς πέφυκεν οὐδ' ὥς  
 καρκίνῳ;  
 [KY.] οὐδ' αὖ τοιοῦτ[ό]ν ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ἄλλον τιν' ἐξευροῦ  
 τρόπον.  
 [XO.] ἀλλ' ὥς κεράστ[η]ς κάνθαρος δῆτ' ἐστὶν Αἰτναῖος  
 φυήν;  
 [KY.] νῦν ἐγγύς ἐγν[ω]ς ᾧ μάλιστα προσφερὲς τὸ  
 κνώδαλον.  
 [XO.] τ[ί] δ' αὖ τὸ] φων[οῦ]ν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦντος ἥ  
 τοῦζω, φράσο[ν]. 300

*Folium 12.*

Fons unicus est folium duodecimum papyraceum, fragmentis adjectis nullis, nisi quod feliciter in v. 307 accedit Pollucis auctoritas.

V. 288. P + P<sup>2</sup> τοιάνδεγῆρυν . Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 289. P<sup>2</sup> μηνῦναπίστε[.]·πιστα . Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 290. Huic versui praefigit P signum  $\overline{\gamma}$ , versum trecentessimum indicans. Vide cap. VI. A, et notas apud versus 92, 193, 195, 290. P φθεγμα, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

P τωνδαναυδος .

v. 291. P<sup>2</sup> addit colon post πιθου et alterum post φωνην, dat ἦν ὁ θήρ, notamque adjicit in margine: ζωνδενη[, i.e. ζῶν δ' ἐνηχος ἦν ὁ θήρ. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 292. P<sup>2</sup> περ[.]μήκης, adjecto pleno quod aiunt puncto, et deinde ἡπίκυρτος·ἡβραχυσ . Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 293. P βραχυσχυτροιδησπ [.]κίληδορακατερρικνωμενος :

P<sup>2</sup> dat βραχυσχυτροίδησπο[.]κίληδοραικατερρικνωμενος et addit in margine notam τροχοιδῆ[, i.e. τροχοίδης. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.



## Column 12.

*Cy.* Be no longer faithless, for with faithful words  
a goddess speaketh graciously unto thee.

*Qu.* But how shall I believe that the voice of that  
which is dead can roar thus loudly? 290

*Cy.* Believe: for in death the beast hath gotten a  
voice, but in life was speechless.

*Qu.* What was the manner of his outward  
appearance? Was it a long beast, or a bent, or a  
short?

*Cy.* Short, after the fashion of a pitcher, and covered  
with a spotted hide.

*Qu.* Is his shape peradventure as a cat's,<sup>1</sup> or as the  
shape of a leopard?

*Cy.* The difference is great exceedingly: for the  
thing is round and the legs thereof are short. 295

*Qu.* Nor yet is it shapen like a weasel or like a spider  
of the sea?

*Cy.* Neither again is it such an one. Nay, search  
out some other similitude.

*Qu.* Lo, is his form, I pray thee, as the form of a  
beetle that hath horns, even the beetle of Mount  
Etna?

*Cy.* Now art thou come nigh unto knowledge of  
that whereto the creature is most like.

*Qu.* Declare thou again and tell me what part  
thereof it is that soundeth, whether the part that is  
within or the part that is without. 300

<sup>1</sup> Bar. vi. 22.

v. 294. P<sup>2</sup> post πεφυκεν plenum quod aiunt punctum adjicit et  
deinde pergit ἡτῶσπορδαλις. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 295. Ante hunc versum scribit P<sup>2</sup> χ', i.e. "nota bene," et post  
με[.]αζυ colon addit. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 296. P<sup>2</sup> post ουδ in initio versus apostropham addit. Huic  
versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 297. P<sup>2</sup> ουδ' αὔ et ἀλλ' ἀλλοιῶν ἐξευρου. Huic versui subscribit  
paragraphum P.

v. 298. P<sup>2</sup> δῆτ' εστιν. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 299. P<sup>2</sup> ὤμαλιστα. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 300. P<sup>2</sup> dat αυτοῦτοντος, adjecto pleno quod aiunt puncto,  
et deinde pergit ἡτόυξω. In fine versus est lacuna capax unius  
literae.

- [KY.] † [λώπη τις, ἐλ]λό[πων] ὀρεινὴ σύγγονος τὼς ὀστρέων.  
[XO.] [οὐκ ἂν σὺ τοῦνομ' ἐν]νέ[ποις]; πόρσυνον, εἴ τι  
πλ[έ]ον ἔχεις.  
[KY.] [τὸν θῆρα μὲν χέλυν, τὸ φωνο]ῦν δ' αὖ λύραν  
ὁ π[αῖς κ]αλεῖ.  
[XO.] [τοῦτ' ἐνθετον θήκη φυλάσσω]ν κτέανον ἢ σύ[ρβη  
'ν] τινί;  
[KY.] [βοὸς μὲν οὔν στέγουσιν αὐτὸ] δέρμα κ[εῦ]στ[ρεφῆς  
λοπός]. 305  
[XO.] [καὶ πῶς τὸ καὶ πρόσθεν γ' ἄφω]ον ὦδ[ε] κλαγ-  
γά[νει θανόν];  
[KY.] † ἐνήλατ' ἄξυλ' ἀρτίγομφα διατόρως ἐρείδεται,  
[νωμῶν γε δις τέσσαρσι χορδὰς] πλεκτά[ναις τὼς  
πουλύπους]  
[ὅδι, δὴ ὅζων ἐκάτερον πρῶτον κ]λάδος κ[άτω  
σχάσας].  
[χορδὰς γὰρ οἶων ἔπτ' ἔπηξε· κόλ]λοπες δ' ἔ[πεισ'  
ῖσοι], 310  
[ὥστ' ἢ μπιέζειν ἢ κχαλᾶν ἀφῆ τὸν] ἀμμάτω[ν τόνον].  
[καὶ τοῦτον ἐξόρнуσι παῖς βρόμ]ον [τὸν ἤκουες σύ γε],

v. 301. P [.....]λο[..]ορεινησυγγονοστωστραχεων: P<sup>2</sup> nihil in textu mutat, nisi quod ορεινη in ορινη vertit; sed in margine notam addit post lunatum signum, quale apud versus 206 et 274 exhibetur, sic: συγγονουσεστρα[, et infra ο'ηεν' [.].ε], i.e. συγγονοῦς' ἐστραμμένων' οὔτως ἦν ἐν τῷ Θέωνος. Pro εστρα in nota Hunt dat οστρα, confessus tamen dubiam esse o literam: credit ille legendum esse συγγόνους ὀστρα[κ, sed ita emergit nec grammatica nec metrum.

v. 302. P<sup>2</sup> πόρσυνον. Extat sedes vicesima secunda.

v. 303. P<sup>2</sup> δ' αὖ .

v. 304. P+P<sup>2</sup> ].κτεανονησύ[...].τινι .

v. 305. Statim post στ extat sedes sive vestigium unius literae: subsequitur lacuna quae caret termino ad quem.

v. 306. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 307. P+P<sup>2</sup> [.....]όρωσερειδετα[ .

Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem. Versus complendus est, sed non sine emendatione, a Polluce (x. 34): μέρη δὲ κλίνης ἐνήλατα καὶ ἐπίκλιντρον, τὸ μὲν γε ἐπίκλιντρον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους εἰρημένον· Σοφοκλῆς δ' ἐν Ἰχθυεῦταῖς σατύροις ἔφη· ἐνήλατα ξύλα τρίγομφα διατορεῦσαι σε δεῖται.

v. 308. Post πλεκτα extat unius literae vestigium: subsequitur lacuna quae caret termino ad quem.

v. 309. P<sup>2</sup> [.....]λάδοσκ[ . Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 310. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

v. 311. P [.....]αμμάτω[: P<sup>2</sup> αμμάτω in ομμάτω mutat. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem.

*Cy.* It is, as it were, his coat, yea, a thing that is as sister in the mountains to the speechless mother of pearls.

*Qu.* Wilt thou not declare the name? Do thou set it forth, if so be thou have further knowledge.

*Cy.* The child calleth the beast a tortoise, and the part again that soundeth a lute.<sup>1</sup>

*Qu.* Keepeth he meanwhile this possession enclosed in a coffer or, perhaps, in a basket as a pipe?

*Cy.* Nay, but the skin of an ox and a hide well woven surroundeth it. 305

*Qu.* But how can that which even aforetime also was speechless now in death raise this loud clamour?

*Cy.* Degrees not of wood, degrees fitted fast, this child presseth with a loud noise;

Yea, as a sea-monster of many feet that waveth his eight members, so with eight thereof he handleth the strings,

After that he hath bestowed in the nether part the first twig of either of his bunches.

For seven strings made of the inwards of sheep hath he set in his instrument, and pins of like number are thereon, 310

So that with his hand he can either increase or minish the rigour of the stretched cords.

And the child stirreth up this roaring, the which thou hast lately heard,

<sup>1</sup> Ps. (B.C.P.) xxxiii. 2, lvii. 9, lxxxi. 2, xcii. 3, cviii. 2, cxliv. 9, and cl. 3.

v. 312. Lacuna in fine versus caret termino ad quem. Ultimus qui extet hujus foli versus hic est, et ipse quidem ferme periit. Magnitudines foliorum eae sunt ut infra hunc versum liqueat alterum quondam versum fuisse, fieri possit ut duo versus fuerint. Simili modo in folio sequenti 13 infra ultimum, cujus pars exstet, versum, 338, liquet alios duo olim fuisse versus, fieri potest ut tres versus fuerint. Si quis autem foli 15 reliquias accurate inspexerit, videbit illum in illo folio versum, quem ego 390 numeravi, utpote in tertio loco a fine foli stantem, versum aut vicesimum quartum aut vicesimum quintum ejus foli esse. Porro, quamquam id folium satis magna ex parte periit, nihilominus procul dubio duo versus antistrophicos, ut strophæ docet, in capite olim habuit, et inde usque ad finem stichomythiam, loquentibus Cyllena et choro, praesentavit, quorum priorem locutam esse Cyllenam constat, nam praejectum carmen in ore chori est. Sequitur ut versus, quem 390 numero, ille enim versus a choro dicitur,



[νευράς ὅταν θέλῃ ψαλάσσειν χερσὶν ἢ πλήκτρῳ  
θιγῶν].

[πλήκτρον γὰρ εὔρε διάδοχον πόνων καμοῦσι  
δακτύλοις].

*Folium 13.*

καὶ τοῦτο λύπη[ς] ἔστ' ἄκεστρον καὶ παραψυκ-  
[τ]ήρ[ιο]ν 315

κείνῳ μόνον· χα[ί]ρει δ' ἄλῳν καὶ τι προσφω-  
ν[ῶν μέλος]

ξύμφωνον· ἐξα[ί]ρει γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰόλισμα τῆς  
λ[ύ]ρας.

οὕτως ὁ παῖς θανόντι θηρὶ φθέγμ' ἐμηχανήσατ[ο].

[XO.] † ὑποψάλακτος τίς ὁμφὰ κατοιχ- [στρ.]

† νεῖ τόπου, θρέπτα δῖ', ἄ τόμουρ' 320  
ἄσματ', ἔγχωρε Πάν, θεμίζῃ;

parem in folio numerum, haud numerum imparem, habeat. Quare ille versus non vicesimus quintus est, sed vicesimus quartus. His rebus bene cognitis, procedere possumus. Idem ille versus, quem 390 numero, signum sibi habet praefixum  $\delta$  (nisi quod linea in  $\delta$  superior periit), i.e. "v. 400." Cum autem versus, quem 290 numero, sibi praefixum habet signum  $\gamma$ , i.e. "v. 300," constat verum, quem 390 numero, centesimum esse a versu, quem 290 numero. Vidimus versum 390 vicesimum quartum esse sui foli. Folium 14 viginti sex versus habet. Additis inter se numeris viginti quattuor et viginti sex, summam obtinemus versuum quinquaginta. Unde patet alios quinquaginta versus ad saeculum centum versuum claudendum necessarios esse. Ergo pars ea foli 12 quae post versum  $\gamma$  venit conjunctim cum folio toto 13 quinquaginta versus exhibere debet. Versus  $\gamma$  tertius est in folio 12. Diximus id folium in fine deperdita aut unum versum aut duo versus amisisse, i.e. aut viginti sex aut viginti septem versus continuisse olim. Post versum  $\gamma$  igitur aut viginti tres aut viginti quattuor versus habuit. Diximus praeterea folium 13 in fine deperdita aut duo aut tres versus amisisse, i.e. aut viginti sex aut viginti septem versus continuisse olim. Unde fit, ne quinquaginta versuum numerum excedamus, ut aut extantibus foli 12 versibus duo versus et extantibus foli 13 versibus duo versus addamus, aut extantibus foli 12 versibus unum versum et extantibus foli 13 versibus tres versus addamus: et folio 12 duo versus et folio 13 tres versus simul addere nullo modo licet. Puto equidem rem tractandam in fine foli 12 vix intra unius versus spatium commodè tractari posse, omne autem quod in fine foli 13 dicendum sit intra spatium duorum versuum bene posse dici: ergo folio 12 duo versus addo et folio 13 duo versus.

v. 313. Vide notam apud v. 312.

v. 314. Vide notam apud v. 312.

When it pleaseth him to smite upon the thongs, touching them with his hands or with his rod :

For a rod also did he invent to relieve his fingers in their labour against they should be weary.

*Column 13.*

And this is a cure for sorrow and a consolation 315

To him only : he rejoiceth, being beside himself and singing some song in concord with the tune<sup>1</sup> of his musick ;

For the great variety<sup>2</sup> of the sounds of the lute<sup>3</sup> holdeth his mind in a trance.

On this wise for a beast that is dead hath the young child fashioned a voice.

*Qu.* What sound of a note<sup>4</sup> smitten in secret goeth abroad through the place where thou, O nourisher most holy, Pan, that art god of this country, utterest thy judgements in songs, even in songs of prophecy ?

319, 320, 321

<sup>1</sup> See reference at l. 146.

<sup>3</sup> See references at l. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Ecclus. xxxviii. 27, l. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Wisd. xix. 18.

*Folium 13.*

Fons unicus est folium decimum tertium papyraceum, fragmentis adjectis nullis, nisi quod tenuissimum Fragmentum 8 versibus 336 et 337 dubitanter assignavi. Quot hoc in folio lacunae sunt in finibus versuum, tot carent terminis ad quos : inter hos sunt versus 315, 335, 337, completi quamvis procul dubio jam esse videantur.

V. 316. P<sup>2</sup> post μονον colon addit.

v. 317. P<sup>2</sup> post ξυμφωνον colon addit, et dat αόλισμα .

v. 318. P<sup>2</sup> φθεγγυ'εμηχανησατ[ .

v. 319. Versui praecedenti subscribit P praefixa coronide paragraphum, ante autem coronidem idem signum quod ante coronidem quae inter versus 56 et 57 ponitur : vide notam apud v. 57. Ante hunc versum 319 scribit P χ° . Ipsum versum ita dat P : οψαλακτοστισομφηκατοιχνητοπου[ : P<sup>2</sup> nihil mutat nisi quod κατοιχνητ exhibit. Ego νειτοπου in initium versus sequentis 320 transtuli.

v. 320. Vide finem notae apud v. 319. Hunc versum ita exhibit P : .ρεπταδιατονουφασματεγ, eo ab loco orsus ut prima, quae legi non potest, litera ante justam sedem paullo protrudat : P<sup>2</sup> primam hanc literam eluit aliquomodo et subsequentem literam ρ in π mutat, atque post hoc π inserit novum ρ : P<sup>2</sup> totum versum sic dat : πρεπταδιατονουφάσματ'έγ . Ego ασματεγ in initium versus sequentis 321 transtuli.

v. 321. Vide finem notae apud v. 320. In hoc versu P χωρεπανθεμιζει : P<sup>2</sup> post χωρ apostropham adjicit, et versui addit notam επανθεμιζεται ενθ . Hanc notam haud scribit P in margine, sed post finem ipsius versus, qui brevis est.

- † τὸ πρᾶγμα δ' οἷπερ πορεύω βάδαν,  
ἴσθι τὸν δα[ί]μον', ὅστις ποθ', δς  
ταῦτ' ἐτεχνάσατ'—οὐκ ἄλλος ἐστὶν κλ[οπεύς]  
ἀντ' ἐκείνου, γύναι, σάφ' ἴσθι. 325  
σὺ δ' ἀντὶ τῶνδε μὴ χάλεφ-  
† θῆς μὴδὲ δυσφορηθῆς.
- [KY.] [μαργοῖ πλά]νη σε. τίνα κλοπὴν ὠνείδισ[ας];  
[XO.] [σέ γ' οὐδαμῶς, πρέσβ]ειρα, χειμάζειν [θέλω].  
[KY.] [Διόθεν σὺ παῖδ' ἐκφύ]ντα φηλήτην κα[λεῖς]; 330  
[XO.] [ἐλών σφ' ἄρ' ἀπαγάγοιμ'] ἂν αὐτῇ τῇ κλο[πῇ].  
[KY.] [πλάσσεις σύ γ' ὕθλον ἔμο]ιγε; τᾶ[λ]ηθῇ λέ[γε].  
[XO.] [ἦ κάρτα σοί, δέσποινα, τ]άληθῇ λέγ[ω].  
[Ἰηίου γοῦν τόνδε κεκλο]φέναι σαφ[ές]  
[ἀγέλην· ἀμείνονας δὲ τάσ]δε βοῦς πάνυ 335  
[ἄλλ]ω[ν προκρίνας, τῇ λύρ]α καθήρ[μ]ο[σε]  
[ζῶων] ὃ [γ' οὐχὶ ῥινὸν ἐξ ἄλ]λου τεμών,  
[Φοίβου δὲ λιπαρῶν εὐτρο]φο[ν] δ[ο]ρά[ν βοῶν].

v. 322. δουπερ ita tractat P<sup>2</sup>: post δ adjicit apostropham, supra o scribit spiritum asperum et accentum acutum, in utroque latere literae u ponit punctum: duorum hic usus punctorum procul dubio idem est qui in versu 219, ubi P<sup>2</sup> accentum a se supra tertiam verbi ευιαζετ syllabam positum, eo ipso modo, cum id verbum in ευιαζεσ postea mutat, manifesto delet. P βαδην: P<sup>2</sup> βᾶδην .

v. 323. P<sup>2</sup> δά[.]μον' οστίσποθαός .

v. 324. P ετεχνησατουκ . P<sup>2</sup> post ταυτ addit apostropham et post ετεχνησατ alteram apostropham et colon.

v. 325. P<sup>2</sup> σάφ'ισθι' .

v. 326. In finem hujus versus ego primam φ literam versus sequentis transtuli. Vide notam apud versum 327.

v. 327. Vide notam apud versum 326. Hoc in versu P φθηισεμοιδεδυσφορηθησ: P<sup>2</sup> φθῆισεμοιδεδυσφορηθησ . Grammaticus, apud Musaeum Philologicum (II. 113), dat, sine auctoris nomine: σύγνωθι μοι καὶ μὴ χάλεφθῆς ὦ πάτερ. Unde suspicor hic in versibus 326 et 327 restituendum esse :

σύγνωθι μοι καὶ μὴ χάλεφ-  
θῆς μὴδὲ δυσφορηθῆς.

v. 328. P<sup>2</sup> [.....!']νησε' .

v. 329. Statim ante ειρα extat unius literae sedes.

v. 330. P, more solito recentiorum, φιλήτην: P<sup>2</sup> φῖλήτην .

v. 331. P<sup>2</sup> ἄν .

v. 332. P<sup>2</sup> τᾶ[.]ηθη .

v. 336. [.....]α: P<sup>2</sup>[.....]αι .

Hoc in versu et in versu subsequenti, cum ambos equidem, nulla fragmentorum habita ratione, satis idoneis, nisi fallor, complementis instruxissem, agnovi me fortuito Fragmentum 8 exhibuisse, quod fragmentum multis aliis lacunis frustra conatus sum assignare. Valde



As touching the conclusion toward which with slow steps  
 I am carrying the matter, know, woman, concerning  
 the holy one, whosoever he be, who devised these  
 doings, that there is no other thief but he only :  
 know thou this of a surety. 322, 323, 324, 325

Lo, because of these my words be thou not angry nor  
 displeased. 326, 327

*Cy.* Some delusion doth make thee mad. Touching  
 what theft imputest thou iniquity ?

*Qu.* Upon thee, O thou honourable among women,  
 would I no ways bring any storm.

*Cy.* The child whom Jupiter begat, the same dost  
 thou term a malefactor ? 330

*Qu.* If so be I could take him, I would even carry  
 him away, himself and his theft with him.

*Cy.* Babblest thou with feigned lips, even thou unto  
 me ? Nay, speak thou the truth.

*Qu.* Of a surety unto thee, lady, the truth do I speak.  
 It is manifest in any case that this boy hath stolen the  
 herd of Apollo :

And considering that the kine thereof were altogether  
 more excellent 335

Than are other kine, he fashioned a covering meet for  
 his lute,<sup>1</sup>

Cutting the skin for the same from none other among  
 living creatures,

But taking the hide well nourished of the fatted kine  
 of Phebus.

<sup>1</sup> See references at l. 303.

tamen in dubio est, si quam incerta hoc in loco sit lectio consideramus,  
 an vera haec sit fragmenti sedes : nihilominus fragmentum posses-  
 sionem neque vi neque clam nactum est, precarioque tantum retinendi  
 poscit facultatem. Hoc est :

]ω[  
 ].ο[ .

Includo equidem in verbis

ἄλλ]ω[ν  
 ζῶω]ν ὅ [γ' .

Notandum est non posse fragmentum hic locari nisi scripserit P ζῶων  
 sine ι. Eandem utique scripturam postulat, fragmento neglecto, ratio  
 probabilis columnaris lacunae.

v. 337. Vide notam apud v. 336.

v. 338. Inter φο et δ extat unius literae sedes.

[τεκμήριον δέ· τάσδε μὴ κλέψας ὁ παῖς]  
[πόθεν βοείαν, ἣν λέγεις, ἐκτήσατο];

340

*Folium 14.*

[ΚΥ.] ἤδη μὲν οὐ, σὲ δ' ἄρτι μανθάνω χρόνω  
[πρὸς ὕβριν ἐγχ]άσκοντα τῇ 'μῇ μωρία  
[κατὰ χρηστὸν ο]ὐδέν, ἀλλὰ παιδιᾶς χάριν.  
[καὶ δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἔμ' εὐδίαν ἔχων,  
[εἰ τοῦτό σοι χάρ]μ' ἢ τι κερδαίνειν δοκεῖς, 345  
[πρὸς ἡδονὴν κá]χαζε καὶ τέρπου φρένα.  
[τὸν δ' ἀπομαγέ]ντα τοῦ Διὸς σαφεῖ λόγῳ  
[μὴ σκῶπτε ποι]ῶν ἐν νέῳ νέον λόγον·  
[ὅς γ' οὐχὶ δὴ τι] πρὸς πατρὸς κλέπτῃς ἔφυ,  
[οὐδ' εἰς πλέω 'ν μ]ήτρῳσιν ἢ κλοπῇ κρατεῖ. 350  
[θοῦ γ' ἥ χρεώ τ]ις ἐστὶ τὸν κλέπτῃν. σκόπει  
† [κῆπου σὺ] καρπὸν τοῦδ'. ἔτ' οὐ Πάν αἰνόμος;  
[ἄθρ]ει γένος, πρόσαπτε τὴν πονηρίαν  
[πρὸς] ὄντιν' ἥκει· τῷδε δ' οὐχ οὕτω πρέπει.  
† ἀ[λλ'] αἰέν ἐσσι παῖς· ἑνος γὰρ ὦν ἀνὴρ 355  
π[ώγ]ωνι θάλλων ὥς τράγος κνήκῳ χλιδᾶς.  
† παῦ' οὖν τὸ λεῖον φαλακρὸν ἡδονῇ πιτνάς.

v. 339. Vide notam apud v. 312.

v. 340. Vide notam apud v. 312.

*Folium 14.*

Fons unicus est folium decimum quartum papyraceum, fragmentis adjectis nullis.

V. 341. P μανθανωιχρονωι, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 343. Ante αλλα ponit colon P<sup>2</sup> et alterum in fine versus; dat etiam παιδιᾶς .

v. 344. P<sup>2</sup> εισεμ'ευδιαν .

v. 345. P<sup>2</sup> [.....]μ'ητι .

v. 346. In fine versus ponit colon P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 348. In fine versus ponit colon P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 350. Volo εν pro 'ν scriptum. In fine versus addit colon P<sup>2</sup>.

v. 352. P [.....]καρποντουδετουπαναιδομος:

P<sup>2</sup> [.....]καρποντουδεδ'ουπαναιδομος .

v. 354. P [...]σοντονηκειτω δετουχουτωπρεπει:

P<sup>2</sup> [...]σοντιν'ηκει·τωιδεδ'ουχουτωπρεπει .

v. 355. P, ubi ego ἐσσι, ἐστι exhibuisse probabile est: papyrus dat, secundum Hunt, εἰσι, sed ego ἐσσι intendi suspicor, ab ἐστι a P<sup>2</sup> mutatum: fatetur Hunt σ litteram tertiam signa mutationis prae se ferre. P νεοσγαρωνανηρ: P<sup>2</sup> adjectivum νεος puncto utrinque posito ornat; qua de re vide notam apud v. 322: idem post finem versus lineam addit, similem paragraphi, sed brevioris et in medio ipsius textus situ positam.

And here is a proof of the matter. If the child stole not  
 these cattle,  
 From whence gat he him the skin whereof thou hast  
 made mention ? 340

*Column 14.*

*Cy.* Once knew I not, but now have I learned in process  
 of time  
 How in the haughtiness of thine heart thou makest a  
 mock at my folly  
 Unto no good end, but only for the sake of pastime.<sup>1</sup>  
 And now henceforward for ever thou mayest have tran-  
 quillity as concerning me,  
 And if it be thy delight or thou think that it profiteth  
 thee aught, 345  
 At thy pleasure do thou laugh me to scorn and rejoice  
 thine heart :  
 But him that, to use plainness of speech, is the express  
 image of Jupiter  
 Deride not, taking up against a child a childish parable,  
 Seeing that by inheritance from his father he was verily  
 not born a thief,  
 Nor among his mother's kinsfolk doth theft any the more  
 prevail. 350  
 Where there is lack of substance, there do thou place thy  
 thief.  
 Behold thou the fruit of this orchard. Is not Pan still  
 a herdman of goats ?  
 First give good heed to the pedigree, and then impute  
 the iniquity  
 To the person to whom it belongeth : but blame per-  
 taineth not to the boy if thou thus reason.  
 Nay, but thou art a child for ever : for though thou  
 be an ancient man, 355  
 Thou waxest wanton, breaking forth like a he-goat with  
 yellow beard.  
 Make therefore an end of stretching out thy bald and  
 smooth pate to entice pleasure unto thee.

<sup>1</sup> Wisd. xv. 12, Eccclus. xxxii. 12, Bar. iii. 17, Ps. (B.C.P.) civ. 26.

v. 356. P κνικωχλιδαις : P<sup>2</sup> κνικωχλιδᾶϊς .

v. 357. P παυουτολειονφαλακρονηδονηπιτινας : P<sup>2</sup> nihil mutat,  
 nisi quod ηδονη pro ηδονη dat.



- † [ο]ὐκ εἰς θεῶν τόμουρα καί γελατικά χρή  
 † [χ]ανόντα κλαίειν ὕστερόν σε τοῦ γέλω.  
 [XO.] στρέφου λυγίζου τε μύθοις, ὅποι- [ἀντιστρ.] 360  
 αν θέλεις βάζειν εὐρισκ' ἀπό-  
 ψακτον· οὐ γάρ με ταῦτα πείσεις,  
 † ὅπως τὸ χρῆμ' οὗτος εἰργασμένος  
 ῥινοκόλλατον ἄλλων ἔκλε-  
 ψεν βοῶν που δορά[ς γ' ἦ]' πὸ τῶν Λοξίου. 365  
 [μ]ή με τᾶ[σδ' ἐ]ξ ὁδοῦ βίβαζε.

*Folium 15.*

[τάδ' ὦδε δὴ δ]εδ[ογμέν' ἔστ']  
 [ἰηία σ]ὺ[ν] ὅσσα.

v. 358. P [.]υκεκθεωνταμωρακαιγελ, et idem perrexisse plane videtur, sed quid postea scripserit est ignotum, omne enim, vestigiis quam minimis exceptis, eluit P<sup>2</sup>: pro scriptura ita abolita substituit P<sup>2</sup> οιαχρη .

v. 359. P [.]ανοντακλαιεινυστερωιτεγωγελω: in textu mutat P<sup>2</sup> τεγωγελω in τετωγελω, sed in margine addit notam υστερωσεγω .

v. 360. Ego ab initio versus sequentis in finem versus hujus οποιαν transtuli.

v. 361. Vide notam apud versum 360. Hoc in versu

P οποιανθελουισβαξινευρισκαπο:

P<sup>2</sup> οποιανθελουισβαξινευρισκαπο .

v. 362. P ψηκτον, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup> nisi quod post ψηκτον colon addit.

v. 363. P πωστοχρηματουτεσειργσμενος . P<sup>2</sup> nihil mutat in textu, sed notam addit in margine τοχρηματουτος et infra "η[...]" .

v. 364. P ρινοκολλητοναλλωνεκλεψενβοων, nec mutat P<sup>2</sup>. Ego ψενβοων a fine hujus versus in initium versus sequentis transtuli.

v. 365. Vide notam apud versum 364. Hoc in versu, prodelisione usus, scribo equidem δοράς γ' ἦ ' πὸ, sed dat papyrus [...]απο . In fine versus P<sup>2</sup> colon addit.

v. 366. In fine versus P<sup>2</sup> colon addit.

*Folium 15.*

Fons maximus est folium papyraceum decimum quintum, quod tamen scissum est in partes tres. Pars prima, deperditis tribus a capite versibus, exhibet versuum 370-375 non ipsa initia sed reliquias statim post initia positas, ita ut sequentes lacunae careant terminis ad quos. Inter partem primam et partem secundam periit e folio unus versus ita ut ne locum quidem ejus versus folium exhibeat. Pars secunda habet locum versus 377 et versus 378, literas primas versuum 379-381, locum versus 382, literam primam versus 383, literam primam et aliam in medio literam versus 384, maximamque, finibus tantum paucisque alibi perditis literis, portionem uniuscujusque versuum 385-392: omnes quae versus claudunt hac in parte lacunae carent terminis ad quos. Pars tertia suo a folio abscissa est et, namque de volumine agitur, folio sequenti 16 adhaeret. Haec pars ipsius nihil textus continet, sed exhibet fines duarum notarum a P<sup>2</sup> in margine scriptarum, unius apud v. 386, alterius apud v. 388.

It is not meet that by mocking at the things of the gods,  
even at the mysteries of prophecy and the art of  
the herdmen of goats,

Thou bring upon thyself the punishment of tears in  
exchange for thy laughter.

*Qu.* Struggle thou and wrestle against me with vain  
words: seek thee out any kind thou wilt of furbished  
story: 360, 361

For of this thou wilt not persuade me, that the child  
who of skins sewed together hath made this thing  
stole the hides from other kine in any quarter and  
not from them of the lord that speaketh in riddles.  
Seek not to turn me aside out of this way.

362, 363, 364, 365, 366

*Column 15.*

Thus have I determined in my mind these things already  
with the help of the inspiration of the healer.

367, 368

Accedunt fragmenta novem ejusmodi ut valde probabiliter sex, probabiliter quattuor suas in stationes reduci possint. Haec fragmenta numerat Hunt Fr. 5, Fr. 4, Fr. 10, Fr. 21, Fr. 31, Fr. 9, Fr. 20, Fr. 19, Fr. 7, quorum incertius quam caetera locantur Fr. 5, Fr. 10, Fr. 9. Fr. 5 vestigium unius literae in versu 367 et unam in versu 368 literam videtur exhibere. Fr. 4 partes posteriores amborum horum versuum praesentat. Fr. 10 portionem minutam versus 368 dare videtur. Fr. 21 locum versus 367 et partem loci versus 368 exhibet, tres literas sub finem versus 369, literam paeneultimam et locum literae ultimae versus 370, literasque duas ultimas versus 371. Fr. 31 partem loci versus 368 exhibet, priorem quam quae in Fr. 21 occurrit, et aliquot literas in media parte uniuscujusque versuum 369-372. Fr. 9 exhibere videtur unam in versu 373 et unam in versu 374 literam. Fr. 20 aliquot literas exhibet paulo post initia uniuscujusque versuum 376-9. Fr. 19 exhibet literas in media parte uniuscujusque versuum 376-8. Fr. 7 unam literam praebet in versu 385 et duas literas in versu 386.

Adde quod octo brevissima fragmenta sunt, omnia situ jam tabida, omnia eadem specie, quae huic equidem folio inducar ut assignem. In ordine, in quo iis usus sum, haec sunt, Fr. 18, Fr. 15, Fr. 12, Fr. 17, Fr. 11, Fr. 16, Fr. 14, Fr. 13. His de fragmentis octo sub capite fragmentorum utilius quam hic disserere me posse existimo.

V. 367. Extremum post scripturam hujus versus locum in Fr. 21 existere contendo. Supra hujus versus locum Fr. 21 exhibet ].: litera incerta ibi mihi ob causas in notis Anglicis expositas stare videtur ubi staret litera undetrigesima versus a P<sup>2</sup> scripti; sed suspicor a P<sup>2</sup> scriptam esse, et conjicio ultimam esse literam versus versui 385 rivalis: vide notam apud v. 385. Fragmenta 5 et 4 huic versui, necnon versui subsequenti, assigno: de qua re vide notas Anglice scriptas.

v. 368. Hujus versus post scripturam locum in Fr. 31 et longius post scripturam in Fr. 21 existere contendo. Vide etiam notam apud

[KY.] [καὶ πῶ]ς [βλέπει πρ]ὸ[ς ἄ]ροτ[ον οὐδ' ἰδὼν] γ'  
ῦν[ιν];

[XO.] [ὁ Z]εὺς γὰρ [οὖν παιδὰ]ρια [πά]ν[τεχν' ἔκτισ]ε[ν].  
370

[KY.] [ὁ π]αῖς κλο[πε]ῦς [οὐκ], εὐθὺ[ς] ὥ[ν. αὐ]τως ἀλ[ῆ].

[XO.] [οὔ] τοι πονη[ρὸν ἐσ]χ[άτω]ς εὐθὺν καλῶ.

[KY.] [κ]ακῶς ἀκού[ειν οὐ] π[ρέπει Διὸς γόνω].

[XO.] [ε]ἰ δ' ἔστ' ἀλη[θῆ] ταῦ[τ]α, χρέη με καὶ λέγειν].

[KY.] [ο]ὐ μὲν τὰδ' [εἰ]πης, ἀλλὰ σῖγ' ἕξεις στόμα]; 375

[XO.] [ῆ] τῶ[ν βοῶ]ν γ' ἔχνευμ]α μ[ὴ διώ]ξομαι];

[KY.] [οὐ σῖγ'] ἀνέξ[η περὶ βο]ῶν τῶνδ' α]ὑτίκ[α];

[XO.] [ἔπε]στι τό[δε θεό]σσυ[τόν γ' ἄθλον, γύ]ν[αι].

[KY.] τ[ῶ] δ' ἕξε]τασ[τῇ τῶν θεῶν ὑπηρετεῖς];

[XO.] [ἰχνοσκοπῶ δὴ Λοξίου νομεύμ]ατ[α]. 380

Quoties hoc in folio linea literae subest, eam ego literam ex aliquopiam octo fragmentorum brevium in textum induxi, quae tamen fragmenta, ut de pluribus loquar, conjecturali tantum ratione suis locis assignari queunt. Ejusmodi literas, quot in versibus 377, 378, 386, 387, occurrunt, quasi justo quodam postliminio proprias ad sedes rediisse arbitror. Ex contrario neque literae s, quam in versu 369 exhibeo, neque literarum ατ, quas in versu 380 pono, veras positiones ullo modo determinare possumus. Ceterae id genus literae condicione sunt media, quarum quidem alias probabilius, incertius alias locavi.

v. 367. Huic versui Fr. 10 assigno: de qua re vide notas Anglice scriptas.

v. 369. Fr. 31 ]ροτ[: Fr. 21 ]γυν[: quae fragmenta ob causas in notis Anglice scriptis explicatas ita conjungo:

[.....]ροτ[.....]γυν[. Vide etiam notam apud Fr. 18 et notam apud Fr. 15.

v. 370. Folium [...]ευσαρ[: Fr. 31 ]ρια[: Fr. 21 ].ε.: quae eadem qua in v. 369 ratione ita conjungo:

[...]ευσαρ[.....]ρια[.....].ε.: vide etiam notam apud Fr. 17.

v. 371. Folium [...]αισκλο[: Fr. 31 ]ευθυ[: Fr. 21 ]αι: quae eadem qua in v. 369 ratione ita conjungo:

[...]αισκλο[.....]ευθυ[.....]αι: vide etiam notam apud Fr. 12 et notam apud Fr. 17.

v. 372. Folium [...]τοιπονη[: Fr. 31 ]ατω[: quae eadem qua in v. 369 ratione ita conjungo: [...]τοιπονη[.....]ατω[.

v. 373. Folium [...]ακωσακου[. Huic versui et versui subsequenti assigno Fr. 9: vide notas Anglice scriptas.

v. 374. In folio P dat [...]δεσταλη[: post εστ addit apostropham P<sup>2</sup>. Vide etiam notam apud v. 373.

v. 375. In folio P dat [...]υμηταδ[: post ταδ addit apostropham P<sup>2</sup>.



*Cy.* But how are his eyes toward the earing, when he hath not so much as seen a ploughshare ?

*Qu.* Lo, the children that Jupiter begetteth have skill in all manner of workmanship. 370

*Cy.* This child is not a thief, for he is upright. Thou art altogether beside thyself.

*Qu.* Verily I call not upright one that is desperately wicked.

*Cy.* It behoveth not the son of Jupiter to be evil spoken of.

*Qu.* Nay, but if these things be true, it is right that I also utter them.

*Cy.* Utter thou them not, but refrain thy lips in silence. 375

*Qu.* Shall I cease from this my pursuit after the footsteps of the oxen ?

*Cy.* Hold thou thy peace straightway concerning these oxen.

*Qu.* Nay, woman, but this is a business wherewith a god hath charged me.

*Cy.* To which of the gods dost thou obey, and who is thy taskmaster ?

*Qu.* I search out the footsteps of the herds of the lord that speaketh in riddles. 380

v. 376. Hic versus et ipse locus e folio prorsus perierunt in scissura inter primam et secundam folii partem. Fr. 20 ]νβωω[ : Fr. 19 ]αμ[ : quae simili ut in v. 369 ratione ita conjungo : [... ]νβωω[.....]αμ[ .

v. 377. Hujus versus loci initium in folio extat, sed ipsius textus nihil, nisi quod versui subscripsit paragraphum P. Fr. 20 ]ανεξ[ : Fr. 19 ]ων[ : quae simili ut in v. 369 ratione ita conjungo : [... ]ανεξ[.....]ων[ . Vide etiam notam apud Fr. 11.

v. 378. Hujus versus loci initium in folio extat, sed ipsius textus nihil, nisi quod versui subscripsit paragraphum P. Fr. 20 ]στιτο[ : Fr. 19 ]σσυ[ : quae simili ut in v. 369 ratione ita conjungo : [... ]στιτο[.....]σσυ[ . Vide etiam notam apud Fr. 11.

v. 379. Folium dat primam hujus versus literam τ : Fr. 20 ]τασ[ : quae simili ut in v. 369 ratione ita conjungo : τ[.....]τασ[ . Versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 380. In folio praefigit huic versui P<sup>2</sup> signum χ<sup>t</sup>, i.e. "nota bene". Folium dat primam textus literam ι. Vide etiam notam apud Fr. 16. Versui subscribit paragraphum P.

- [KY.] ὁ[πεκφυγόντ' αὐλῆς σύ γ', ἥ κλεφθέντα που];  
 [XO.] [κλεφθέντα γ', εἰ δεῖ πολλάκις ταῦτὸν λέγειν].  
 [KY.] λ[άβοις δὲ μισθὸν ἄν τιν', εἰ θήρας τύχοις];  
 [XO.] γ[έρας γ'] 'Α[πόλλων βοῦς ἔχων δώσει μέγα].  
 [KY.] πο[ῦ] καὶ βόες νέμονται, τ[ίς δ' ὁ β]ο[υκός]; 385  
 [XO.] πελέθοις δέ γ' ἦδη νῦν βοῶν [τεκμ]αίρομ[αι].  
 [KY.] † τ[ί] σ', ὦ πόνηρ', ἔχει; τί πελ[έθους] τοῦσδ'  
 ὕθ]λε[ῖς];  
 [XO.] † ὁ παῖς τὸδ' οἶδεν οὔνδον ἐγκεκλῆ[μέ]νος.  
 [KY.] † [τὸ]ν παῖδα παῦσε τὸν Διὸς [κ]ατο[νό]μενος].  
 [XO.] π[α]ύοι μ' [ἄ]ν, [εἰ] τὰς βοῦς τις ἐ[ξε]λαῖν θέλοι].  
 390  
 [KY.] ἦδη με πνίγεις καὶ σὺ χα[ῖ] βόες σέθεν].  
 [XO.] [ὀδ' ὁ]λεῖ σε προ[ό]χυν[υ γ'. ἦ] 'ξέλαυν[ε δεῦρο βοῦς].

v. 381. Folium dat primam hujus versus literam υ. Versui subscribit paragrahum P.

v. 382. Periit omnino textus hujus versus, sed versui subscribit paragrahum P.

v. 383. Folium dat primam hujus versus literam λ. Versui subscribit paragrahum P.

v. 384. Folium dat γ.[....]α..[ . Versui subscribit paragrahum P.

v. 385. Huic versui praefigit P<sup>2</sup> signum quoddam, non jam distinctum, sed id ut speciem habeat quasi σ puncto superposito, ita Ć. Suspicio sigma hoc cum puncto vim habere antisigmati cum puncto, quod ϙ scribi solet. Ponitur antisigma cum puncto, ut docet Isidorus (Orig. i. 20), in iis locis ubi in eodem sensu duplices versus sunt et dubitatur uter potius eligendus sit: vide notam apud v. 367. Dat folium πο[.]καίβοεσσενουσιτ[ : Hunt non βοεσ dat, sed βοασ: atqui pro hac lectione nihil ipse fortius dicit quam βοεσ quidem bene posse legi, at dubiae literae reliquias fortasse non esse alienas ab alpha litera. Versui subscribit paragrahum P. Huic versui et versui subsequenti assigno Fr. 7: vide notas Anglice scriptas.

v. 386. P, in parte secunda foli, dat π[.]ειουσδεγηδηγυν[ : P<sup>2</sup> hunc textum non mutat, nisi quod post δεγ apostropham addit; sed in margine notam adjicit, cujus reliquiae satis magnae extant, in tertia foli parte servatae, nempe ]ελεθοισβοων et infra νενθ<sup>ε</sup>, i.e. πελέθοις, βοῶν οὕτως ἦν ἐν τῷ Θέωνος. Vide etiam notam apud v. 385 et notam apud Fr. 14. Versui subscribit paragrahum P.

v. 387. In folio P τ[.]σωπονηρεχειτιπλ[ : in folio P<sup>2</sup> τ[ι]σωπόνηρ'εχειτιπλ[ : de πλ vide notam quam scripsit P<sup>2</sup> apud

*Cy.* Whether gone in privy flight from their fenced pasture, or else peradventure stolen, that thou so doest ?

*Qu.* Stolen verily, if I must needs say the same thing thus often.

*Cy.* And wouldest thou receive any recompense, if thou foundest that thou seekest ?

*Qu.* Yea, Apollo will give a great reward, if only he have his oxen.

*Cy.* And where do these oxen find pasture, and who is the herdman thereof ? 385

*Qu.* Lo, now can I judge already of the oxen by the evidence of their dung.

*Cy.* Thou lewd fellow, what hath befallen thee ? Why babblest thou thus to me of dung ?

*Qu.* The child that is shut up within knoweth the reason.

*Cy.* Do thou cease from railing accusation of the child of Jupiter.

*Qu.* If any man were minded to drive forth the kine, the same would cause me to cease. 390

*Cy.* In my throat by this time thou stickest, even thou and thy kine.

*Qu.* Yea, and I will be thy destruction to the uttermost. Else drive forth the cattle hither.

v. 386, citatam supra. Vide etiam notam meam apud Fr. 14. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 388. In folio P *οπαιστοδενδονεγκεκλη*[ : in folio P<sup>2</sup> *οπαισὸδ'ενδονεστινεγκεκλη*[ : in margine P<sup>2</sup> notam addit, cujus finis extat, in tertia foli parte servatus, nempe ]νος, i.e. ἐγκεκλημένος.

v. 389. In folio P [...] *νπαιδαπαυσαιτουδιο*ς : in folio P<sup>2</sup> pro *παυσαι* prius dedit *παυου*, scribens ου super σα ; postea autem in utroque latere hujus ου punctum, delendi causa, posuit. Vide etiam notam apud Fr. 13.

v. 390. In folio ante hunc versum scribit P id quod nunc quidem est δ tantum sed olim procul dubio fuit δ̄, i.e. "v. 400" : vide cap. vi. A, et notas apud versus 92, 193, 195, 290. Folium π[.]υοιμ[.]υ[.]τασβουστισε[.] . Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 391. Folium *ηδημεπνε*[.] *γεισκαισυχα*[ : manifestum est scriptum fuisse *πνεγεισ* . Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 392. Folium [...] *λεισεπερ*[...]υ[.] *ξελαυν*[.] .



*Folium 16.*

- [KY.] [οὐκ ἂν δύναιο σώματος τοῦμοῦ θιγεῖν].  
[τοιάνδε τοι Πάν κατ' ἐμέ, θήρ], ὕει [χάριν].
- [XO.] [κείνην ἀνοιξω γ' αὐτός, ἐνθ'] ὄνθο[ς, πύλην]. 395  
[οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστ' ἢ 'μφίβολον] ἢ 'λλ[ιπὲς τέχμαρ].
- [KY.] [ὁ χῶρος ἱερός. οὐ τι μὴ ψαύσῃ θύρας],  
[μὴδ' ἐντὸς ἀθρήσεις ἔν' οὐκ ἀθρεῖν θέμις];
- [XO.] [ἀλλ' εἰσαθρήσω· κἂν ἐνῇ τι βάσκανον],  
[σώσει μ' Ἀπόλλων, οὗ διάκονος κυρῶ]. 400
- [KY.] [ἐγὼ δ' ἄπειμι· καὶ γὰρ οὐ πρόπει μ' ἰδεῖν]  
[τόμουρα Πανὸς ὧδ' ἀτιμασθένθ' ἔδη].
- [XO.] [ιοῦ·ιοῦ· π[ά]γ[χρυσον αἰτῶ μισθόν, ὥς ἔχων γε βοῦς]. [στρ.]  
[ἀν δ' ἔφα π[ατὴρ βίου τιν' ἀλλαγὰν προκειμένην]  
[οὐ τόσου φ[άμ' ἀξιώτέ· ἥπίων γὰρ αἶώ]. 405

*Folium 16.*

Fons major est folium papyraceum decimum sextum, quod tamen literas undeoctoginta tantum exhibet: fontes minores sunt Fr. 22 et Fr. 30, quae literas viginti duas conjunctim offerunt.

Initia, sed initia tantum, sedecim ultimorum foli versuum folium habet, ex quibus satis patet progressus fabulae, et ante hos sedecim versus loca versuum quattuor, qui e folio prorsus perierunt: omnes quae versus claudunt lacunae carent terminis ad quos. Fr. 22 in superiori, quae perdita est, foli parte locandum est: continet enim literas ]ονθο[, quae casum aliquem nominis ὄνθου suggerunt. Fr. 30 simili ratione mediae foli portioni, qua Apollinis necesse est petatur praesentia, est idonea; nam habet literas ]αρου[, quae nomen παρουσίαν menti afferunt.

A folio constat, si positiones unde versus incipiant consideramus, ante versum, quem 403 numero, metrum non esse choricum. Maxime igitur est probabile illum usque ad versum aut stichomythiam praecedentem extendi, aut senariorum dumtaxat usum. Cum autem ab illo versu ad finem foli sedecim versus sint, et cum numerus uno in folio versuum aut viginti sex aut viginti septem esse debeat, videmus aut decem aut undecim antecedere versus. Decem versus stichomythiae rationi, ita ut post stichomythiam loquatur chorus, non congruunt: congruunt undecim. Porro, quandoquidem saepius hac in papyro occurrunt folia viginti sex versuum quam folia versuum viginti septem, et quandoquidem, si ea folia addimus in quibus versuum non certe cognitus est numerus, sed magna cum probabilitate colligendus, fit multo manifestior numeri viginti sex praestantia, videmus esse tutius decem hic quam undecim supplere versus. Adde quod cum versu 392, qui quasi gradationis cujusdam finis est, stichomythia jam longior aptissime claudi potest. Binorum igitur versuum induxi seriem.

V. 393. Haec foli pars periit. Fr. 22, cujus initium hoc ego in versu pono, ]...[.].[ .

v. 394. Haec foli pars periit. Fr. 22 ]ρουε[ . Vide notam apud v. 396.

v. 395. Haec foli pars periit. Fr. 22 ]ονθο[ . Vide notam apud v. 396.

## Column 16.

*Cy.* Thou wouldest not have it in thy power to lay hands upon me :

Such grace doth Pan, thou satyr, rain down on my head.

*Qu.* Lo, myself will open the gate, even this gate, where the dirt lieth : 395

For none of the evidences are uncertain neither are any lacking.

*Cy.* This place is holy. Touch not the door in any wise,

Neither look within, where to look is not lawful unto thee.

*Qu.* Nay, but I will look within, and if any witchcraft be there,

Apollo, whose minister I am, will deliver me therefrom. 400

*Cy.* But I will depart : for it is not meet that I behold

Pan's holy place of prophecy dishonoured on this wise.

*Qu.* Ho, ho ! I require the pure gold, my reward : I require it, for I have the oxen.

But that whereof my father spake, even the change of my estate that is set before me,

I reckon not worthy to be accounted of like value : for the masters I serve are gentle. 405

v. 396. Haec foli pars periit. Fr. 22 ]ηλλ[ . Quamquam Fragmenti 22 veram positionem exacte determinare non possumus, nihilominus ρυει in v. 394, ονθο in v. 395, inque hoc versu ηλλ ita in textu horum trium versuum posui ut inter se eosdem omnino situs habeant quos suo in fragmento habuerint.

v. 397. Haec foli pars periit. Fr. 22 ]. . . .[ .

v. 398. Haec foli pars periit.

v. 399. Locum versus sine textu exhibet folium.

v. 400. Locum versus sine textu exhibet folium.

v. 401. Locum versus sine textu exhibet folium.

v. 402. Locum versus sine textu exhibet folium.

v. 403. In folio ante hunc versum scribit paragraphum P. In hoc versu dat P in folio ιουιουπ[.]γ[ : P<sup>2</sup> delet quidquid post ιουιου superest. Initium hujus versus protruditur in spatium sex litterarum ante locum solitum.

v. 404. P in folio ηνδεφην[ : P<sup>2</sup> δ delet et supra scribit τ, quod tamen τ postea ornat puncto untrunque posito, nempe delendi causa : dat etiam P<sup>2</sup> ην et εφην, ponitque post εφην lineolam obliquam, quod colon fortasse est. Initium hujus versus sub initio versus praecedentis stat.

v. 405. Initium hujus versus sub initio duorum versuum praecedentium stat. Folium dat ουτοσουφ[ . Fr. 30, si, ut contendo, huic

- [ΣΙ.] ὦ Λ[οξία, στράπτ' ἐπ' ἔμε σὴν π]αρου[σίαν].  
 ἰώ· δ[έχεσθαι βοῦς σε δεῖ, μισθ]ὸν δ' [έμέ].
- [ΧΟ.] ὦ Λοξία, δε[ῦρ' ἤλθεις; ἄδοι', ἦι', οὐρίῳ τέ]λει· [ἀντιστρ.]  
 καὶ παρ[αγόρημ' ἔχεις γάρ χα]μ' ἱάμα δὴ δυᾶ],  
 τῶν [β]οῶ[ν ἐκεῖ κιχῶν ἄρ' ἄ τις οὐκ ἂν ᾤετο]. 410
- [ΑΠ.] [ἀ]νυ[στὸν ἤδη πρᾶγος ἡδόμην ἰδών],  
 ἐ[π]εῖ [ποθεινοὺς ὥδε δὴ παρ' ἐλπίδα]  
 βο[ῦς ἔχομεν. ἔργου δ', ὦ γέρον, σ' ἐπῆνεσα],  
 ὅπο[ϊον οὐχὶ μεταμελήσει σοί ποτε].  
 πρ[οκειμένου γὰρ οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου διαί] 415  
 μισθὸς [πάρεσται Πυθόθεν· πίστωμα δὲ]  
 ἐλεύθερο[ν σὲ καὶ γένος τίθῃμι σόν].
- [ΣΙ.] τὸν ἐγ[γυῶντ' αἰνῶ γε καὶ τὴν ἐγγύην].

folio addendum est, locum hujus versus continere videtur et indicare spatium maximum quod textus occupare possit. Id fragmentum unius, nempe hujus, ut contendo, versus locum post textus finem exhibet, deinde trium versuum partes paeneultimas, postea unius versus finem, denique duorum versuum post finem textus loca. In capite fragmenti versus, cujus indicatur locus, jam desiit ante quartam sequentis versus a fine literam, qui finis non finis completus est, nam docet metri ratio tres saltem post eum quasi finem in lacuna periisse. Unde constat versum, cujus locus in capite indicatur, metri fuisse multo brevioris, aut saltem ab initio incepisse longe protruso. Si hoc de versu agitur, metrum certe non brevius est sed longius; atqui protruditur initium. Ob causas in notis Anglicis explicitas foli textum cum maximae longitudinis indicio, quod dat Fr. 30, ita conjungo: ουτοσουφ[.....]. Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P in folio.

v. 406. Initium hujus versus incipit folium post spatium sex litterarum ulterius quam trium versuum praecedentium. Folium ωλ[: Fr. 30 ]αρου[: quae eadem qua in v. 405 ratione ita conjungo ωλ[.....]αρου[ .

v. 407. Initium hujus versus stat in folio sub initio versus antecedentis. In folio P ωδ[, quod P<sup>2</sup> vertit in ιωδ[: Fr. 30 ]ονδ[: quae eadem qua in v. 405 ratione ita conjungo ιωδ[.....]ονδ[ . Literas in fragmento Hunt non ονδ legit, sed ονα: litteram tamen α dubiam esse indicat.

v. 408. Initium hujus versus stat in folio sub initio versuum 403-405. Folium ωλοξιαδε[: Fr. 30 ]λει[: quae ego eadem qua in v. 405 ratione ita conjungo ωλοξιαδε[.....]λει[ .

v. 409. Initium hujus versus in folio stat sub initio versus praecedentis. Folium καιπαρη[: Fr. 30 ]τν[: quae eadem qua in v. 405 ratione ita conjungo καιπαρη[.....]τν[ .

v. 410. Initium hujus versus stat in folio sub initio duorum versuum praecedentium. Folium των[.]οω[: Fr. 30, si jure id pono, locum hujus versus post textus finem indicat docetque quam textus excedere non possit longitudinem: hoc ego indicium eadem qua in v. 405 ratione cum textu ita conjungo



*Si.* O lord that speakest in riddles, visit me with the lightning of thy presence.

Ho! It is thine to receive thy cattle and mine to take my recompense.

*Qu.* O thou that speakest in riddles, art thou come hither? In this prosperous performance mayest thou rejoice, good lord:

For thou hast a consolation and a medicine withal at the last to heal thine anguish,

Having there beyond hope found thine oxen where no man had thought that they could be. 410

*Ap.* I do rejoice, beholding the business already accomplished:

For thus at the last beyond my expectation I possess the kine of my desire.

And for the work that thou hast wrought, O man of many years, I commend thee,

A work such as never hereafter shalt thou repent thee thereof.

For the prize that was set before thee shall in process of no long time 415

Be brought from Delphi hither: but now as a token of my faithfulness

I do hereby set at liberty thyself and all thine issue.

*Si.* Lo, I allow the giver of the pledge and the pledge itself.

των[.]ω[.....] . Huic versui subscribit coronidem et paragraphum P in folio.

v. 411. Redit in folio initium hujus versus et ceterorum qui sequuntur versuum ad situm parum ab eo remotum a quo versus 406 et 407 incipiunt, sed paulo anteriorem. Ante hujus versus initium, prima litera nominis sub prima litera versus praecedentis scripta, dat P in folio απολ', i.e. Ἀπόλλων. In textu versus folium [.]υ[.] : Fr. 30, si jure id pono, locum hujus versus post textus finem indicat docetque quam textus excedere non possit longitudinem: hoc ego indicium eadem qua in v. 405 ratione cum textu ita conjungo [.]υ[.] [.....] .

v. 412. Folium ε[.]ε[.] .

v. 413. Folium βo[.] .

v. 414. Folium οπο[.] .

v. 415. Folium πε[.] .

v. 416. Folium μισθοο[.] .

v. 417. Folium ελευθερο[.] . Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

v. 418. Folium τονεγ[.] . Huic versui subscribit paragraphum P.

Paragrapho, qui additur uni in fine paginae versui, si is versus novo in ore est porroque completam in se sententiam exprimit, non censeo nimis consulendum.

*Folium 17.*

- [τὸν δ' ἄρσα]βῶνα [τοῦ] πό[ρου τιμῶ πλέον],  
 [τοῦκ νέου] πονήσα[ς], σα[ῦλα δ' ἐν γήρᾳ βεβῶς].  
 [XO.] [σύμφαμι τοῖσδε καὶ γῶ] [420]  
 [πατὴρ ὅς' εἶπε πρέσβυς],  
 [καὶ πόνων ἐμῶν τὸν ὕστ]ατον  
 [τοῦτον εὐτυχῶς περάνα]ς  
 [οἶδα, Φοῖβε, σοὶ χάριν]· 425  
 [ζεύγλαν γὰρ δουλοσύνας μ]ελέας  
 [αὐχένων ἀποσπάσας]  
 [οἰκτρῶν μ' ἔλυσας ἐκ μεριμ]νᾶν.  
 [ΑΠ.] [ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶνδ' ὧδ' ἐχόντων εἶμι καὶ κ]α[τόψομαι]  
 [ποῖος ὦν καὶ ποῖα δράσας ἔργ' ὁ δὴ π]αῖς  
 [τοῦ Διός] 430

*Folium 17.*

Fontes soli sunt tria fragmenta, et ea quidem sub condicione ut jure in hac pagina a me collocata sint. Fragmenta numerantur 23, 34, 33. De iis ego in notis Anglice scriptis satis dissero.

Fr. 23 folium aliquod manifeste aperit; supra enim reliquias duorum versuum a P scriptorum exhibet reliquias alias, nempe trium versuum a P<sup>2</sup> scriptorum: unde liquet hic, sicut in capite foli decimi, P<sup>2</sup> praefixisse primo paginae versui aliquid a P suo in loco omissum. Hoc fragmentum in duas partes fissura verticali divisum est, et ita perierunt exteriores partium portiones ut inter partes ipsas lacuna sit.

Fr. 34 vestigia versuum choricorum exhibet, et sub versu 420 congrue poni potest.

Fr. 33 est perlongum; continet enim reliquias exiguas versuum quattuordecim et in fine unius versus locum. Ubique servat hoc fragmentum partes paeneultimas versuum, nisi quod in versibus, quos ego 434, 435 numero, fines versuum et versus, quem ego 446 numero, locum tantum ostendit post finem textus. Liqueat versus 434 et 435, ut ego eos numero, brevioris metri esse quam versus circumjacentes, et verisimile est senarios duo seriem tetrametrorum trochaicorum hic interrumpere. Talis interruptio causam satis gravem postulat. Contendo equidem Apollinem solum in scena relictum in tetrametris secum loqui, redire autem in scenam Silenum ut nuntiet filiorum dementiam, cui ingredienti Apollinem in senariis exprimere mirationem. In hoc argumento si quid est, tres illos versus, quos in paginae capite scripsit P<sup>2</sup>, post hos duo senarios commode locari possunt.

Summa versuum et locorum versibus suis jam carentium in tribus conjunctim fragmentis est numerus duodetriginta. Cum autem tres versus ex iis a P<sup>2</sup> adscripti sint, numerus, quantum ad P spectat, fit viginti quinque. Unum ego versum adjeci ut viginti sex versus et tres a P<sup>2</sup> superadditos restauratum exhibeat folium.

## Column 17.

But yet I esteem the earnest as of greater worth than the treasure ;

For from my youth up have I laboured, but now in mine age go I delicately. 420

*Qu.* I consent myself also to these words, even to all that the old man my father hath spoken ; 421, 422

And having brought this the last of my labours to a prosperous accomplishment, unto thee, O Phebus, do I give thanks : 423, 424, 425

For thou hast plucked from my neck the yoke of miserable bondage and hast freed me from grievous tribulation. 426, 427, 428

*Ap.* Lo now, since these things stand thus, I will up<sup>1</sup> and behold with mine eyes

What manner of child this is, whom they call the child of Jupiter, and what manner of works he hath wrought, 430

<sup>1</sup> Ps. (B.C.P.) xii. 6.

V. 419. Fr. 23 partim a P<sup>2</sup> scriptum est, partim a P. Hic dat P ]βωνα[.]. et post incerti spatii lacunam (nam fragmentum hoc in duabus papyri est particulis) ]πο : P<sup>2</sup> accentu addito ]πó[ dat.

v. 420. Fr. 23, de quo vide notam apud v. 419, P scribente, ]πονρηα[ et postea ]σx[ : P<sup>2</sup> accentu addito ]πονήσα[ dat.

v. 421. Ego si jure contendo, Fr. 34 hujus versus locum dat, docetque literas undeviginti fere textum non excedere.

v. 422. Contendo Fr. 34 hujus versus locum dare et docere literas undeviginti fere textum non excedere.

v. 423. Fr. 34 ]xτον, ante quod verisimile est duasdeviginti fere fuisse literas.

v. 424. Fr. 34 ]σ, ante quod verisimile est undeviginti fere fuisse literas.

v. 425. Contendo Fr. 34 hujus versus locum dare et docere literas viginti fere textum non excedere.

v. 426. Fr. 34 ]ελεας, ante quod verisimile est unam et viginti fere fuisse literas.

v. 427. Contendo Fr. 34 hujus versus locum dare et docere literas undeviginti fere textum non excedere.

v. 428. In Fr. 34 P ]αν : P<sup>2</sup> ]vāv : ante quod verisimile est unam et viginti fere fuisse literas.

v. 429. Fr. 33 ]x[, ante quod verisimile est viginti septem fere fuisse literas.

v. 430. Fr. 33 ]αισ .[, ante quod verisimile est viginti septem fere fuisse literas.



- [οὔτος ἐν λίκνῳ λέληθε κείμενος κά]τω [χθονός],  
 [δν σπέους τ' εἶργει βάραθρον καὶ δν]όφ[ος κατη-  
 ρεφής]  
 [ἐγκεκλημένον μυχοῖσι γαῖταις ἀ]νήλ[ιον].  
 [εἶεν· τί χρῆμα; τοῦ σε νῦν, Σιληνέ, δε]ῖ;  
 [τοῦ δὴ χάριν κατῆλθες αὖθις ὡς ἐ]μέ; 435  
 [ΣΙ.] [τυφώς, Ἄπολλον, τέκνα] θούρι[ός ποθεν]  
 [ἔμ' ἐξέμηνεν ἢ στρόβι]λος δ[ὴ φρενῶν],  
 [ἄσσ' ἄρτι] χρυσῷ πλ[ου]τίσας [ῆλευθέρους].  
 [ΑΠ.] [ἀλλά τοι δριμεῖα μῆνις ἐκ θεῶν πρ]ά[σσει τάδε],  
 [ὡς ὁ τῆσδ' ἄρχων ἀπάσης Ἀρκάδος] νο[μεύς  
 χθονός], 440  
 [τοῦθ' ὃς ἄντρον θεσπιωδὸν ἔδος ἔ]χε[ι παλαίφατον],  
 [ἔξοχον γέρας δέδεκται Πάν τοί]ον[δ' ἐκ τοῦ Διός],  
 [ὡς τὸν αἰτιόν τι λύσση φῶτα μαιν]άδ[ι στροβεῖν],  
 [ἢ φρενῶν ἔξω κλύοντα νυκτέρους] ὁμ[φὰς ἐλᾶν],  
 [πρὸς θεοῦ γε θρέμματ' ὦμῃν ὃς ἄν] ἄφ[θ' ἄψη  
 χέρα], 445

v. 431. In Fr. 33 P ]τω[, quod P<sup>2</sup> in forma ]τῶ[ exhibet: ante quod verisimile est viginti septem fere fuisse literas.

v. 432. Fr. 33 ]οφ[, ante quod verisimile est viginti septem fere fuisse literas.

v. 433. Fr. 33 ]νηλ[, ante quod verisimile est viginti sex fere fuisse literas.

v. 434. Fr. 33 ]ι, ante quod verisimile est viginti sex fere fuisse literas.

v. 435. Fr. 33 ]με, ante quod verisimile est viginti sex fere fuisse literas.

v. 436. Vide notas Anglice scriptas et observationes Latinas ubi hoc de folio supra loquor. In Fr. 23 versum non dat P: P<sup>2</sup> ]θουρι[ .

v. 437. Vide notas Anglice scriptas et observationes Latinas ubi hoc de folio supra loquor. In Fr. 23 versum non dat P: P<sup>2</sup> ]. .[, et post incerti spatii lacunam (nam fragmentum hoc in duabus papyri est particulis) ]λοσδ[ .

v. 438. Vide notas Anglice scriptas et observationes Latinas ubi hoc de folio supra loquor. In Fr. 23 versum non dat P: P<sup>2</sup> ]χρυσωιπλ[, et post incerti spatii lacunam (nam fragmentum hoc in duabus papyri est particulis) ]τισασ[ .

v. 439. In Fr. 33 P ]σ[, quod σ P<sup>2</sup> in σσ mutat: ante quod verisimile est viginti septem fere fuisse literas.

v. 440. Fr. 33 ]νο[, ante quod verisimile est viginti quinque fere fuisse literas.

v. 441. Fr. 33 ]χε[, ante quod verisimile est viginti sex fere fuisse literas.

Even he that lying in a basket is hidden beneath the ground,

Whom the hollow place of a cave and darkness, like a vault,<sup>1</sup> incloseth,

Shut up without light of the sun in the secret places of the earth.

Ha ! What thing is this ? Whereof now, Silenus, hast thou need ?

Wherefore, I pray thee, art thou come back unto me again ? 435

*Si.* A rushing mighty tempest, O Apollo, coming from without

Or else a whirlwind of the wits within hath smitten my children with madness,

Even them that thou hast lately enriched with gold and set them at liberty.

*Ap.* Lo, verily, the fierce anger of the gods hath effected this :

For the herdman that hath dominion over all this land of Arcadia, 440

That possesseth this cove of oracles as his dwelling from the days of old,

Even Pan, hath been honoured by Jupiter with special authority after this sort,

Namely to confound with raging madness the man that hath a sin to his charge,

Or to drive his reason from him with the sound of voices by night,

If one have laid hands in cruelty on the young beasts nourished by the god, 445

<sup>1</sup> ii Esd. xvi. 59.

v. 442. Fr. 33 ]ον[, ante quod verisimile est viginti quinque fere fuisse literas.

v. 443. Fr. 33 ]αδ[, ante quod verisimile est viginti sex fere fuisse literas.

v. 444. Fr. 33 ]ομ[, ante quod verisimile est viginti sex fere fuisse literas.

v. 445. Fr. 33 ]αεφ[, ante quod verisimile est viginti quinque fere fuisse literas.

[ἦ 'πίδῃ τὰ γαί' ἱρὰ κἀθέαθ' ἐδώλια].

[τῇνδε που νοσοῦσιν οἱ σοὶ παῖδες, ὦ γέρον, νόσον].

*Folium* 18.

[ΣΙ.] [οἷσθα, Πα]ν[άν, εἰ φράσ[εις, τί δραστέ', ὡς] βρά-  
βευμ[α σόν].

[ΑΠ.] [ἐν ἄρ' ἄρα]ρ' ἄκ[ος τέλειον Πανικοῦ νοσήματος].

[ΣΙ.] [ἀλλὰ πότε]ρα [φάρμακον τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἢ τομῇ]  
φλεβό[ς]; 450

[ΑΠ.] [ἰὰ 'ξ αἰδα].

[ΣΙ.] [εἰ δ' ἄρα ζῷ]ου θα[ν]ό[ντος γ' αἰσθάνοιντ' ὁμφῆς,  
τί] μῆ[ν];

[ΑΠ.] [ἰῆ ἰῆ ἰῆ].

[ΣΙ.] [τίῃ ἰῆ ἰῆ];

[ΑΠ.] [ξυνῆκα τοῦπος· καὶ παρῇ γάρ, ἄστος ὦν], 455

[ὅτ' εἶπε νύμφη παῖδα τὸν κάτω χθονός]

[καὶ τὴν χέλυν μὲν πρόσθε νῦν δὲ δὴ λύραν].

[αὕτη δ' ἄκος, σάφ' ἴσθι, σῶν παίδων νόσου],

[εἰ γοῦν τάδ' ἡλήθευσε Κυλλήνη, γέρον].

[τὸν παῖδα δ' αὐτὸν ἐκ σπέους μέλλω καλεῖν] 460

[ὥς ἐξετῶν σφ'· οὐ γάρ σε μὴ προδῶ ποτε].

[ῥάβδον δέ μοι δοὺς ἔξιθ'. οὐ παρεστάναι]

[ὁμιλίαισι ταῖς Διὸς παίδων σε χρῆ].

v. 446. Fr. 33 locum versus post finem textus exhibet, docetque psum textum spatium viginti quinque fere literarum non posse excedere.

v. 447. Prorsus periit hic versus: addo ut numerum versuum ab ipso P hoc in folio scriptorum compleam; viginti sex enim numerus est hac in papyro maxime solitus, et tres versus a P<sup>2</sup> adjectos hac in summa nequimus includere.

*Folium* 18.

Omnes hujus foli fontes inter fragmenta petendi sunt. Ejusmodi esse ego contendo eo ordine Fragmenta 27, 26, 35, 32, 24, 36, 29, 25, 28. Ex Fragmentis equidem 27, 26, 35, 32 conjunctis quasi unum quoddam fragmentum elaboravi, et idem feci Fragmentis 24, 36, 29, 25, 28 in consortium inter sese redactis, id quod certissime nunquam ausurus fui, nisi duae me commosset rationes. Una est causa quod perspectum habeo progressionem quadam esse mutilam papyrus, ita ut pars maxima fragmentorum foliis his ultimis assignanda sit, altera quod is modus est progressionis ut post octavum dubitem an vel in fragminibus aliquod sit folium superstes. Quamobrem permulta fragmenta hoc ad folium pertinere suspicor.

Cum foli quam praebeamus redintegratio magna ex parte conjecturalis sit, cumque nihil, quod ad fragmentorum conjunctionem spectet, vel a lectore linguae Anglicae ignaro non possit facile



Or have looked upon the habitations beneath the earth,  
 even the holy places the which it is unlawful to behold.  
 This doubtless is the sickness, O man of many years,  
 wherewith thy children are afflicted.

*Column 18.*

*Si.* What we must do, O healer, thou knowest, if  
 thou wilt declare it. Lo, thine is the decision.

*Ap.* There standeth but one perfect remedy for the  
 sickness that is of Pan.

*Si.* Whether is this remedy a medicine, or is it the  
 cutting of a vein? 450

*Ap.* It is a voice from the grave.

*Si.* But and if my children were to hear the utterance  
 of a beast that was alive but is dead, what then?

*Ap.* Ho, ho, ho! *Si.* Why criest thou aloud? 453, 454

*Ap.* I understand thy saying: for I was with thee,  
 although thou sawest me not, 455

When the goddess of the river told thee of the child that  
 is beneath the earth

And of that which aforetime was a tortoise but now at  
 the last is a lute.<sup>1</sup>

And this, know thou well, is a remedy for the sickness  
 of thy children,

If Cyllene indeed spake the truth in this matter, O thou  
 man of many years.

But I will presently call the boy himself from the cave 460  
 To prove him with questions; for thee will I not forsake  
 at any time.

Come, give me the staff and then go thou forth. It is not  
 lawful

For thee to stand by while the children of Jupiter hold  
 discourse<sup>2</sup> together.

<sup>1</sup> See references at l. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Ecclus. vi. 35, viii. 9, xxvii. 11 and 13, Epistle Dedicatory (A.V.)  
 towards end of par. 3.

intellegi visis quae ponimus inter notas vernaculas diagrammatibus,  
 haud opus est aliud hic infra indicemus quam uno in loco apostropham  
 a P<sup>2</sup> additam esse.

V. 449. In Fr. 27 P ]ραα[...]: P<sup>2</sup> ]ρ'αα[...].

[καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ νῦν τοῦ τέκνου πειράσομαι].  
 [μέτειμι δ' οὐκ ἐχ[θρός τις ὧς ἦκων], ἐπ[εί] 465  
 [δεῖ μ' οὐ τι χε]ιμάζ[ειν νιν, ἀλλὰ με]ιδιᾶ[ν]  
 [ἐλεῖν τε τὸ] ξύνα[ιμον, ὧς ἐπαῖω],  
 [τέρας νεο]χμὸν φ[αέων εὐαγία].  
 [οὐδ'] ἄξ[ι' οὖν μ' ἔμ]παι' ἀ[υτεῖν ὧδ' ἔπη].  
 [ῆ]λιθί[ος οὐ γάρ] ἐστιν, [οὐ]δ' [ἀπλοῦς ὁ παῖς]. 470  
 [ἐ]στρ[αμμένον δ' ἄρ' ἐννοῶ] τοιο[ῦτό τι]  
 [ὁ] μὴ π[ροπευσεῖται πρὶν ἄν] κτ[ησώμεθα]  
 [αὐδῆς ἐπήβολον τόδ' ἐν νεκροῖς δάκος].

And now will I proceed to make proof of the infant  
straightway.

But I will not approach unto him as one that is come in  
enmity : 465

For I must not vex him as with a tempest, but with  
smiling countenance

Charm by reason of the brightness of mine eyes, for in  
this art am I expert,

This marvellous strange wonder,<sup>1</sup> this babe of mine own  
blood.

Nor yet is it meet that I utter my words altogether at  
a venture :

For the boy is not foolish, neither is he simple. 470

Nay, but I have in my mind a crooked counsel, of such  
a sort

As that he will not discern it, until after I have gained  
possession

Of this creature that among the dead hath taken to  
itself a voice.

<sup>1</sup> Wisd. xix. 8.



## FRAGMENTA PAPYRACEA.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Fragmentum 1.<br>(Vide vv. 54-55.)                             | Fragmentum 17.<br>]·ν[<br>]ω[<br>(Vide vv. 370-371.)    |
| Fragmentum 2.<br>(Vide vv. 283-285.)                           | Fragmentum 18.<br>]σ.[<br>(Vide v. 369.)                |
| Fragmentum 3.<br>(Vide vv. 55-57.)                             | Fragmentum 19.<br>(Vide vv. 376-378.)                   |
| Fragmentum 4.<br>(Vide vv. 367-368.)                           | Fragmentum 20.<br>(Vide vv. 376-379.)                   |
| Fragmentum 5.<br>(Vide vv. 367-368.)                           | Fragmentum 21.<br>(Vide vv. 367-371.)                   |
| Fragmentum 6.<br>(Vide vv. 227-228.)                           | Fragmentum 22.<br>(Vide vv. 393-397.)                   |
| Fragmentum 7.<br>(Vide vv. 385-386.)                           | Fragmentum 23.<br>(Vide vv. 419-420<br>et vv. 436-438.) |
| Fragmentum 8.<br>(Vide vv. 336-337.)                           | Fragmentum 24.<br>(Vide vv. 465-468.)                   |
| Fragmentum 9.<br>(Vide vv. 373-374.)                           | Fragmentum 25.<br>(Vide vv. 469-473.)                   |
| Fragmentum 10.<br>(Vide v. 368.)                               | Fragmentum 26.<br>(Vide v. 448.)                        |
| Fragmentum 11.<br>]υττκ[<br>]....ν[<br>(Vide vv. 377-378.)     | Fragmentum 27.<br>(Vide vv. 448-449.)                   |
| Fragmentum 12.<br>]...[<br>]υσ[<br>]..[<br>(Vide vv. 370-372.) | Fragmentum 28.<br>(Vide vv. 470-472.)                   |
| Fragmentum 13.<br>]κτο[<br>]..[<br>(Vide vv. 389-390.)         | Fragmentum 29.<br>(Vide vv. 468-470.)                   |
| Fragmentum 14.<br>]ρου[<br>]λς.[<br>(Vide vv. 386-387.)        | Fragmentum 30.<br>(Vide vv. 405-411.)                   |
| Fragmentum 15.<br>]ο[<br>]..[<br>(Vide vv. 369-370.)           | Fragmentum 31.<br>(Vide vv. 368-372.)                   |
| Fragmentum 16.<br>]ατ[<br>]..[<br>(Vide vv. 380-381.)          | Fragmentum 32.<br>(Vide vv. 449-452.)                   |
|  | Fragmentum 33.<br>(Vide vv. 429-446.)                   |
|  | Fragmentum 34.<br>(Vide vv. 421-428.)                   |
|  | Fragmentum 35.<br>(Vide vv. 450-454.)                   |
|  | Fragmentum 36.<br>(Vide vv. 465-469.)                   |

*Fragmenta Papyracea.*

Fragmenta papyracea omnia sedibus aut suis aut suarum similibus aut certe non palam alienis diligentia usus assignavi. Omnia etiam tractavi, exceptis octo, aut in notis Latinis, ubicunque quaestio facilis erat talisque qualem summatim exponere poteram, aut, quaqua ambagibus opus erat, in notis Anglice scriptis. Octo illa quae nondum in commentario attigi, scilicet Frr. 11–18, minimam quamvis offerant difficultatem et ideo ea sint quae cum simplici Latinarum annotationuncularum ratione convenient, ejusmodi tamen sunt ut haud sine incommodo ipsius in textus tractatione de iis disserturus fuerim. Admodum exigua sunt omnia et in papyro jam tabidissima scripta. Censuit Hunt folio nono assignanda: ego autem, quamquam non infitias ibo nonnullas in folio nono lacunas de industria ita compleri posse ut nonnulla ex his fragmentis recipiant, ne unam quidem illo in folio invenio lacunam ubi quaecunque sit indicium quod suadeat ut ejusmodi inseramus complementum ut horum fragmentorum aliud quam talia qualia Fr. 15, quod nihil nisi unam o literam et in versu subsequenti duas quae legi non possunt literas exhibet, in se contineat. Caeterorum autem foliorum, excepto folio decimo quinto, nullum invenio ubi totam hanc fragmentorum seriem facile possim includere. At in folio decimo quinto locus est unicuique idoneus. Haud injuria igitur illo in folio colloco: sed moneo nihilominus, etsi aliqua in securam ibi sedem reduxerim, aliqua tamen, quamvis, nota a sociis, hoc ex folio orta esse videantur, idoneam si sedem invenerint, haud ideo in eodem absque dubio invenisse versu unde tempus edax rerum abripuerit.

Fr. 11. Supersunt ipso in folio 15 nullae reliquiae versuum 377–378 nisi locus utriusque versus ante initium scripturae. Supplevi autem ex Fragmentis 20 et 19 (vide notas Anglice scriptas):

[... ..]ανεξ[.... ..]ων[ 377  
[... ..]στ ι το[.....]σσυ[ .

Addo hoc fragmentum, et obtineo:

[... ..]ανεξ[.... :...]ων[.....]υτικ[  
[... ..]στ ι το[.....]σσυ[. . . . .].... ν[ ,

i.e.

[ουσ ι γ]ανε ξ[ηπερ ι βο]ων[τωνδ α]υτικ[α 377  
[επε]στ ι το[δ εθεο]σσυ[το γ α θ λ]ον γ υ ν[αι .

Anceps est haec ratio. Puto autem jure hic poni fragmentum: hoc dico cum caeteras tota in papyro exploraverim lacunas et cognorim difficultatem inserendi alibi αὐτίκα super hiatum quattuor literis idoneum, sequente litera ν, ut de locis haud prorsus deperditis tantum sicut oportet, loquar.

Fr. 12. Cum Fr. 12 tractanda etiam sunt Frr. 15, 17, 18: haec enim quattuor fragmenta in una eademque serie versuum colloco, scilicet Fr. 12 in vv. 370–372, Fr. 15 in vv. 369–370, Fr. 17 in vv. 370–371, Fr. 18 in v. 369. Supersunt ipso in folio 15 nullae reliquiae versus 369, hae autem reliquiae versuum 370–372:

[. .]ευσγαρ[ 370  
[.]αισκλο[  
[. .]τοιπονη[ .

Supplevi ex Fragmentis 21 et 31 partes versus 369 et incrementa versuum 370–372 (vide notas Anglice scriptas), quae textum reddunt :

[. . . . .]ροτ[. . . . .]γυν[  
[. . .]ευσγαρ[. . . . .]ρια[. . . . .]ε. 370  
[. .]αισκληο[. . . . .]εϑυ[. . . . .]αι  
[. .]τοιπονη[. . . . .]ατω[ .

Addo haec quattuor fragmenta, et obtineo :

[. . . . .]σ[. . . . .]ο[. . .]ροτ[. . . . .]γυν[  
[. . .]ευσγαρ[. . . . .]ρια[. . .]ν[. . . . .]ε. 370  
[. .]αισκληο[. . .]υσ[. . .]υϑυ[. . .]ω[. . . . .]αι  
[. .]τοιπονη[. . .]ατω,

i.e.

[κ αι πω]σβ[λεπειπρ]ο[σα]ροτ[ο ν ου διδων]γυν[ιν  
[ο ζ]ευσγαρ[ου] ν π αι δ[α]ρια[πα]ν[τεχ νεκτισ]εν 370  
[ο]παισκληο[πε]υσ[ου κ]εϑυ[σ]ων[αυτωσαλ]αι  
[ου]τοιπονη[ρ]ο ν[ε σ χ]ατω[σ ε υ θ υ ν κ α λ ω

E Fr. 12 accedunt hac in scheda literae, quae legi possunt, undecima et duodecima versus 371, et, quae legi non possunt, undecima, duodecima, tertiadecima versus 370, et undecima et duodecima versus 372, e Fr. 15 litera quae legi potest, quartadecima (ει diphthongo pro una litera habito) versus 369, et quae legi non possunt literae, quartadecima et quintadecima versus 370, e Fr. 17 literae, quae legi possunt, altera post vicesimam versus 370 et prima post vicesimam versus 371, et quae legi non potest litera, altera post vicesimam versus 370, e Fr. 18 litera, quae legi potest, sexta versus 369, et, quae legi non potest, septima ejusdem versus. Fr. 18 ejusmodi est ut quasi ad libitum locari possit : tria caetera fragmenta longe securius hic ponuntur, accepta hypothesi, quam pro confirmata habeo, octo fragmenta omnia, de quibus agitur, huic folio esse assignanda.

Fr. 13. Supersunt ipso in folio 15, P scriptore, hae reliquiae versuum 389–390 :

[. .]νπαιδ α παυσαι του διος[  
π[. .]υοιμ[. .]ν[. .]τασβουστισε[ . 390

Super quartam et quintam verbi παυσαι literas scribit P<sup>2</sup> inter duo puncta ου, i.e. παου ου legit : duplex lectio παυε Atticum plane indicat. Addo hoc fragmentum, et obtineo :

[. .]νπαιδ α παυσαι του διος[. .]ατο[  
π[. .]υοιμ[. .]ν[. .]τασβουστισε[. . .]..[ , 390

i.e.

[τ ο]νπαιδ α παυσαι του διος[κ]ατ ο[νομενος  
π[α]υοιμ[α]ν[ν]ει[τασβουστισε]ξελ[αν]θελοι . 390

Sed παυε, non παου ου neque παυσαι, legendum est, et τον διος, non του διος. Notandum etiam παυοιμαν velle παύοι μ' ἄν, non παύοιμ' ἄν.

Arridet haec collocatio : sed qualis fides debeatur, vix ausim ipse judicare.

Fr. 14. In primo hujus fragmenti versu, ubi equidem ]ρομ[ malo, Hunt ]ρομ[ legit, sed indicat dubias esse ι et μ literas : in hisce tam tabidis fragminibus inter se distingui vix possunt ι et ρ scripturae



papyraceae. In altero versu, ubi equidem ]λε.[ malo, Hunt ]σε.[ legit, sed indicat dubiam esse σ litteram : tali in loco inter se distinguere vix possunt σ scripturae papyraceae et altera pars litterae λ ejusdem scripturae ; finis enim λ litterae in modum σ litterae saepissime curvatur. Quandoquidem in altero hoc versu mox ego lecturus sum ]λϵι.[ ubi ]λϵι.[ jam exhibui, monendum est arbitrari me diphthongum ει, in qua nihil nisi ε legi nunc potest, et subsequentem, quae legi non potest, litteram ita duarum tantum litterarum spatium implevisse ut vestigium ultimae litterae potius nominandum sit vestigium et ejus litterae et ante eam litteram litterae ι quae diphthongum claudit : non enim ubique in papyro ει diphthongus per se exacte occupat unius litterae spatium, sed jus habet ultra id spatium vagandi, una autem sub condicione, nempe ut, si vagetur ultra, fiat aliqua litterae sequentis vel litterarum sequentium coarctatio ejusmodi ut sit effectus idem ac si diphthongus ipsa unius tantum litterae occupasset spatium : quod et hic contigisse opinor.

Supersunt ipso in folio 15, P scriptore, hae reliquiae versuum 386–387 :

π[.]ειουσδεγγηδηνυν[ 386  
τ[.]σωπονηρεχειτιπλ[ .

P<sup>2</sup> nota in margine adjecta docet (vide notas Anglice scriptas) pro π[.]ειουσ ponendum esse πελεθοις et ulterius in versu venire βοων, pro quo aliud quoddam P dedisse liquet, nimirum, ut opinor, βοας. Porro τεκμαιρομαι verbum in versu quasi necessarium est, qua de re dissero in notis Anglice scriptis.

Supplevi ex Fr. 7 incrementum versus 386 (vide notas Anglice scriptas), quod textum reddit :

π[.]ειουσδεγγηδηνυν[.....]αι[ 386  
τ[.]σωπονηρεχειτιπλ[ .

Addo hoc fragmentum, et obtineo :

π[.]ειουσδεγγηδηνυν[.....]αιρομ[  
τ[.]σωπονηρεχειτιπλ[.....]λε.[,

i.e.

π[λ]ειουσδεγγηδηνυν[βοαστεκμ]αιρομ[αι 386  
τ[ι]σωπονηρεχειτιπλ[ειουστασδυθ]λεις .

Notandum est, si justa sint haec supplementa, scripsisse P τασδ, non τουσδ, utpote de pluribus bobus agentem, quae boves femininae sint, id quod in v. 390 liquet. Debebat autem scribere P :

πελεθοιςδεγγηδηνυνβοωντεκμαιρομαι  
τισωπονηρεχειτιπελεθουσδουθυλεις .

Valde probabilis mihi videtur esse hujus fragmenti assignatio.

Fr. 15. Tractatur hoc fragmentum in notis apud Fr. 12.

Fr. 16. Si statuimus omnia haec octo fragmenta huic folio tribuenda, Fr. 16 non facile poni potest nisi in serie versuum 380–384. Mera ex conjectura pono equidem in versibus 380–381.

Horum versuum supersunt ipso in folio vestigia haec :

ι[ 380  
υ[ .

Addo hoc fragmentum, et obtineo :

ι[.....]ατ[ 380  
υ[.....]..[,

quod sic suppleo (intervenientis lacunae magnitudo quamvis quae sit prorsus ignorem) :

ι[χνοσκοπωδηλοξειουνομευμ]ατ[α 380  
υ[πεκφυγονταυλησσυγκλεφ]θε|νταπου .

Certi hic nihil est, nisi fieri posse collocationem.

Fr. 17. Tractatur hoc fragmentum in notis apud Fr. 12.

Fr. 18. Tractatur hoc fragmentum in notis apud Fr. 12.

FRAGMENTA INCERTARUM SOPHOCLIS  
FABULARUM PERDITAE INDAGATORUM PARTI  
FORTASSE ASSIGNANDA



## FRAGMENTA FABULARUM SOPHOCLIS INCERTARUM.

Fr. 901

—Ἑρμαῖον κάρα

Fr. 909

ὦν ἦν ἔθου καὶ προῶσιν ὥς Φοῖνιξ ἀνήρ.  
Σιδώνιος κάπηλος.

Fr. 930

κλέπτων δ' ὅταν τις ἐμφανῶς ἐφευρεθῇ,  
σιγαῖν ἀνάγκη, καὶ καλὸν φέρη στόμα.

Fr. 318

(ita numerat Pearson inter Indagatorum Fragmenta :  
Nauck Fr. 932 computat inter Fragmenta Incertarum Fabu-  
larum.)

—βοοῖκλεψ—

Accedit Fragmentum Indagatoribus quidem haud prorsus  
incongruum, veri similis autem aliunde derivatum.

Fr. 933

ὅρκος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀνδρὶ φηλήτη βαρύς.

*Fragmenta Fabularum Sophoclis Incertarum.*

Fr. 901. Sic Scholiastes apud Iliadem (xiii. 791), qui verba  
παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ reperiri dicit.

Fr. 909. Sic Scholiastes apud Pindarum (Pyth. iv. v. 213), qui  
verba, praefixo καὶ Σοφοκλής, citat.

Fr. 930. Sic Stobaeus (Flor. xxiv. 4), qui versus, praefixo  
Σοφοκλέους, citat.

Fr. 318. Sic Athenaeus (ix. 409 c) secundum codicem A, nisi  
quod βοοικλεψ sine accentu, tanquam vox nihili, scriptum stat. Codex  
Athenaei C dat βοόκλεψ, ex mera, nisi fallor, conjectura. βοόκλεψ  
in Athenaei Epitome exhiberi docet Dindorf (apud Poetas Scenicos  
Graecos) : quibus autem in codicibus repertum id sit nescio, unone, an

FRAGMENTS OF INCERTAE FABULAE OF SOPHOCLES, WHICH  
PERHAPS FORMED PART OF THE LOST PORTION OF THE  
ICHNEUTAE.

*Fr.* 901

—my lord Mercury

—

*Fr.* 909

1. Thou hast bought and thou hast sold as a man that is  
a Phœnician,
2. Even as an occupier from Zidon.

*Fr.* 930

1. But he that hath been manifestly discovered in the act  
of theft,
2. Be his tongue never so ready, must yet keep silence.

*Fr.* 318.

—stealing oxen as though they were but sheep—

ANOTHER SUCH FRAGMENT, POSSIBLY FROM THE ICHNEUTAE,  
BUT MORE PROBABLY, IT WOULD SEEM, FROM SOME OTHER PLAY.

*Fr.* 933

For to a deceitful man no oath is grievous.

pluribus, an et omnibus : Epitomes de lectionibus perpauca constant. Eustathius (Od. 1401, 15) locum, sed non totum, ab Athenaeo mutuatur, datque βοόκλεψ. Athenaeus refert adjectivum de Mercurio a Sophocle usurpatum esse, his verbis : βοοικλεψ (sive βοόκλεψ) παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ Ἑρμῆς. Eustathius quae ante haec verba dicit Athenaeus iterat in suo libro, sed nihil post βοόκλεψ ponit, prorsus omissis verbis παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ Ἑρμῆς. Praecedentia verba haec sunt : τέτριμμαι οἰκότριψ, κέκλαμμαι (sic codex Athenaei A : codex Athenaei C et Eustathius κέκλεμμαι) . . .

*Fr.* 933. Sic Stobaeus (Flor. xxviii. 5), nisi quod φηλήτη multis modis scriptum est. Ita scribitur a secunda manu codicis B. Codex A dat φιλήτη, quid det prima manus codicis B non liquet, codex L φιλητῇ, M φιλητῇ, S φιλήτη. Soliti sunt recentiores φιλήτης, haud φηλήτης, scribere.

## NOTES ON THE TEXT.

## Column 1.

1. The missing portions of the line are supplied by Hunt.

2. Missing portions, mine: καὶ . . . . . δῶρ' ὑπισχνοῦμαι τελεῖν Hunt.

3. Missing portions, mine.

4. Hunt suggests δεινὸν γὰρ ἐστ' ἐμῇ δὲ δύσλοφον φρενί: I prefer τε το δὲ. Mekler δεινὸν γὰρ ἄλγος ἡδὲ δύσλοφον φρενί.

5. Missing portions, mine: Murray suggests εἰ φεύξεται κλέψας γε, of which Hunt condemns the initial supplement as too long. Mekler ἔπεστ' ἀφαιρεθέντι. For ἀμολγάδας see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, b.

6. Missing portions, mine. Wilamowitz suggested μόσχους τε καὶ νέων νόμευμα πορτίδων (adopted by Hunt, though with a doubt whether νόμευμα is not too long a word), and afterwards, instead of νέων νόμευμα, νεανίευμα (mentioned favourably, but not adopted, by Hunt). Murray γένη νεογνᾶ. Neither νέων νόμευμα nor νεανίευμα nor γένη νεογνᾶ will yield a caesura. Mekler τε πῖόν τ' ἀγλαίσμα.

7. Missing portions, Wilamowitz; except that I have altered his ἅπαντα to ἅ πάντα. Instead of -τα φροῦδα καὶ μάτην, Murray suggests τάφρων ὑπερθε νῦν. Pearson suggests ἔπειτ' ἀφρούρων ἀρπαγῇν.

8. ἰόντα τῇλε βουστάθμου restored by Wilamowitz. Pearson suggests ἰόντων. For κάπης see Ch. v. § III. E. aa.

9. . γῶύκ P + P<sup>2</sup> for ἐγὼ οὐκ, and possibly the Ionic ωυ diphthong is in place in a Satyric play. Missing portions, mine. ἀφανῶς τέχναισιν' ὥς ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν φόμην Hunt. But τέχναισιν, without an adjective, does not seem to be patient of the sense of the Latin *dolo malo*, and ὥς is not capable of replacing ὅτε (or its poetical variant, εὔτε) in the sense of *whereas*, bordering on that of *although*. For my πλάνως τε χναύοντ', see the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, l. 75, πλανοδίας δ' ἤλαυνε (of these very cattle), and Eur. *Cyclops*, l. 358, which certifies the legitimacy of χναύειν, *to nibble, to graze*, in Satyric drama. Pearson suggests ἀφανῶς τεχνάσματ'· ἄλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν φόμην.

10. Missing portions, Hunt.

11. Missing portions, mine: Hunt reads δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον ὥδε πρὸς τόλμαν πεσεῖν, translating *would have dared so far as to do this deed*; but in that case ὥστε would seem to be required before δρᾶσαι, and there appears to be no analogy justificative of such a use of πρὸς τόλμαν πεσεῖν. P<sup>2</sup> accents etc. τοδεργ- as τόδ' εργ-, which presumably points to τόδ' ἔργμα as distinguished from τὸ δέργμα, not to τόδ' ἔργον, as there exists no possibility of a τὸ δέργον or the like from which τόδ' ἔργον might require to be distinguished. For τόλμην see Ch. v. § III. c. y.

12. Missing portions, mine. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπεῖπερ ἔμαθον Hunt.

13. στεῖχω ματεύω Hunt: ζητῶ ματεύω Wilamowitz and Murray followed by Pearson: ζητῶ is too short for the space: I propose σκοπῶ.

14. Missing portion, Hunt. Hunt reads τάδε, not the τόδε of P<sup>2</sup>. But the change to the singular has an important bearing on the next line.



15. According to Hunt P gives . . . . *υθιαιγαρεμμανεισκυνηγετω*, though he is not certain of the *θ* in the seventh place: Hunt records P<sup>2</sup> as altering *εμμανεισ* to *έμμανίς*. On the strength of this, Hunt, taking *άκολουθία* from Wilamowitz, reads *άκολουθία γάρ έμμανής κυνηγετῶ*. Murray, for *άκολουθία*, prefers *δυσπευθία*, while Pearson suggests *πολυμυθία*. But this kind of reading neglects both the accent and the mark of quantity. Paying attention to these, I can only read with a violent insertion of *κλ*, *άκολουθίας γάρ κλέμμι' άνις κυνηγετῶ*, or, without any violence, *δ σύν θυεία παρ' έμ' άνις κυνῆς έπω*, of which the second seems to me right. The various changes involved are indeed all so small that I question whether the combined writing of P and of P<sup>3</sup> might not on more minute examination be found to support them. For *άνις* see Ch. v. § II. B. 2, *a*. For *έπω* compare *είπες* in l. 216, and see Ch. v. § III. C. *f*. *σύν θυεία άνις κυνῆς*, if correct, is clearly the rough equivalent of *cum lance et licio*: for this subject see Ch. II. For *παρ' έμ'* compare *παρά τήν έωυτῶν φύσιν* in Herodotus (VII. 103). This is the hardest line to deal with in the whole play; but I believe that I have got it right.

16. Missing parts, Hunt, except that, where I read *Λοκρῶν*, he, following Wilamowitz, reads *Θρακῶν*. One may please oneself. Pearson suggests either *άνδρῶν* or *βροτῶν*.

17. Missing portions, mine—on guess-work. Murray *ζητῶν τίς αὐτάς εἶλε* or *εἰ πῶς τίς*. Pearson tentatively approves *ζητῶν τίς*.

18 and 19. Supplied by me conjecturally *in toto*.

20. Line, missing except for one letter, supplied by me conjecturally.

21 and 22. Supplied by me conjecturally on the basis of a slight *ductus*.

23 and 24. Missing parts supplied conjecturally by Wilamowitz.

25. Restored by me conjecturally on the basis of the presumable sense.

26. Conjectured by me *in toto*.

## Column 2.

27. Missing portions, mine.

28. *γείτον' ένθεν* Hunt: rest of missing portions, mine.

29. Missing portions, mine, except that I find that Mekler has previously suggested *ξύν τάχει*.

30. *Κυλλήνης* Hunt: *δύσβατον* or *δύσκληνον πέτραις* Wilamowitz: rest of missing portions, mine.

31. Missing portions, mine. Wilamowitz *δυσήνεμόν τε* and *εἰ δ' ύλγβάτης*. Hunt suggests the possibility of emending *ές δ'* to *ές θ'*.

32. *αγρωστη* [P: *άγρωτήρων* Hunt: but in this sub-dialect it is rash to prefer *άγρωτήρ* to *άγρωστήρ* (Ch. v. § II. B. 4, *a*). Missing portions, printed by Hunt as "largely due to" Wilamowitz. Wilamowitz *ένταῦθα ποιμήν*.

33-36. *μαρλοκαυτῶν*, in l. 33, Wilamowitz (*cf.* Hesychius and Photius). See Ch. v. § III. D. *a*. The other missing portions are printed by Hunt and stated by him to be "largely due to" Wilamowitz: but in l. 34 Hunt reads *γένους* where I read *σποράς*, in l. 35 *άγγέλλω* where I read *άγγελῶν*, and in l. 36 *τὸν φῶρα τῶν Παιῶνος*, suggesting also *τὰ δῶρα τοῦ Παιῶνος*, where P presents . . . . *ωρα-*

τουπαιωνος, and where I read βούφωρα τοῦ Παιῶνος. Pearson θάλωρα (conjectured by him to have been written as ταελωρα) τοῦ Παιῶνος. Hunt suggests the possibility of ending the line with ἀρνυται instead of ἀν λάβη. In l. 34, for νυμφογεννήτου see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, p. In l. 36, for βούφωρα see Ch. v. § II. B. 5, c.

37. Missing portions, Hunt, except that he reads τῷδ' where I read σῶς. For αὐτόχρημα, see Ch. v. § III. E. k. Pearson τὸ χρῆμα, in front of which he suggests ἀνύσας or εὐρών.

I am of opinion that, in view of the context, the verse cannot be adequately reconstituted except on the basis of taking τοχρημα as the remains of αὐτόχρημα. Hunt translates αὐτόχρημα as "forthwith," and so is enabled to read τῷδ' without difficulty. But Pearson points out that αὐτόχρημα does not mean *forthwith*. As a matter of fact, a comparison of the one classical passage in which the word occurs (Aristophanes, *Eq.* l. 78) with the common usage of late prose establishes the fact that the essential meaning of αὐτόχρημα is such as may be best expressed in English by a circumlocution. In the full sense of the term gives the signification fairly well: the French *véritablement*, in one of its shades of meaning, expresses the idea more neatly. In this passage such an adverb is meaningless without the addition of an adjective, or the like, for it to qualify. It cannot qualify either μισθός, or ἐσθ', or Hunt's τῷδ'. That is why I propose σῶς, *safe in the full sense of the term, safe as a bank*. For this particular variety of the notion *safe*, I would compare the Homeric νῦν τοι σῶς αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος (*Il.* XIII. 773, etc.). σῶς has the additional advantage of fully justifying, by the future sense inherent in itself, the use of ἐσθ' in the present tense.

38. Hunt most rashly alters το φωνήμαθ' ὥς. The relative τῶς is correct in this sub-dialect (Ch. v. § II. B. 7). For my ἐπηκόου Hunt gives ὦ Φοῖβε (a superfluity, see l. 41), σοῦ, which however he considers rather long, suggesting that "perhaps an epithet of φωνήμαθ' stood here." Mekler, followed by Pearson, ἔα' τὰ σοῦ φωνήμαθ' ὥς. For the passive ἐπηκόου see Plato (*Legg.* 931 B).

39-43. Missing portions, Hunt. In l. 42, τῷδ' ἐπεσσύθην δρόμῳ, *I hastened up at this run*, seems inelegant. Wilamowitz proposes τῇδ', *hither*. Hunt, impossibly, I think, takes δρόμῳ, on the strength of δράμη' in l. 72, as meaning the pursuit of the oxen, and therefore keeps τῷδ', translating: "I set out on this quest." But the ι in τωιδ is an insertion by P<sup>2</sup>, and a style which employs τῶς for ὥς (e.g. l. 38) may well also employ τῶδε for ὧδε. τῶδε, *hither*, actually occurs in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes (l. 884) in the mouth of the Boeotian (so B, C, P, R, A and Med. 9; A reads τῶνδε; F gives τῶδε, but with a letter erased between the ω and the δ): see also my *Addenda*. For κυνηγέσω in l. 43 see Ch. v. § II. B. 3, c.

44. Missing portions, Hunt, except that he gives ἄγγελός μοι for my αὐ γέρας μοι (P αυγε . . . μοι), reading the second of the letters in question as γ (adding that it may possibly be ρ or σ). Murray τὰ τ' ἄγγε', οἷς μοι, though I do not understand how he deals with the rest of the line: see note on next line. Pearson τὸ γὰρ γέρας μοι κείμενον χρυσοστεφεῖς: see note on next line.

45. Restored by me, and I can see little doubt as to the readings: but Hunt gives μάλιστα' ἐπ . . . . αἰσι πρόσθε σ . . . . . ν.

Murray μάλιστ', ἐπ' αὐλείαισι πρόσθε σοῦ 'φερον: see note on previous line. Pearson μάλιστ' ἐπιστολαῖσι προσθέσθαι χρεών: see note on previous line. For εὐθύναισι see my *Addenda*.

46. Hunt gives παίδας δ' ἐμοὺς ὅσοισι . . . αυε . βα . . . . ., while recognising that the βα may be read βλ, and speaking of the letter before the υε as "the supposed α." For σύνδυο see Ch. v. § III. c. t.

47. I suggest φράσαιμ' ἄν.

48. ταῦτ' ἐκτελῶ 'γώ, mine, in place of which Pearson reads σπουδῇ ἐπαινῶ. ἐμπέδου τάδε, Hunt.

49. Missing portions, Hunt, who however reads ἀπάξω. Instead of δόσιν H. Richards proposes λόγον.

50. Hunt reads this line as ἔξει σφ' ὁ γ' εὐρών ὅστις ἐσθ'· ἐτοῖμα δέ. The word ἐτοῖμα seems to me to be almost unintelligible, in the absence of any neuter plural substantive. The reading I give is my own. Hunt takes as a doubtful τ the letter which he uses as the second of his ἐτοῖμα. It may obviously be equally well taken as a σ. Unless one read ἐτοῖμα, I doubt whether any combination of Greek words, except εἶσθ' ἐς θοῦμόσε or the alternative spelling εἶσθ' ἐς τὸ ὁμόσε, will at once suit the papyrus indications and make sense in the context. For εἶσθα see Ch. v. § III. c. g, and for ὄνος see the same Ch. v. § III. E. eee.

51-52. Missing portions, mine, except Hunt's ἀλλότρια.

### Column 3.

53. Missing line, supplied by me to suit context.

54. Missing portions, mine.

55. Missing portions, Hunt. Instead of ποίαν δωρεὰν ἄλλην, Murray proposes ποιήσιν μ' ἐλεύθερον.

56. Wilamowitz, followed by Hunt, conjectured πᾶν τε γένος ἔσται τέκνων. This is distinctly too long. I make up my reading with the help of *Fr.* 3.

57-66. Missing portions in ll. 57-66, mine, except that Hunt completes the βάσιν τε of l. 58, the ἀπαπαπαῖ of the same line, and the γῆρυν (*sic*) of l. 64. In l. 65 the papyrus presents in the text πωσπαῖταλαθρι[, but P<sup>2</sup> has a marginal note ]ιανυ\*ο\*τοῶ, and underneath ]πεγεγεν\*θε\*. There seems to be only one letter missing at the beginning of this note, which Hunt reads (I think correctly) as διανύχια· οὕτως τὸ πρῶτον ἀπεγέγραπτο ἐν τῷ Θέωνος. Hunt infers from this (and, considering the metre, I agree) a λάθρια νύχια in the text of P. After ποσὶ Pearson suggests as possible συμπεράνας ἔχει: but this exceeds by three letters the possibilities of space (see the full presentation in my Latin notes). Below l. 66 comes a paragraphus. Opposite and below l. 70 (the last of the chorus as given in the papyrus) come the completer marks (a cross and a paragraphus) which indicate the end of the chorus: but the paragraphus after l. 66 is most remarkable, and is clearly intended to indicate the end of something. Presumably it is intended to indicate the end of the genuine portion of the chorus; but it ought to be transferred to the bottom of the previous line. Line 65 contains an Epic form impossible in drama, except in anapaests. We shall see in a moment the difficulties that attach to



the passage. I discuss the whole question further in the notes, on ll. 68-70, almost immediately following. In l. 62, for ἀκάλως see Ch. v. § III. c. a, and for ὑπόνομα see the same Ch. v. § III. c. aa. In l. 65, for ποσσί see Ch. v. § III. c. q.

In l. 67, after ἐλεῦθερον, P gives β: next there is a *lacuna* of two letters, and then the remains of two letters difficult to determine. The former is either α, κ, λ, ν, or χ; the latter is either σ or ε. Then follow μετ and another *lacuna*. The only Greek words that will, in the context, make sense and metre and also suit the above-mentioned vestiges are βαίτας μέτα. The sense is complete and excellent and the metre correct, though the unclassical nature of the language is obvious. βᾶϊτα means *nurse* (see Ch. v. § III. c. c), and the nurse in question is the nanny that in the ordinary story suckled Zeus, viz. Ἀμάλθεια, a creature so closely connected also with the Dionysiac legend that Diodorus (III. 67) speaks of an account which actually made her the mother of Bacchus. See note on the next line.

68-70. In l. 68 P gives συναμαθει or συναμαθεσ (ι and σ are often almost indistinguishable in uncials), and therewith, so far as extant writing goes, brings the line to a conclusion. P<sup>2</sup> converts this into ξυνάμαθεο and, presumably having erased the rest of the reading of P, of which no trace now remains, adds σοφίλοσανετω, presenting in all ξυνάμαθεοσοφίλοσανετω, i.e. ξὺν ᾅμα (meaning ξυνάμα) θεὸς ὁ φίλος ἀνέτω. But the strange συναμαθει or συναμαθεσ presented by P is manifestly the remains—nearly complete—of a more original συναμαλθεια, i.e. σὺν Ἀμαλθείᾳ. P<sup>2</sup> gives ξυν for συν in order to lengthen the final syllable of the dochmius βαίτας μέτα.

In l. 69 πόνους προφήνας cannot, without drastic emendation, be reduced to dochmiac metre, except by transposition, which would destroy the sense. That the metre is still intended to be dochmiac is shown by ὁ φίλος ἀνέτω, by ἀρίζηλα χρυ-, and by -σοῦ παραδείγματα. For ἀρίζηλα see Ch. v. § III. E. i.

I condemn ll. 65-70; but all parts of them do not stand on the same footing.

Lines 65-67 seem to me to be quite clearly a post-classical addition, and I think that at one stage they stood as the only addition, with the final short syllable of μέτα permissibly scanned as a long syllable in its place at the end of a system. Lines 68-70 are equally plainly an addition, because they cannot stand immediately after l. 64, but require to be introduced by ll. 65-67. They also exhibit, apart from any question as to ξυνάμα, a glaring distortion of metre (l. 69), the scarcely appropriate word προφήνας (l. 69), and παραδείγματα (l. 70) in the sense of δείγματα: still these features may indicate not post-classical origin, but corruption. The most important point to observe is that P<sup>2</sup> has (l. 68) not only altered a portion of the reading presented by P, but also rewritten in his own handwriting more than half the line in question, in order to do which he must have erased the handwriting of P. Now P<sup>2</sup> has a trick of erasing, instead of correcting, the writing of P, when P makes mention of the Arcadian Pan (see Ch. III). The reason why P<sup>2</sup> exhibits this idiosyncrasy is apparently that he lived in or near Panopolis and consequently considered any reference to the Pan of Arcady as a sort of blasphemy against the Pan of Egypt. One may be very nearly certain that the total erasure in this line of most

of the handwriting of P is prompted by the same motive as has prompted similar erasure elsewhere. Consequently I am strongly disposed to read, as a first step, Πάν ἔτω instead of ἀνέτω, and, of course with a good deal of doubt, to go on to reconstitute the whole passage thus :

καὶ σὺν Ἀμαλθείᾳ φίλος Πάν ἔτω  
τόμουρ' ὀρφανᾶς  
ἀρίζηλα Χρυσοῦς παρὰ δαίγματα.

I should translate : " And together with Amalthea let Pan, the beloved, go to the glorious samples oracular of the treasure of bereaved Chryso." Elsewhere in this play (l. 320) τόμουρ' (for the word see Ch. v. § II. B. 2, c) appears in P as τονουφ, so that it may quite easily have presented itself as πονουφ. ὀρφανᾶς is, of words that will scan, the nearest to the *ductus* of προφῆνας, or rather of an earlier προφάνας. If it be correct, it requires the substitution of the feminine Χρυσοῦς for χρυσοῦ. But, if we make this substitution, we at the same time do what is tantamount to assigning the three lines to a particular source. Chryso is stated by Hesychius to have been a δαίμων. In the *Captivæ* of Sophocles we read (*Fr.* 44) :

πατήρ δὲ χρυσδὺς ἀμφίλινα κρούπαλα.

Seeing that from another fragment of the same play (*Fr.* 40),

ταύτην ἐγὼ Κίλλαν τε καὶ Χρύσην,

we learn that the action was laid at Cilla, close to Chryse, in Adramyttene, one need have little hesitation in emending to

πατήρ δὲ Χρυσοῦς ἀμφίλινα κρούπαλα.

Chryso, it would seem, was the goddess or nymph of Chryse. Beyond the shadow of a doubt the extraordinary words which occur in the fragments of Sophocles' *Captivæ* show that the play, although not a Satyric drama, as Brunck considered it, is nevertheless of an allied type and not improbably pastoral. I suggest that the three lines I am dealing with are in origin a quotation from the *Captivæ*. An obvious objection at first sight to my tentative method of dealing with the passage is that it postulates that P preserved almost intact the line which speaks of Amalthea and of Pan, although, as we see from the papyrus, he presents the following lines in a corrupted form which, unless the earlier line be corrupted to match, as indeed it is by P<sup>2</sup>, yields neither good grammar nor good sense. The answer is that in ll. 320 and 321 P similarly presents a seriously corrupted reading, the parts of which make up an unintelligible whole, but that there, as here, it is reserved to P<sup>2</sup> to eliminate the reference to Pan.

I imagine that, if these three lines are a quotation, the quotation was appended in order to illustrate the mention of βαῖτα by a mention of Amalthea, and that, in some copies at any rate, the quotation was made without the conjunction καί. When however the quotation was once incorporated in the margin, it was not unnaturally, in view partly of its actual wording and partly of what, with very slight corruption, was taken to be its wording, thought to be intended as a continuation of the choric text; and, as soon as that happened,

a further process of emendatory corruption is likely at once to have begun.

For συνάμα see Ch. v. § III. c. s.

71. ιθυντήριε P: but P<sup>2</sup> has a marginal note ε . . υντηριαε<sup>ρ</sup>, which Hunt interprets as εἰθυντήριε Ἀριστοφάνης (*i.e.* the Grammarian). He is very probably right as to Aristophanes; but I imagine that εἰθυντήριε is more likely than εἰθυντήριε to have been written by P<sup>2</sup>.

73. For ἐκκυνηγέσαι see Ch. v. § II. B. 3, a, and for σύλησιν see the same Ch. v. § III. E, *it*.

76. .μοιγ apparently P: but P<sup>2</sup> accents with an acute over the iota, and ἐμοί τ' would run better in the context than ἐμοιγ' (Hunt ἐμοί τ'). δρασας P, unaltered by P<sup>2</sup>: but φράσας (so Hunt) is imperatively required by the sense.

77. Missing parts, Hunt. P, unaltered by P<sup>2</sup>, gives προστελης where I read παντελής, which I find to be Pearson's reading also. προστελής is clearly due to προσφιλής just above it in the line before, and is impossible. Hunt emends to συντελής: I greatly prefer παντελής.

78. τοῦ λόγου θ' Wilamowitz: other missing portions, mine. Hunt gives ἄμα as a complete word.

#### Column 4.

79. Missing parts, mine. μῆνυτρα Hunt; but *cf.* Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, 264, οὐκ ἂν μῆνυτρον ἀροίμην, repeated, 364, *totidem verbis* (see Ch. v. § III. E. *gg*).

80–82. Missing parts, mine.

In l. 81, for ὑποκλόπους see Ch. v. § III. E. *zz*.

83–84. Missing parts, Hunt.

85–90. Missing portions, mine. In l. 88 Wilamowitz proposes δίπους. In l. 90, P<sup>2</sup> put an acute on the first syllable of ερευναν: otherwise I should have preferred ἐρευνᾶν.

In l. 89, for ὑποσμος see Ch. v. § III. E. *aaa*.

91. Missing parts, mine. P gives απανταχρηστακα . . . . . λειν: P<sup>2</sup> annotates χρησθαι<sup>ο</sup>ηεν<sup>ο</sup>θε<sup>ο</sup>, *i.e.* χρῆσθαι οὕτως ἦν ἐν τῷ Θέωνος. I accept χρῆσθαι on the strength of Herodotus i. 99: ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρέεσθαι (see Ch. v. § III. c. *cc*.).

92–93. For the α before l. 92 see Ch. VI. A. Missing parts, mine. In l. 93 both Pearson and Robert have suggested πρόσω πάτει: but the former has abandoned this, rightly, as too long. For προηλάτει see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, s.

94. βήματα for σήματα Maas, followed by Hunt in his second edition and by Pearson. Maas also reads ἐκείνων for ἐκεῖνον.

95. In this line the extant handwriting of P does not begin until the place which ought to be that of the sixth letter of the line. Immediately in front of this there is a *lacuna* of the size of one letter, caused by injury to the material of the papyrus. Immediately in front of this again there is a space of the length of four letters, which, so far as the handwriting of P is concerned, is now absolutely blank, but which P<sup>2</sup> has filled up with the three letters σιγ and with a dash in the place where the fourth letter ought to stand. It is more probable than not, in view of what has happened elsewhere in this papyrus, that P<sup>2</sup>



has erased original writing by P; but, if so, the traces of erasure seem to have disappeared. The whole line, as altered or supplemented by P<sup>2</sup>, now runs: σιγ-[.]θεοστιστηναποι[.]ναγει. I imagine that P<sup>2</sup> is, *more suo*, getting rid of a mention of Pan, and that for σιγ-[.]θεοστισ we ought to read αἰγωνθεοστισ. In that case there is only one satisfactory way of completing the line, *viz.*:

αἰγῶν θεός τις τὴν ἄποιον, ἦν, ἄγει,

*Behold, some god guideth the steps of the she-goat that is without pasture.* The speaker is comparing the guidance of himself and of his fellow-Satyrs in their search for the hoof-prints to the guidance of a famished she-goat to a place of pasture. Compare *Psalm* CXLVII. 9: "Who giveth fodder unto the cattle: and feedeth the young ravens that call upon him." The compound ἄποιος, from ποία, does not occur elsewhere; but ποία, not πόα, is the form appropriate to Satyric drama: see Ch. v. § II. A. I. d. The interjection ἦν is highly appropriate in such a passage. The word occurs once in tragedy (Euripides, *H. F.* l. 867) in a trochaic tetrameter, seven times in comedy (e.g. Aristophanes, *Eq.* l. 26), once in an epigram doubtfully attributed to Plato (*Epig.* 20, l. 2, Bergk), and occasionally in later verse and prose (e.g. Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, l. 132; Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* x. 10). But we are rather concerned with its use by Theocritus (*Id.* i. l. 149; ii. l. 38; iii. l. 10), which seems to bring it definitely within the circle of what Paley, in his excellent preface to the *Cyclops* of Euripides, styles "pastoral" words. Such words are particularly affected by Satyric drama. Hunt reads:

σίγα· θεός τις τὴν ἀποικίαν ἄγει.

Hunt comments: "ἀποι[κία]ν, which appears unavoidable, may be explained as a comic touch." That reading is in fact suitable rather to comedy than to Satyric drama. With αἰγῶν in the place of σίγα, we are able to substitute for it the highly Satyric reading which I have proposed. The extant text of the papyrus renders it imperative, if sense of any sort is to result, that we should read either τὴν ἀποικίαν ἄγει, or else τὴν ἄποιον, ἦν, ἄγει. See also the note on the next line.

96. See the note on the previous line. At the beginning of l. 96 P<sup>2</sup> has washed out P's handwriting and has inserted in place of it ετιδ, but has subsequently deleted the initial ε. The whole line, as altered by P<sup>2</sup>, and with the accents added by him, now runs as follows: τιδρωμενωτῶνητοδεον[.] νομεν. P<sup>2</sup> adds a marginal note ετιδρ[.]τι. On the strength of what has happened in the previous line, and on the strength of P<sup>2</sup>'s own variation between ετιδρωμεν and τιδρωμεν in this line, I have no hesitation in reading:

στίφρωμ' ἔν, ὦ Πάν, ἦ τὸ δέον ἐξάνομεν;

*Pan, our only strength*, is an appropriate expression, and, in view of what seems to happen in the later portion of the play, supplies a note of "tragic irony" which would otherwise be wholly absent from the *Ichneutae*, but which, I think, ought not to be absent even from a Satyric drama, at any rate from a Satyric drama by Sophocles. στίφρωμ' ἔν is inevitably suggested by the *ductus literarum*. στίφρωμα does not elsewhere actually occur; but the verb στυφνῶ, from the

adjective στρυφνός, the later equivalent of the Attic στιφρός, is in regular use. See Ch. III. and Ch. v. § II. B. 5, g. For ἐξάνομεν see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, k.

I imagine that it would be difficult or even impossible for anyone to say with certainty whether P originally wrote ωταν, or whether he wrote ωπαν and P<sup>2</sup> altered, with the help of erasure, the π to a τ. In view of other passages, I prefer the latter hypothesis. The slight modification necessary to produce the change, if effected at all skilfully, might well, after a lapse of more than 1700 years, leave no incriminating traces of any kind.

I would call especial attention to the added point which an address to Pan in this line imparts to the words τοῖσι ταύτῃ in the next line.

It would be of considerable interest if one were able to discover the name of the grammarian or commentator to whom P<sup>2</sup> refers in his mutilated marginal note. It is indeed possible that the authority in question presented a corrupt reading independently altogether of any question relating to Pan; but this assumption is considerably less probable than that he was under Panopolitan influence, and, in fact, the person responsible for the vagaries in which P<sup>2</sup> indulges when a reference to Pan occurs. I suggest that P<sup>2</sup>'s full note ran ἐτιδρ<sup>ο</sup>ο<sup>τ</sup>ι<sup>ς</sup>, and that by τ<sup>ι</sup>ς is meant that Timochares who is mentioned in a *scholium* on Aratus (*Phaen.* l. 269), who at that point is speaking of Hermes boring out the tortoise-shell and naming it a lyre, so that it seems that Timochares dealt with at least part of the legend on which the *Ichneutae* is based.

ἐξήνομεν Wilamowitz, followed by Hunt; ἄρ' ἦνομεν Murray, followed by Pearson; ἐξάνομεν myself: I do not understand why the imperfect, even with Murray's ἄρ', should be introduced.

100. P<sup>2</sup> has the annotation ἐπισίωμ<sup>ο</sup>ν<sup>ι</sup>, which Hunt interprets as ἐπίσιμον μόνος Nt-, with a doubt as to the -ον of ἐπίσιμον: but the accentuation clearly indicates ἐπισίωμ<sup>ο</sup>. P<sup>2</sup> seems to have mis-copied ἐπισίωμ<sup>ο</sup> as ἐπισίωμ<sup>ο</sup>. Nt- is unknown. See for ἐπίσημον Ch. v. § III. E. s, and for ὀπλῶν see the same Ch. v. § III. E. ii.

102. ἐκμετρούμενον Hunt; ἐκμεμαγμένον Pearson.

103. Missing parts, mine; except χώρει Hunt, where I read χωρεῖ. After χ. ρει, P gives χετ . . ι, and continues κατ<sup>α</sup>, altered by P<sup>2</sup> to καιτ<sup>α</sup>. It is to be noted that thus the ι subscript of my 'χέτλη, though not the η, occurs in P: it is difficult to express this graphically. Above χετ . . ι (an abnormal position, instead of in the margin) P<sup>2</sup> has written δρομωι<sup>ο</sup>ην, i.e. δρόμω<sup>ο</sup> οὕτως ἦν, but omits to add where the reading is to be found. χ. ρειχετ . . ι, as the first two feet of an iambic trimeter, followed by καιτ<sup>α</sup>-, can surely only be filled in as χωρεῖ 'χέτλη καὶ τάροτρω, there is room for plough-handle and the plough withal (i.e. in each hoof-print). In the other place in classical Greek (Aristotle, *H.A.* ix. 40, 44) where the impersonal χωρεῖ occurs, it takes the dative exactly as here. For ἐχέτλη see Ch. v. § III. c. k.

104. Missing parts, mine: in ἀκουῇ I have deliberately introduced an epicism. Pearson suggests ending the verse with ἀκροώμενος.

#### Column 5.

105. ροιβδειαν (originally ροιβδοιαν) P; altered by P<sup>2</sup> to ροιβδηεᾶν. τ<sup>ι</sup> P; altered by P<sup>2</sup> to τ<sup>ις</sup>; P<sup>2</sup> thought that ροιβδημα was accusa-

tive (whereas it is nominative to βάλλη) and that therefore a masculine τις was required as a subject to βάλλη. ροίβδημ' ἐάν τις τῶν βοῶν δι' οὓς λάβη Hunt: but the singular in the previous line renders ἐάν τις λάβη unlikely; also the preposition δι' is too short and, if it were to stand, usage would require δι' ὧτός. I therefore read with some confidence τι and κατ' οὓς βάλλη. Pearson ροίβδημ' ἐάν τι τῶν ἔσω πρὸς οὓς μόλη. For ροίβδημα see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, v.

106. τορῶς Hunt, who also points out that the space indicates the spelling φθέγγματος, as elsewhere.

107-108. In l. 107 P gives ἀλλει (or, instead of ει, possibly η or οι) ταμηνιχ . . . . χωστιλβοσταδε, which P<sup>2</sup> alters so as to present ἀλλαυταμηνιχ . . . . χωστιβοσταδε. Hunt writes the two lines thus ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μὴν ἴχνη τε χῶ στίβος τάδε | κείων ἐναργῇ τῶν βοῶν μαθεῖν πάρα, explaining that he takes "ἴχ[νη] . . . στίβος as the subject of πάρα and μαθεῖν as epexegetic." Wilamowitz prefers: ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μὴν ἴχνη τε χῶ στίβος · τάδε | κείων ἐναργῇ τῶν βοῶν μαθεῖν πάρα, making, in Hunt's words, "τάδε the direct object of μαθεῖν." Hunt's grammar seems to be almost impossibly violent, and Wilamowitz' reading is curiously staccato. Paying attention to P rather than to P<sup>2</sup>, I read: ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ μὴν ἴχνη γ' ἔχω στίβος τάδε, | κείων ἐναργῇ τῶν βοῶν μαθεῖν πάρα. The acceptance of the peculiar word στίβος (for which see *Addenda*) is justified by the fact that the line has χ', i.e. *nota bene*, written against it.

109-115. This passage is almost completely intact; the minute supplements are Hunt's. In l. 111 P<sup>2</sup> wrongly accents αὐταδ', with the consequence that Hunt reads ll. 110-111 thus: παλινστραφῇ τοι ναὶ μὰ Δία τὰ βήματα. | εἰς τοῦπαλιν δέδορκεν αὖ· τὰδ' εἴσιδε. But he proposes the reading adopted by me as the alternative in the event of the accent being wrong.

In l. 110, for παλινστραφῇ see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, *q*.

In l. 112, for τάγματος see Ch. v. § III. E. *vv*.

In l. 115, for κυκησμός see Ch. v. § II. B. 5, *e*.

116-117. A very important question of reading arises at this point. Hunt, following P<sup>2</sup>, who, though Hunt does not observe it, has here been at his objectionable trick of erasing and transforming the handwriting of P, makes the speech of the semichorus conclude with l. 115 and that of Silenus begin at the beginning of l. 116. This arrangement is altogether impossible.

After the discovery of the footprints the Satyrs speak, in l. 105, of listening for the ροίβδημα. I take ροίβδημα in that line to mean almost necessarily the *lowing* of the cattle. Hunt himself, and I agree with him, in the line in question inserts in a *lacuna* after τῶν the word βοῶν. But if, by any remote chance, it was not the lowing of the oxen that the Satyrs were listening for, the only possible alternative is the voice of the herdman or herdmen, though in the circumstances it seems out of the question that Hermes can have been calling them: there is no other sound that would in any way suit the conditions. The sound makes itself heard immediately after l. 105. Between l. 105 and l. 106 P writes the stage-direction ροιβδος. This ροιβδος is obviously the same thing as the ροίβδημα mentioned in l. 105. Hunt however does not think so. He states "The context



indicates that notes on the lyre are meant." It certainly does so, if, that is, his presentation of ll. 116–117 be adopted. But the indication is an impossible indication, and is by itself sufficient to show that Hunt's presentation is erroneous.

Immediately after the *ῥοῖβδος*, the first semichorus speaks of it in one line only (l. 106), and then for two lines (ll. 107–108) reverts to the subject of the footprints. The second semichorus then takes up its parable, and for seven lines (ll. 109–115) discourses on the remarkable peculiarities presented by the footprints in question. Neither semichorus exhibits the slightest trace of fear or of any kind of perturbation. Yet the very moment the second semichorus ceases speaking, very calmly and reasonably, of the footprints, Silenus breaks in (at the beginning of l. 116), according to Hunt's presentation, with a tirade against the Satyrs, the main gist of which is that they are crouching on the ground and assuming strange postures in an agony of terror. It is not until some little time afterwards (ll. 134–136) that the Satyrs become articulate enough to explain to Silenus that they have been terrified by an extraordinary noise.

Now we have seen that the *ῥοῖβδος* (between ll. 105 and 106) was either the lowing of the cattle or, conceivably, some cry uttered by the herdman or herdmen, and in no way refers to the notes of the lyre. It might indeed be contended that the *ῥοῖβδημα* for which the Satyrs were listening was the voice of the cattle or of some herdman, but that the *ῥοῖβδος* which they actually heard was the music of the lyre. But that contention is wholly invalidated by the fact that, when the *ῥοῖβδος* came, they evinced not the least fear of it, and indeed up to the point at which P<sup>2</sup> and Hunt make Silenus begin to upbraid them, betrayed not the slightest agitation.

Are we then to suppose that between l. 115 and l. 116, in spite of the absence of any indication in the text, an interval occurs, during which the lyre is heard and the Satyrs indulge in demonstrations of abject terror? If there were no alternative, one would be forced to postulate such an interval; but in that case the postulation would run counter to the practice of Greek drama.

Fortunately we are driven to no such desperate expedient. The leader of the second semichorus does not cease speaking at the end of l. 115. On the contrary, when that line is ended, he hears the sound of the lyre, and then cries out in terror to Pan for protection in an appeal which takes up the first five feet of l. 116, while the rest of the Satyrs betake themselves to strange antics in their fright, as is evident from Silenus' language. It is not until the last foot of l. 116 that Silenus begins to address them.

It is plainly the reference to Pan that has caused P<sup>2</sup> to tamper with the text. This column of the papyrus is reproduced in facsimile in Hunt's *editio princeps*, so that the facts are fully accessible.

The papyrus, as it stands, presents ll. 116–117 thus, with a paragraphus above the beginning of l. 116 to indicate that l. 115 is the last line of the speech of the second semichorus:

—ἐν' αὐτεχνήσῃ τηλ[. . . .]. ὑρεσ' τιν' αὖ  
 πρόσπαλον ὠδεκεκλιμ[. . .] κυνηγετεῖν.

116

But this text is in parts due to alterations effected by P<sup>2</sup>. It is necessary to consider it in detail.

At the beginning of l. 116, where there is now a dash surmounted by a paragraphus, P<sup>2</sup> has erased, though very imperfectly, the handwriting of P, *viz.* ξ with a paragraphus underneath it. P presented no paragraphus above l. 116: the existing paragraphus over the line, which is only most slightly raised above the level of the summits of the adjacent letters, has been manufactured by P<sup>2</sup> out of the top stroke of the ξ written by P. The shifting of the paragraphus is most important. It shows that P regarded l. 116, but P<sup>2</sup> l. 115, as the last line of the speech of the semichorus.

After the ξ of P, which P<sup>2</sup> replaces with a dash, P<sup>2</sup> erases the handwriting of P which formerly stood in the second place in the line, and substitutes an ι bearing an acute accent. At the bottom, however, of this ι, on either side of it, he has left vestiges of what P wrote. Unless these vestiges are the remains of the wings of a ψ, which immediately after P's initial ξ they cannot be, they are portions of two separate letters written close together in the space appropriate to one letter only. That is as much as to say that they are the diphthong ει.

In the third place of the line stands a υ, in the handwriting of P and unaltered. To this υ P<sup>2</sup> has appended an apostrophe.

In the fourth place of the line stands an α, in the handwriting of P and unaltered. Over this α, and extending to the beginning of the next letter, P<sup>2</sup> has placed a circumflex.

In the fifth place of the line stands a υ. There exists no proof on the face of the papyrus that this υ is not the unaltered handwriting of P. But it is equally possible that it is made up of an ι written by P and of two top strokes added, without any erasure, by P<sup>2</sup>. It will shortly be seen that this latter alternative is the more probable.

In the sixth place of the line stands a τ. There exists no proof on the face of the papyrus that this τ is not the unaltered handwriting of P. But it is equally possible that it is made up of a γ written by P, and of an extension of the top stroke effected, without any erasure, by P<sup>2</sup>. It will shortly be seen that this latter alternative is the more probable.

In the seventh place of the line stands an ε. A minute examination of this ε seems to establish that it was originally an ι. A very short but clearly visible straight line projects upwards from the point where the higher portion of the ε begins to curve round, and this straight line appears to be the extreme vertex of an original ι. I therefore take it that P wrote an ι, which P<sup>2</sup>, without erasure, converted into an ε.

In the eighth place of the line stands a χ. The letter χ both in this and in other papyri is regularly composed of two lines, straight or slightly curved, crossing each other in the form of a saltire, without any habitual complication other than a sort of flourish at the top of the first stroke, *i.e.* of the stroke the summit of which comes first. But this χ is a more composite creation. What I have just described as the first stroke is not in this instance continuous. It does not intersect the other stroke. The upper half of it meets the other stroke and then stops. The lower half of it starts independently from a point in the other stroke appreciably below that at which

the juncture with the upper half is effected. The conclusion from this alone would probably be that this  $\chi$  was originally a  $\kappa$ , and that the  $\kappa$  has been converted by the addition, somewhat clumsily effected, of two new arms on the other side of its backbone, and by the erasure of the backbone itself. But we have more than this to go on, seeing that in the centre of the  $\chi$  a portion, though a very small portion, of the backbone of the  $\kappa$  remains unerased. I therefore conclude that P wrote a  $\kappa$ , which P<sup>2</sup> converted into a  $\chi$ .

In the ninth and tenth places of the line stand the letters  $\nu\eta$ , both in the handwriting of P and both unaltered.

In the eleventh place of the line stands a  $\nu$ . It is fully legible, but the ink-marks are not sufficiently well preserved to indicate anything as regards alteration or erasure, except for the fact that the final stroke of the letter is singularly short. The shortness of this stroke would be explained by the hypothesis that P wrote a  $\mu$ , and that P<sup>2</sup> converted this  $\mu$  into a  $\nu$  by erasing the two central strokes of the  $\mu$  and substituting one transverse stroke in their place. In the process of erasing the two central strokes of the  $\mu$  he would naturally, unless extremely careful, erase also the top of the final stroke, and it looks as if this had happened. It will shortly be seen that it is more probable than not that P wrote  $\mu$ .

In the twelfth place of the line stands a  $\sigma$ . It is in about the same state of preservation as the  $\nu$  in the eleventh place. In the middle of it are two faint marks which might very well be the remains of the imperfectly erased cross-bar of an original  $\epsilon$ . It will shortly be seen that it is more probable than not that P wrote an  $\epsilon$  which P<sup>2</sup> altered to a  $\sigma$  by minute additions and by the erasure of the cross-bar.

In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth places of the line stand the letters  $\upsilon\tau\eta$ , all in the handwriting of P, and all unaltered.

In the sixteenth place of the line stands a letter that is certainly  $\lambda$ , though Hunt gives it as  $\nu$ . It is in P's handwriting and probably unaltered.

The seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first places of the line come within the limits of the hiatus just mentioned.

In the twenty-second place of the line, the first half of which is in the hiatus aforesaid, stand faint and illegible ink marks, of which the lower portion extends so far downwards that it probably consists of dots or remains of other marks added by P<sup>2</sup> to the line immediately following. The upper portion of the marks may easily be the imperfectly erased latter half of an  $\omicron$  altered by P<sup>2</sup> to an  $\epsilon$ ; if so, the former half of the  $\omicron$ , as altered into  $\epsilon$ , has perished in the hiatus. It will shortly be seen that it is more probable than not that P wrote an  $\omicron$ , and that P<sup>2</sup> altered it to an  $\epsilon$ .

In the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth places of the line stand the letters  $\upsilon\phi\epsilon$ , all in the handwriting of P, and all unaltered.

Along with the  $\epsilon$  in the twenty-fifth place of the line stands a  $\sigma$ . It is manifest that this  $\sigma$  has been constructed by P<sup>2</sup>, without erasure, out of an  $\iota$  written by P. The  $\epsilon\iota$  diphthong, turned by P<sup>2</sup> into  $\epsilon\sigma$ , stands beneath a single letter in the line above, but over two letters in the line below. P<sup>2</sup> after his  $\sigma$  puts a high colon.



The line concludes with  $\tau\iota\omega\alpha\nu$  in the unaltered handwriting of P, which P<sup>2</sup> presents, with an apostrophe and an accent, as  $\tau\iota\nu'\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ . From this examination of the line it becomes clear that P differs materially from P<sup>2</sup>. We have seen that instead of  $-\iota\nu'$  he reads  $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu$ , and that he departs from  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\nu\eta\nu$  at least to the extent of presenting  $\iota\chi$  instead of  $\epsilon\chi$ . But  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\kappa\nu\eta\nu$  makes nonsense. We have found some reason already for supposing that P read a  $\mu$  in place of the final  $\nu$ , and we have noted that he may easily have given  $\iota$  in the place of the  $\upsilon$  and  $\gamma$  in the place of the  $\tau$ . Now  $\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\kappa\nu\eta\mu$  makes sense, being the elided form of  $\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\kappa\nu\eta\mu\epsilon$ , the vocative of  $\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\kappa\nu\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (for the word see Ch. III, and Ch. V, § II, B. 1, b).  $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu' \alpha\iota\gamma\iota\kappa\nu\eta\mu'$  is manifestly an invocation of Pan.

To continue, before we come to the final  $\tau\iota\nu' \alpha\tilde{\upsilon}$ , which is now fairly plainly to be put in the mouth of Silenus, we have the writing which, as altered by P<sup>2</sup>, runs  $\sigma\upsilon\tau\eta\lambda[....].\upsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma$ , followed by a colon. We have already seen that the first letter  $\sigma$  shows some sign, although doubtful, of having been made out of an original  $\epsilon$ : if  $\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\kappa\nu\eta\mu'$  be right, this doubtful evidence is confirmed by the necessity arising from the elision. We have likewise seen that, although P<sup>2</sup> probably, though not certainly, altered the fourth letter,  $\lambda$ , into either  $\mu$  or  $\nu$ , P presented it as  $\lambda$ ; further, that the illegible remains of part of a letter immediately after the hiatus are consistent with the imperfectly erased second half of an  $\omicron$ , and that the final letter,  $\sigma$ , was written by P as  $\iota$ . Hence we can restore with great facility  $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\lambda[\omicron\theta\epsilon\nu\mu]\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$ , i.e.  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon} \tau\eta\lambda\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu \mu' \omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$  (for the word  $\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , *I guard*, see Ch. V, § III, C. o). For the expression  $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu' \alpha\iota\gamma\iota\kappa\nu\eta\mu'$ ,  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon} \tau\eta\lambda\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu \mu' \omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$  compare the Homeric (*Od.* III. 231):

$\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \gamma' \acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\eta\lambda\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha \sigma\alpha\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota.$

In the second of the two lines, l. 117, we need not seriously concern ourselves with more than the beginning. We have seen that that beginning now runs  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ . But the  $\iota$  has been made out of an original  $\lambda$  or  $\nu$  by P<sup>2</sup>. What is now  $\iota$  was the first stroke of the original letter. The second stroke has been very imperfectly erased and is quite visible. As the top of the new letter has apparently not been left altogether in its former condition, it is impossible to judge by the difference which often presents itself at the top of the first stroke, or rather at the top of the second stroke above the first stroke, whether P wrote  $\lambda$  or  $\nu$ . But other evidence is available. We must assume in the absence of any indication to the contrary, in a passage of this sort, where P<sup>2</sup> is making alterations with ulterior motives, that the original reading of P at least made sense. But if P presented  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ , no sense results. Neither does any sense result, if we take it that P wrote  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\pi\alpha\lambda$  and that in either or both of the two subsequent letters P<sup>2</sup> has effected an alteration. Outside Doric no word begins with  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\lambda-$ ,  $\sigma\tilde{\alpha}\lambda-$ , or  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\pi\tilde{\alpha}\lambda-$ . In this play  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\pi\alpha\lambda$ , followed first by two *ex hypothesi* uncertain letters and then by  $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ , could be only either the imperative  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\pi\alpha$  or the third person (written without an  $\iota$ ) followed in either case by some word, beginning with  $\lambda$ , of the length and scansion of  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma'$ . No such combination will yield a meaning here. If, on the other hand, P wrote  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\pi\alpha\nu$ , then

several combinations, e.g. *πρὸς πανόν*, to a torch, or *πρὸς πάντ' ἴ'*, to all violets, are possible Greek in themselves; but none of them will make sense in the context except *πρὸς Πανός*.

I think that we are entitled with great probability to present the line, as read by P, thus (with the beginning of the next line):

*πρὸς Πανός ὧδε κεκλιμένον κυνηγετεῖν  
πρὸς γῆ;*

The question *Is it Pan-like to hunt bent down thus to the ground?* suits perfectly the reading which we have seen reason to attribute to P in l. 116.

If P presented *προσπανος*, then the end of the *ν* must have stood where the subsequent *ο* now stands. The original *ο* must have come a little later and been erased together with the *σ* in order to provide full space for P<sup>2</sup>'s *ν*.

We have now to consider what reading was probably presented by P<sup>2</sup> in l. 116. The restoration of the text of P in that line has involved the filling up of a hiatus in the papyrus. That hiatus, so far as the reading of P alone is concerned, appears to me to have been filled up in a natural and indeed in an almost inevitable way. But if in addition we find that that filling up will, with minute modification only, suit also the totally different sense intended by P<sup>2</sup>, that fact will be collateral security of high value.

In l. 116 P<sup>2</sup> presents:

—*ίν' αὖτεχνην συτηλ[. . . .]ουρεσ' τιν' αὖ* .

I have worked out P's version of the same line as:

*ξιναιγι κνημευτηλ[οθενμ]ουρειτιναυ* .

I think that it is at once apparent that P<sup>2</sup> almost certainly read:

—*ίν' αὖτεχνην συτηλ[οθενγ]ευρεσ' τιν' αὖ* .

I conceive the reason why P<sup>2</sup> put a dash instead of a *τ* at the beginning of the line in place of P's *ξ*, although his accent and apostrophe show that he meant *τίν'*, was that he hesitated to effect so considerable a change as that of a *ξ* into a *τ*. In l. 95 he employs the same device. There he converts what presumably was *αιγων* into *σιγ*—. He manifestly means *σιγα*, but has put a dash, not a letter, at the point where the change involved appeared to him to be very considerable.

P<sup>2</sup> took the whole passage as:

*τίν' αὖ τέχνην σὺ τηλόθεν γ' εὔρες, τίν' αὖ* 116  
*πρόσπαιον, ὧδε κεκλιμένον κυνηγετεῖν*  
*πρὸς γῆ;*

Hunt reads:

*τίν' αὖ τέχνην σὺ τήνδ' ὄρ' ἐξεὔρες, τίν' αὖ;*  
*πρόσπαιον ὧδε κεκλιμένον κυνηγετεῖν*  
*πρὸς γῆ.*

He suggests as an alternative a comma after *αὖ*, *κεκλιμένος* instead of *κεκλιμένον*, and a note of interrogation after *γῆ*. This alternative

Pearson adopts apparently as his own, and without noticing that it has been proposed by Hunt (in the *editio princeps*).

118. P<sup>2</sup> inserts a colon after τρόπος, and Hunt punctuates τις ὑμῶν ὁ τρόπος; οὐχὶ μανθάνω.

120. P<sup>2</sup> alters κυβ to κυβδ, with the result, impossible in this play (as is shown by cumulative internal evidence), of an anapaest in the fifth foot of an iambic senarius. See Ch. viii. B. Hunt now prints κύβδ' ἀποθυμαίνεις; but in the *editio princeps* he gave κύβδα θυμαίνεις, and suggested κύβδ' ἀπιθυμαίνεις. Wilamowitz suggested that ἀποθυμαίνεις might mean *flatum emittis*. He compares ἀποθυμιᾶν, which word, however, I can only find used in the sense *to smoke out* (Aristotle, *H.A.* vi. 37, where there is a mention of smoking and digging mice out of their holes). Hunt meant ἀπιθυμαίνεις to be understood on Wilamowitz' lines, and only printed θυμαίνεις (which he could not well so interpret), as he says, "*faute de mieux*." Pearson at first proposed κύβδα ποθομανῆς, for which he now substitutes the suggestion κύβδα πόθον ἐνείς. But there is not a shadow of a reason for attributing any disgusting meaning to the line. The passage runs: "I don't understand your tricks. You look like a hedgehog that has taken cover and is lying in a thicket, or like a monkey stooping forwards in a fury with someone." P<sup>2</sup> was wrong in altering κυβ. See Ch. v. § ii. B. 4, *h*. For ἀποθυμαίνεις see Ch. v. § ii. B. 5, *a*.

121-122. The minute supplements are Hunt's. At the end of l. 120, τροπωι P, uncorrected by P<sup>2</sup>; but the word has clearly been influenced by the τροπου at the end of the next line, and Wilamowitz therefore alters, followed by Hunt, to τόπω. But I greatly dislike the tautology of ποῦ γῆς ἐμάθετ' ἐν ποίῳ τόπω; Therefore I propose: ποῦ γῆς ἐμάθετ'; ἐν ποίῳ τρέχω; *i.e.* *Where on earth were you taught it? In what kind of circus?*

123. For ὅ ὕ, see Ch. v. § iii. E. *xx*.

124. Missing part, Murray. For ὅ ὕ, see Ch. v. § iii. E. *xx*.

125. τί δεῖμ' ὀπωπας, Wilamowitz. To avoid tautology, after the τίν' εἰσορᾶς; of the previous line, I substitute τί δὴ πέπονθας;

126-127. ἀγχοῦ τις ἔχει κέρχνος· ἱμείρω μαθεῖν | τί ἦν. τί σιγᾶτ' κτλ., Wilamowitz: ἀγχοῦ τις ἔχει κέρχνος· ἱμείρεις μαθεῖν | τίς ἦν; τί σιγᾶτ' κτλ., Hunt, in his text, with suggested alternative ἀγχοῦ τίς ἔχει κέρχνος ἱμείρεις μαθεῖν; | τί δῆτα κτλ. Pearson ἀλλ' οὐ τίς ἔχει κέρχνος ἱμείρεις μαθεῖν; | τί δῆτα σιγᾶθ', οἱ κτλ. But Wilamowitz' τί ἦν, followed by τί, as also the τί δῆτα, which is one of Hunt's readings and is adopted by Pearson, is too short for the space: Hunt's other reading, τίς ἦν, followed by τί, is alone possible. Wilamowitz, Hunt, and Pearson take κέρχνος as a *noise*. It can mean nothing of the kind in this passage, but is obviously the *hawk* which is elsewhere known to us only in the feminine form κέρχνη. See Ch. v. § ii. B. 4, *g*. The context indicates a hawk: the crouching of the Satyrs is identical with the way in which fowls crouch and shrink when a hawk appears. Further, l. 131 plainly shows that Silenus has heard no sound whatever. Therefore I read, with complete confidence (*a*) as to the general sense and (*b*) as to the appropriateness (though not necessarily as to more than the appropriateness) of the supplemental words: ἀγχοῦ τις ἦξε



κέρχνος; As regards the rest of l. 126, P gives εἰμειρει. μαθεῖν: P<sup>2</sup> alters to ἰμειρει. μαθεῖν. P<sup>2</sup> is wrong: the initial εἰ of εἰμειρει was a debased way of writing not ἰ but ῃ, and ῃμειρεισμαθεῖν was in its turn a corruption, though a very slight corruption, of ῃμετρεῖσ μαθεῖν, i.e. ῃ με τρεῖς μαθεῖν. Read ῃ με τρεῖς μαθεῖν | τίς ῃν; *Are you afraid of my learning what it was?* Thus, and thus alone, so far as I can see, is it possible on a reasonable basis to deal with the data in the papyrus. Pearson adopts P<sup>2</sup>'s οἱ for ᾧ.

In l. 127 P presents only τ . . . . . ατωπ . . . . . ατοι, to which P<sup>2</sup> has added (a) an apostrophe after the third extant letter, τ, (b) a circumflex over the next letter, ω, and (c) a mark of short quantity and an acute accent over the place of the eighth letter in the second *lacuna*; but P<sup>2</sup> also appends this marginal note: σιγαῖθ' οἱ πρὸ τοῦ οὕτως ἦν μόνον ἐν τῷ Θέωνος. Hence we have the line nearly complete. Theon's variant seems inferior. The minute supplement is Wilamowitz'. For λαλίστατοι see Ch. v. § III. A. d.

128. Line restored by Murray.

129. ἀπονοσφίζεις suggested by Wilamowitz. Line, as a whole, restored by Hunt.

130. Line restored by Hunt.

#### Column 6.

131. Missing part, Hunt.

133. ἐμὸν δῖωγά γ' οὐδαμῶς Hunt, who however is scarcely satisfied that the -ὸν of ἐμὸν can be got into the space. I consider his δῖωγμα, on the other hand, hardly long enough. Hence my reading.

134. χροήματος Hunt. I propose 'χθήματος on the strength of the occurrence of ἔχθημα in the glossaries and because of Hesychius' ἔχθιμα (*sic*), μισήματα Σοφοκλῆς Τυροῖ.

135. P presents the mutilated .ιωπ. αγεντεσεν . . . ἐξ . . γισμεθα, and P<sup>2</sup> has appended an ι to the second extant letter, ω. This framework would leave us in some doubt as to the filling up; but fortunately P<sup>2</sup> has also appended two marginal notes. The former runs οἷωικπλα'α, i.e. οἷω 'κπλαγ, 'Αρ[ιστοφάνης?]. Reference to the text of P (αγεντες) shows that the complete word, abbreviated as 'κπλαγ, is ἐκπλαγέντες, and that the difference between P and the Grammarian was that the one read οἷω πλαγέντες and the other οἷω 'κπλαγέντες. Of the two readings, οἷω 'κπλαγέντες is clearly preferable. The latter note is more interesting. It runs ενθαδ' ἐξενισμεθαοῦηνμ'ενθ', which Hunt interprets, securely, as ἐνθάδ' ἐξενισμεθαοῦτως ἦν μόνον ἐν τῷ Θέωνος. Again referring to the text of P, we see that the difference between P and Theon was that the one read ἐνθάδ' ἐξ . . γίσμεθα and the other ἐνθάδ' ἐξενισμεθα. As for P's reading, the only extant compound with ἐξ that will fit in and will make a semblance of sense seems to be ἐξωργίσμεθα. Hunt, who suggests the possibility of this word, points out that it is "less appropriate" than ἐξενισμεθα: I doubt whether it is really appropriate at all, as the Satyrs were not "enraged," although indeed l. 119 says

that one of them *looked like* an angry monkey. But the extant compounds with ἐξ do not exhaust the possibilities. I propose ἐξηγιόμεθα, from ἐξαγιίζω. See, as regards ἐξηγιόμεθα, Ch. v. § II. A. 1, *m*, and, as regards ἐξενίσμεθα, the same Ch. v. § III. c. *i*.

136-137. Missing parts, Hunt.

138. ἐκμεμαγμένοι P: P<sup>2</sup> adds a marginal note μεναρν'. The note clearly indicates ἐκμεμαγμένα, which seems to me, as to Hunt, preferable to ἐκμεμαγμένοι. Hunt interprets the remaining letters of the note, viz. αρν', as Ἀριστοφάνης. In the former of the two marginal notes on l. 135 the Grammarian (whoever was meant) was called simply α'. That may well be Ἀριστοφάνης: but the case of αρν' is quite different. Hunt suggests Ἀριστόνικος as possible, but points out that he is not known to have commented on Sophocles. Nevertheless Ἀριστόνικος is possible, whereas Ἀριστοφάνης is impossible. For μάλλθης see Ch. v. § III. E. *ff*.

139. After the last letter of what Hunt reads as οντ, but with a doubt as to the τ, P presents a *lacuna*, large enough for two average letters, then a μ, and then a *lacuna* of one letter; P<sup>2</sup> alters the μ into ν. Hunt reads κάκιστα θηρῶν ὄντες, ἐν πάσῃ σκιᾷ: but to this there are two objections, viz. (a) that εσε can scarcely be got into the space, and (b) that κάκιστα θηρῶν ὄντες is hardly Greek (κάκιστα θηρίων ὄντες—cf. κάκιστα θηρίων in l. 145—would be correct, because θηρίων is neuter; and κάκιστα θηρῶν ὄντα would also be correct because not only ὄντα but κάκιστα also could properly take the gender of σώματ' in the previous line, if, that is, ἐκμεμαγμένα is read and σώματ' is consequently vocative, though if ἐκμεμαγμένοι be read with σώματ' in the accusative, then the unmetrical κάκιστοι θηρῶν ὄντες would alone be grammatical). With these considerations in view, I can only propose either κάκιστα θηρῶν ὄντ'; ἰὼ 'ν πάσῃ σκιᾷ, where the ἰὼ would be offensively interruptive, or, alternatively, and, I think, rightly, κάκιστα θηρῶν ὄνθι', ἐν πάσῃ σκιᾷ. For the use of the diminutive ὄνθιον, which does not occur elsewhere, see Ch. v. § III. B. *b*.

141. I dare not disturb the text, but I suspect that ἀκόμιστα stands for ἀκόνιτα. Assuming that ἄνευρα ἀκόμιστα ἀνελεύθερα are felt to be *adverbial*, the passive ἀκόμιστα is impossible. Something neutral in voice, like ἄνευρα and ἀνελεύθερα, or else something active is required. *In an untended way* is not good sense. But if ἀκόμιστα was felt to be no adverb but a true internal accusative (though I doubt this as late as Sophocles), then *to do untended service* would make sense, and ἀκόμιστα could stand. See Ch. v. § III. E. *b*, and for ἄνευρα see the same Ch. v. § III. E. *e*.

142-143. σώματ' εἰσιδεῖν μόνον καὶ γλῶσσα καὶ φαλῆτες, εἰ δέ που δέη Hunt. But σώματ' is an awkward word in the context, first because not *the body* but *a part of the body* is required to match γλῶσσα, and secondly because, strictly speaking, the body is the only thing there is to see in the case of anyone. I propose φῦσά τ' εἰσιδεῖν μόνον with some confidence. For φῦσα see Ch. v. § III. c. *bb*. Robert reads ὄμματ', which, though better than σώματ' in one way, is even worse in another. In line 143 I regard εἰ δέ που δέη as a most suspicious construction: the instances of εἰ with the subjunctive in Attic writers, even when they employ conventional dialects, appear

to me quite unconvincing, and I believe them to be due to the ignorance of copyists. Consequently I refuse to follow the diacritical marks appended by P<sup>2</sup>. Emending nothing, I redivide P's text into καὶ γλῶσσα καὶ ψῶζ' ἦτε, σεῖ δέ που δέη. For ψῶζα see Ch. v. § III. E. ccc. For σεῖ (from σεῖν=*excitare ad micturitionem*) see Ch. v. § III. C. r. δέη is the regularly formed plural of δέος, *fear*, and is good enough Attic, being used by Lysias (105, 9). I am not sorry that the somewhat offensive φαλλῆτες incidentally disappears: σεῖ does not offend, except against the taste of the boudoir. The introduction of a main verb in ἦτε and of the full stop, necessitated by my reading, at the end of l. 143, helps the general run of the passage.

144. Hunt πιστοῖ: myself τί ἴσοι, which leads up to πατρός in l. 145.

145. For θηρίων see Ch. v. § III. B. a.

147. For παροίνους see Ch. v. § III. A. g. I introduce this word conjecturally, because the text, as it stands without the alteration, seems to me to imply that outside the houses of the Nymphs were placed sculptures or inscriptions in honour of Silenus, a notion which I can hardly reconcile with sylvan simplicity.

148. ουδουλ. υμενου P: P<sup>2</sup> adds a marginal note ουδειλουμενου, i.e. οὐ δειλουμένου. Nt-. Hunt follows P; but I prefer οὐ δειλουμένου to οὐ δουλουμένου, because from ll. 56 and 156-157 it is plain that Silenus was a δοῦλος.

149. For ὀρειτρόφων see Ch. v. § III. E. ll.

150. ἀλλα... μαισιν P: ἀλλ' ἀκμαῖσιν Hunt: ἀλλ' αἰχμαῖσιν Pearson: the latter alone seems to suit the space. ἐξει. γασμενα P, altered by P<sup>2</sup> to ἐξει. γασμενου. Hunt prefers ἐξειργασμένου to ἐξειργασμένα, and I follow him, but without conviction. Hunt puts a colon at the end of this line: I agree with Pearson in omitting it.

151-152. Missing parts, Hunt. In l. 151 Hunt realises the possibility of ἀπορῥυπαίνεται, and Pearson reads this. For ὑπορῥυπαίνεται see Ch. v. § II. B. 5, h. In l. 152, for κόλακι see Ch. v. § III. C. l.

153-155. Missing parts, Hunt. In l. 154, for χρυσόφαντον see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, x. In l. 155, for ἀνεδέξατο see Ch. v. § III. E. d.

156. κατηνεσεν P, altered by P<sup>2</sup> to κατηνεσεν, not, as *passim* in such cases, by the insertion of a small ι in the body of the text, but by the writing of an ι above the line over the latter part of the η.

### Column 7.

157-167. Passage almost absolutely intact: minute supplements, Hunt's.

In l. 158, for ἀνανοστήσαντες see Ch. v. II. A. 1, c.

In l. 161 for συμποδηγέται see Ch. v. § II. B. 5, g.

In l. 163 ουδενλεγω P, altered by P<sup>2</sup> to ουδενλογω: it is impossible to speak certainly of the iota "subscript" or of a ν after λεγω, as the papyrus breaks off immediately after the ω: οὐδὲν λέγων Hunt; but this does not make articulate sense. The last word of l. 164 is given by P as λογω (P<sup>2</sup> adds ι). The ends of the two lines have acted and reacted on one another. προσβιβῶ λόγῳ is not a natural expression. I read with fair confidence οὐδ' ἐν λόγῳ and προσβιβῶ λόγῳ.



In l. 165, for διακαλούμενος see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, *h*, and for κυνορτικόν see Ch. v. § II. B. 4, *i*.

In l. 166 Wilamowitz unnecessarily proposes τρίζυγ' εἰς. Pearson reads ἀλλ' εἴ' ἀφίστω τριζύγης οὔμου βάσιν, taking ἀφίστω as intransitive, βάσιν as an internal accusative, and the whole expression as equivalent to *Hesitate no longer*. I take ἐφίστω as middle, βάσιν as its direct object, and the sense as *Prepare to advance in a formation of three single-files*. It is fairly evident from the last line of the ensuing chorus that there is an imitation of military operations. It seems to me that the chorus of twelve Satyrs is treated as a small λόχος of twelve soldiers. The small λόχος consisted of eight, twelve, or sixteen men (see Suidas, *s.v.* λόχος, and Arrian, *Tact.* 10, 1). As regards the temporary subdivision of this small λόχος into three sets of four, it may be observed that it is impossible to march through woods in regular formation, as the British found to their cost on the occasion of the rebellion of the North American Colonies. It would not surprise me to find that the small Greek λόχος, when engaged in reconnoitring or the like in woodland country, was trained to divide into three separate patrols, each of which, for the purpose of advancing as distinguished from scouting, would most naturally move in Indian file. In my view, the whole λόχος again forms up as a λόχος at l. 193.

168–182. Lines 168–194 form a much indeed mutilated chorus, but one the mutilations of which do not prove so baffling as might at first sight have been expected. With a view to filling up the framework with such a degree of probability as may be feasible, and with a view no less to presenting the framework itself in a proper form, it is important to enquire into the general structure of the chorus.

Several points speedily emerge on close inspection. (*a*) The chorus is in the nature of a conversation, and not in the mouth of one person. (*b*) It falls naturally into twelve distinct utterances. (*c*) If these twelve utterances be assigned alternately to two hemichoria, inconsistencies result: *e.g.* it appears impossible to reconcile the sentiment of ll. 178–179 with the sentiment of ll. 182–183 on the assumption that both utterances are in the mouth of the same speaker. (*d*) The assumption of twelve speakers, as in Aesch. *Ag.* ll. 1319–42, removes all such difficulties. (*e*) There is patent corruption. (*f*) No strophic-antistrophic arrangement exists. (*g*) But an incomplete attempt has been made to convert ll. 169–171 and 172–174 into a strophe and an antistrophe respectively. (*h*) This attempt is responsible for nearly all the corruption. (*i*) The metre is tolerant to a degree. (*k*) The dialect is not Attic, as is proved by ὑπό μ' ἔδες in l. 170; but whether it is Epic or Doric requires consideration. (*l*) μᾶτην in l. 169, παρέβης in l. 177, and μεθῆ in l. 184 are Attic or Epic in form, and there are no obviously Doric forms to balance them; but there are large intrusions, though not swamping, as here, of Attic forms into other choruses of this play: on the whole ἀναγού in l. 173, though accented by P<sup>2</sup> ἀνάγου, seems to require the sense, not of ἀνάγου, but of ἀναγοῦ (see Ch. v. § III. E. c), Doric for ἀνηγοῦ, and this, if it be a fact, stamps the chorus as Doric. (*m*) Whatever else the chorus may be, it cannot possibly be lyrical, a lyrical chorus necessitating the presence of a lyre. Neither Hunt nor Pearson divides the chorus

between different speakers, though Pearson thinks that it should no doubt be so divided.

Before l. 168 P<sup>2</sup> writes χ°.

In l. 168, as the metre is clearly that of a choric senarius, I insert Ὡ. Wilamowitz once read, but no longer reads, υυψψαα as ὑύψ ψαᾶ. See Ch. v. § II. B. 4, *m*, and § III. E. *xx*.

In l. 169, for ὑπέκλαγες and ὑπέκριγες see Ch. v. § II. B. 3, *d* and *e*.

In l. 171 Robert reads τρόπος, not τρόπω.

In l. 172 P gives εχειελελυθενελελ, altered by P<sup>2</sup> to εχειεληλυθενεληλ. But ἐλήλυθεν ἐλήλ— yields no apparent sense. I suggest that σύ γ' was contained in the gap at the end of the previous line (the addition is a clear improvement), and I transfer it to the beginning of this line. With σύ γ', it becomes plain that ἐλέλυθεν ἐλέλ— is merely part of an attempt to fabricate an antistrophe. τί μάτην ὑπέκλαγες ὑπέκριγες and <σύ γ'> ἔχει, ἐλέλυθεν ἐλέλυθεν are meant by the fabricator to correspond. But we must read σύ γ' ἔχῃ, 'λελεῦ, 'λελεῦ. And the -θεν of the second ἐλέλυθεν is really the θελ- of θελεμός.

In l. 173, P+P<sup>2</sup> gives εμόσειανάγου. No doubt this may read (as Hunt reads it) ἐμός εἷ, ἀνάγου. This suits by way of false antistrophe, l. 170, if you dock it of its first syllable. The quantity of εἷ, before ἀνάγου, would be short. But read θελεμός, εἷ', ἀναγοῦ. The acute accent of P<sup>2</sup> on μός indicates εἷ'. See Ch. v. § III. E. *c*.

In l. 174 P reads δευτερωτισοδε . . . . . τησ. P<sup>2</sup> adds an ι to δευτερω, and writes in the margin δευτερώτις, i.e. δεῦτε, ὦ, τις, evidently meaning what we should write as δεῦτ', ὦ, τις. δεῦτ', ὦ, τις ὅδε is right, and δευτέρω τις ὅδε is merely an attempt to equate antistrophically l. 171, ἐν πρώτῳ τις ὅδε τρόπω. These antistrophical efforts are instructive; but this last is particularly inept, as l. 174 is clearly in the mouth of a new speaker. In ll. 174–175, the Fourth Satyr seems to me to announce that he has come upon the dead body of what “was once a ‘worm,’ a creature of wrinkled skin.” I proceed on that basis. If the basis be sound, then the object in question is clearly the remains of the tortoise from which Hermes had removed the shell to make his lyre, though of course the Satyrs would know nothing of his doings. According to the Homeric Hymn (l. 26) Hermes found the tortoise just outside the front gate (ἐπ' αὐλείῃσι θύρῃσι), and took it indoors (l. 40), and there killed it (ll. 41–42). What he did with the body is not stated, but he may well be supposed to have thrown it outside the gate again: and it was outside the gate that the Satyrs were searching.

A tortoise without its shell could be fairly described as a δρακίς, assuming that δρακίς is a feminine equivalent of δράκων. Hunt accents δράκις, though there is no accent in the papyrus, and though analogy demands δρακίς. For δρακίς see Ch. v. § II. B. 4, *d*. For γράπις (so accented by P<sup>2</sup>) see Ch. v. § II. B. 4, *c*.

Here, in the *Ichneutae*, it must mean “a wrinkled beast,” a good description of a tortoise, considering the nature of the skin of the neck and of the higher parts of the legs, which skin would be fully exposed to view after the removal of the shell.

We have the direct evidence of Zonaras that γράπις is feminine, and the almost certain derivation of δρακίς is tantamount to proof

that that word also is feminine : but in this passage, if  $\delta$  is the article, both the words are of the same gender, and that gender the masculine. Therefore, *pace* the *Etymologicum Magnum* (which was, probably enough, misled by the superficial appearance of this very line), the repeated  $\delta$  of  $\delta\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\varsigma$   $\delta\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$  (so P + P<sup>2</sup>) cannot be  $\delta$ , the masculine article, but must be  $\delta$ , the neuter relative. After  $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$  the papyrus is missing for the space of five letters, and then resumes without having writing upon it. Consequently, any supplement necessary to complete the sense must run to five letters only as a maximum. I propose  $\delta$   $\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\delta$   $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$   $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}\eta$ ; I translate *What is this which was once a "worm," a creature of wrinkled skin?* I am not at all sure that the Greek language will permit of any sufficient supplement, alternative to this, in view of the limited space. Space is sometimes almost mandatory. For  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  see Ch. v. § III. E. k.

In ll. 176–77, for the genitive construction *cf.* Aristotle, *Cael.* i. 5, 2. The metaphor would be from an error in tacking. In post-Homeric Epic  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu$  is often nearly equivalent to  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\nu$ : *e.g.* Ap. Rh. iv. 276.  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\nu$  helps the genitive. Rossbach reads  $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ . In ll. 178–179, P presents  $\sigma\tau\iota\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon$  . . . . .  $\iota . \nu$  |  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\chi\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\tau\iota$ , followed by a gap in the papyrus which would permit of a supplement of eleven letters maximum. Against l. 178, P<sup>2</sup> adds the note  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\eta\nu\theta^{\epsilon}$ , *i.e.*  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma$   $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\tilde{\eta}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}$   $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . Taking  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma$   $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$  and the available space into consideration, I suggest that P wrote  $\sigma\tau\iota\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$ , the  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$  in error for  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$ . The true reading, then, with suitable supplement, apparently is:  $\delta$   $\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$   $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma$   $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$  |  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\chi\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$   $\tau\iota\nu$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ . The general sense would be *Whatever vote you cast, in any case the decision has a suspensory clause attached to it, so that time exists for further deliberation.* For  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\chi\omicron\nu$  see Ch. v. § III. E. t. One might wish to interpret  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\chi\omicron\nu$  as *a rider* (in the sense of a supplementary resolution); but for such a use there is no authority of any kind, and, indeed, the sense would be left incomplete into the bargain.

In l. 180 Rossbach reads  $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\beta\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$   $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ .

It is to be observed, with reference to ll. 174–186, the last four of which are in the next column, that Robert conceives, contrary, I think, to the probabilities emerging from the mutilated text, that seven Satyrs are addressed by name. He reads l. 174 and the extant portion of l. 175 as  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$   $\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$  |  $\delta$   $\Delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\delta$   $\Gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$ . In l. 176 he takes the twofold  $\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$  as a proper name,  $\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ . In l. 177 he makes, out of  $\mu\epsilon\theta\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\text{M}}\acute{\epsilon}\theta\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\acute{\text{M}}\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$ . The twofold  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$  of l. 181 he presents as  $\Sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . In l. 184, instead of  $\kappa\rho\omicron\kappa\iota\delta\iota\zeta'$ , he proposes  $\text{K}\rho\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha\varsigma$ . In l. 186, where I give  $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu$ , he introduces  $\text{T}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\iota\varsigma$ . Pearson follows Robert to the extent of reading, though without initial capitals,  $\kappa\rho\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha\varsigma$  and  $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\iota\varsigma$ .

#### Column 8.

184.  $\kappa\rho . \kappa\iota$ - P, which seems to make  $\kappa\rho\omicron\kappa\iota\delta\iota\zeta'$  or  $\kappa\rho\omicron\kappa\iota\delta\iota\zeta\epsilon$  certain : but refer to the end of the notes on the previous column. See Ch. v. § III. c. m.

186. See the end of the notes on the previous column.



189. For ὀπποποῖ see Ch. v. § II. B. 4, *k*.

191. For ἀπελεύθερος see Ch. v. § III. E. *h*.

193. For the deleted β̄ before this line see Ch. VI. A.

195. For the β̄ before this line see Ch. VI. A. μοναληθ- P: μῶν ἀληθὲς εἵπομεν Wilamowitz. But μῶν οὐ is required; passages in which μῶν is said to exhibit eccentric meanings need reconsideration.

196. κεκώφησαι, ψόφον Wilamowitz. See Ch. v. § III. E. *cc*.

197. P divides l. 197 into four lines σ. — | τιςσιν | ουμενω | μνε. θελεις, and emphasises this division by the addition throughout of paragraphi. This means, as Pearson has seen, that the parts of Silenus and the Satyrs are reversed, so that l. 197 (parts *a* and *c*) and ll. 198–201 fall to Silenus, l. 197 (parts *b* and *d*) and ll. 202–204 to the Chorus. It also must involve, in my opinion, the assignment to Silenus of ll. 205–208 and to the Chorus of ll. 209–212. But I follow Hunt in reading parts *a* and *b* of l. 197 as one utterance, so that the whole of the above distribution of parts which Pearson adopts, except that he gives ll. 205–208 to the chorus, falls, if I am right, to the ground. In favour of that arrangement it may be urged (*a*) that it has the combined authority of P and of P<sup>2</sup>, (*b*) that it introduces the diversion of a comic *volte-face*, and (*c*) that it entrusts to the Satyrs, instead of Silenus, the function of leaping and kicking at Cyllene's gate (see ll. 209–212). But against this I urge (*a*) that the authority of P and of P<sup>2</sup> is worth very little in such a matter, (*b*) that in all the rest of the extant portion of the play Silenus is represented as a quite respectable person, distinctly unlike the Satyrs, so that the *volte-face* is improbable, and (*c*) that the dignity of Silenus is indeed so distinctly marked elsewhere that some such boisterous, though innocent, action as leaping and kicking ought somewhere to be assigned to him, if he is not to be mistaken for an Olympian god.

197–198. P gives the end of l. 197 as ε. θελεις and that of l. 198 is represented by a *lacuna*: but P<sup>2</sup> writes in the margin, opposite l. 198:

].οπηιδυναι βε<sup>λ</sup>  
]’οπηιθελεις

This Hunt interprets (rightly, except as regards some possible doubt in the case of each ταῦθ'): ταῦθ' ὅπη δύναι βέλτιον ταῦθ' ὅπη θέλεις. Hunt considers that the ends of ll. 197 and 198 have been confused, and that the former ought to show δύναι, the latter θέλεις. Pearson presents θέλεις in both lines. But ε. θελεις surely represents ἐφθ' ἐλεῖς, *Thou wilt receive refined gold*. ἀπεφθός is more usual (Theognis, l. 449, Herodotus, I. 50, Thucydides, II. 13) in this sense than the simple ἐφθός: but ἐφθός is used of gold in Simonides (*Fr.* 64, l. 1), as is ἐψόμενος in Pindar (*Nem.* IV. l. 133). I imagine that the similarity of endings led to δύναι as an emendation in the next line. For ἐφθός see Ch. v. § III. A. *c*. For ἐλεῖς, as an equivalent, apparently appropriate to the Satyric style, of the Attic αἰρήσεις, see Ch. v. § II. B. 3, *l*.

199. πλούτει λαβῶν Wilamowitz. I prefer to retain the acute

accent on the last syllable of a non-lyrical senarius, because of the normal absence of synapheia. The question is merely graphical in the case of Greek pronounced according to the medieval tradition, and I think that it must have been so ever since the language substituted the emphatic for the musical accent.

200. The supplement is mine. Hunt points out that, owing to the papyrus being divided into two portions at this point, the length of the *lacunae* in this column is not quite certain; but I consider that his estimate, though conjectural, is well founded, being based on the probable relative positions of the text and the marginal note in the case of l. 198. If he has erred at all (which I doubt), it is not in the direction of shortness.

201. My supplement suits all the existing *data*. A trisyllabic foot seems almost necessary in order to fill the space indicated. Hunt *πλεῖστον*.

202. My supplement fits on the assumption of μή 'κ με being written at full length *μηεμε*. Hunt reads, *exempli gratia*, ἀλλ' οὐ τι μή σοί μ' ἐκλιπεῖν ἐφήσομαι: but it seems to me that μή σοί is a trifle long. The 'κ of my μή 'κ με balances and supports the abnormally placed ἐξ- of ἐξυπελθόντ' in the next line.

203. Hunt οὐδ' ἐξυπελθεῖν τοῦ πόνου πρίν γ' ἂν σαφῶς. For ἐξυπελθόντ' see Ch. v. § II. B. 4, f.

204. Supplement by Hunt, improving on Murray's ὄντιν' ἥδ' ἔσω κρύπτει στέγη.

205-207. The major part of this short chorus (ll. 205-208) can perhaps be restored with greater security in outline than its fragmentary condition would at first sight lead one to suppose. The marginal note on l. 206 shows that φθέγμα has with it a future indicative, and this implies an οὐ at the end of l. 205. Then l. 207 begins with . ηδ. , which most strongly suggests the construction of a sentence like οὐ σῖγ' ἀνέξει, μηδὲ δειλίαν ἀρεῖς; (Soph. *Aj.* l. 75). But, if the . ηδ. at the beginning of l. 207 is μηδὲ, then the sense requires that the μηδὲ should not govern the ὀλβίσης of l. 208, but that it should stand in a sub-clause of its own, and that ὀλβίσης should follow it in a subsequent sub-clause, positive not negative, and connected by means of δέ or ἀλλά, as in οὐ μὴ προσοίσῃς χειρά, βακχεύσεις δ' ἰών; (Eur. *Bacch.* l. 343). In that case ὀλβίσης ought probably to be changed to ὀλβιεῖς: copyists have a trick in similar cases of substituting first aorist subjunctives for future indicatives. But, if we accept the framework οὐ | φθέγμ' ἀφήσεις—, | μηδὲ—, —δὲ μισ- | θὼν δόμοισιν ὀλβιεῖς; then we are brought up against the fact that l. 207 is shown by the space to be a line of not more than eighteen letters. Four of these letters are accounted for by μηδὲ, and three more by the almost certain μισ- at the end of the line (conjectured by Wilamowitz in order, with the θο. at the beginning of the next line, to make μισθὼν). This leaves a maximum of eleven letters' space in which to complete the μηδὲ sub-clause and to continue with a word meaning *but* and with an accusative meaning *life* or the like to serve as object to ὀλβιεῖς in l. 208, and with a word meaning *having* to govern μισθόν.

This can just be done ; but, I think, in one way only. Read *μηδὲ σῖγ'*, αἰῶ δ', ἔχων μισ-. Without the use of the adverbial *σῖγα*, serving as a future verb, I believe that it would be impossible to put all the required elements into the space at our disposal. That *σῖγα* can be so used, and that it can be so used in a construction of this particular class, is proved by οὐ σῖγα, *μηδ' ἐν τῶνδ' ἑρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν* ; (Aesch. *Septem*, l. 250). The Tragedians were meticulously imitative, even in detail, when developing artificial constructions.

In l. 206, P presents *φθεγγ . . . . .ου* : P<sup>2</sup> adds a marginal note *φθεγγμααφουσ. ισ*, i.e. *φθέγγμα ἀφύσεις*, that is to say *φθέγγμ' ἀφύσεις* as distinct from *φθέγγμα φύσεις*. One may gather that P had *φθεγγμαφουσεις*, but Hunt suggests that he may have had *αφουξεις*. But the uses of *ἀφύσειν* show that the word is out of the question. At and about the date of the papyrus, the vowels, or most of them, were pronounced (at least in many parts, for strange local peculiarities of spelling are to be found) substantially as in modern Greek, and the true confusion was between *φθέγγμ' ἀφήσεις* and *φθέγγμα φήσεις*.

Hunt reads the marginal note correctly : Wilamowitz wanted to make *ἀ φύσας* of it ; but, as Hunt points out, "the narrow space and the flourished form of the *ι* are both against *α* and in favour of *-εις*."

### Column 9.

208. See notes above on ll. 205–207.

209–224. Lines almost intact : minute supplements, Hunt.

In l. 209, Hunt reads *ὁ δ' οὐ φανεῖται τοῖσιν* : but, unless with him we arbitrarily alter l. 212, a verb in the second person is required, nor ought *εἰ* to occupy the full space of two letters (see Latin note). I take *λιτοῖσιν* as a species of ethic dative : for the omission of the substantive compare *μειλιχίοισι* in Homer (*Il.* iv. 256 and vi. 214). For the word *λιτός* see Ch. v. § III. E. *ee bis* (in the *Addenda*).

In l. 210, for *πέδορτον* see Ch. v. § II. B. 2, *b*.

In l. 212, P gives *κειλιανκωφοστισει*, i.e. *κεῖ λίαν κωφός τις εἴ*. Hunt prints *κεῖ λίαν κωφός τις ἦ* : but I mistrust *εἴ* with the subjunctive in all kinds of classical Attic and classical quasi-Attic. See also Latin note, and note above on l. 209.

In l. 213, *χλοερων* P : P<sup>2</sup> adds a marginal note *χωρον . . . . .ν'*, meaning that *χῶρον* was read by Aristophanes, as Hunt thinks, or by Aristonicus, as I think : *χῶρον* would be possible, but I agree with Hunt that *χλοερὼν* is better. Hunt suggests that *χωρον* may be a mistake for *χλωρον* : for this, cf. Eur. *Helen*, l. 349, and my remarks thereon in 'Αντὶ Μιᾶς, II. pp. 245–246.

In l. 214, *εν. ηρον* P : *ἐνθηρον* Hunt : but, after the *χλοερὼν* and *ὕλωδη*, and still more after the *θῆρες*, of the previous line, *ἀνθηρόν* must surely be read. An identical confusion is possible in Aesch. *Ag.* 562, though I incline myself to the view that *ἐνθηρον* there is right and means *verminous*.

In l. 216, *ειπεσ* P : *εἶχες* Wilamowitz, followed by Hunt : but *ειπεσ* stands not for *εἶπες* but for *εἰπες* (from *ἐπω*), which suits the peculiar style of this play. See Ch. v. § III. c. *f*.

In l. 217 for *νεβρίνη* see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, *o*.



In l. 218 for εὐπαλῆ see Ch. v. § III. E. x.

In l. 219, εὐιαζετ, i.e. εὐιάζετ', P rightly: P<sup>2</sup> alters to εὐιάζεσ (ungrammatically, and apparently mistaking εὐιαζετ for a second person plural active): P<sup>2</sup> originally put also an acute accent on the α, but subsequently added cancelling dots. See Ch. v. § III. A. b.

In l. 220 καίποδων P: καὶ παίδων Wilamowitz, followed by Hunt. Read καίπόδων. For this reading see Ch. III. and Ch. v. § II. B. 1, d, and for ἐγγόνους earlier in this line see Ch. III. and Ch. v. § II. B. 5, d.

In l. 222, κατεκλ. ον P: but P<sup>2</sup> adds an interlineation, beginning over the ε of εκλ. ον, thus: γλυθ . . νοῖηνεν'θ', meaning -ήλυθ' οὖν οὕτως ἦν ἐν τῷ Θέωνος. Hunt strangely reads the beginning of the note not as -ήλυθ' οὖν but as -ήλυθεν.

In l. 223 for my reading, τῶς, see Ch. v. § II. B. 7.

In l. 224, εὐναι . . τρο. ῆς P: εὐναίου τροφῆς Hunt: εὐναίου στροφῆς Wilamowitz: εὐναιῶν τρόχης myself. τροφῆς accords ill with the context: for στροφῆς there seems not to be space, and the use of the word in the sense required is hardly justified by ἀναστροφαί and ἐπιστροφαί. The substantive εὐναῖαι is employed by Euripides (*Ion*, l. 172). For τρόχης, a *she-badger*, see Ch. v. § II. B. 4, l; the mention of this particular animal appears peculiarly suitable in the circumstances. Θήρ is several times used semi-adjectivally (e.g. Euripides, *H.F.* l. 465, and, with a feminine, as here, *Anth. Pal.* xiv. 63, l. 4).

225-234. Missing parts, mine, except that I have taken from Hunt obvious slight supplements. In l. 225, for ἂν αὖ τι, Hunt proposes, followed by Pearson, ἂν αὖτις, and Murray ἂν' αὐλήν.

In l. 230 for P's . ληδων Hunt reads κληδών, and ends the line ἐγεινία στέγη. I cannot understand κληδών in the context. I take χλήδων ἄχρη as *scum of the offscourings*. For ἐγεινίασε see Ch. v. § III. E. m, and for πάμφυρτα see the same Ch. v. § III. E. nn.

In l. 231, Hunt reads φωνῶν (which seems too short) for P's . . . ων.

In l. 234, Hunt reads νόσ . . τίνύμφην for P's νο . . . ν: νύμφην seems a letter too long. According to Hunt, P gives επιποιετ, but with the first three letters not definitely certain, and the possibility of τ or γ instead of π. Hunt consequently reads ἔτι ποεῖτ', but would like to read ἐπτοεῖτ', though he is certain that this is not what P presents. On grounds of sense, I consider ἐπτοεῖτ' so overwhelmingly superior to ἔτι ποεῖτ', and so likely to have been corrupted into the latter, that I take it into the text.

#### Column 10.

235-242. The partial destruction of the papyrus leaves us without the customary clue to the length of the *lacunae* at the ends of the various lines of this strophe: but the antistrophe (ll. 281-288) roughly makes up for this defect, though only roughly, as of course a strophic line need not by any means exhibit exactly the same number of letters as its antistrophic counterpart, and, to make it worse, in only three of the eight antistrophic lines is a limit of length fixed with certainty: still the antistrophe is of great use. The μ at the end of l. 240 is presented by P as the

first letter of l. 241, and the  $\sigma$  at the end of l. 241 is taken from P<sup>2</sup>, who gives it as the first letter of l. 242, so that neither the  $\mu$  nor the  $\sigma$  helps as to the length of lacunae. The supplements in ll. 235–238 are due to Murray (followed by Hunt), except that in l. 236 where, to suit the antistrophe, I read ἀλεόφρον (— υ —), he reads ἡκει σέ τοι, and that in l. 237, where I read ἄξενος σέθεν, he reads ἄξενός που σέθεν (which seems to me longer than the probabilities of the antistrophe permit), and in l. 238 not ἀπ' ἐμοῦ θίγοι, but ἀφ' ἡμῶν θίγοι (my reading being due to a fragment which I incorporate in the antistrophe). In l. 239 I adopt Hunt's supplement. Diehl, followed by Pearson, reads in l. 236 νεῖκος ἥκω φέρων. In l. 239, for προψαλάξης see Ch. v. § II. A. 2, b. In l. 240, Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt) reads πρόφανον τὸ πρᾶγμ', which is certainly much too long for the antistrophe: I propose πρᾶσσε χρῆμ', *accomplish my business*. In l. 241, Wilamowitz and Hunt combine to produce τοῖσδε τίς νέρθε γᾶς ὦδ' ἀγασ-, which is in excess of probable, though uncertain, antistrophic requirements, and in which νέρθε γᾶς seems to be introduced to suit a reading, not wholly certain, κάτω δονεῖ, in l. 280: I propose τοῖσδε τίς ποθ' ὦδ' ἀγασ-. l. 242 is omitted (not lost) in P, but is written in by P<sup>2</sup> at the top of the column above l. 235. In l. 235, P gives νυμφη, and in l. 236 η (which I expand into the Doric ἀλεόφρον, with the α long), but in l. 237 μαχας: and in l. 242 (omitted by P) P<sup>2</sup> gives εγάρυσε.

243. Missing part, Murray, followed by Hunt.

244. ἐκπύθοιο μᾶλλον ἂν Hunt: but normal grammar requires an ἦ, whence my reading (see also next line).

245. ἀλκασματ.ν P: ἀλκασμάτων Hunt: λακασμάτων Wilamowitz, δειλῆς τε πειρατηρίων Murray (followed by Hunt): but a διὰ is wanted, whence my reading. For ἀλκασμάτων see Ch. v. § II. B. 4, b.

246. γὰρ οὐκ ἄρεστόν ἐστ' ἔριν Murray (followed by Hunt): I prefer and propose γὰρ οὐδαμῶς βοήν σε δεῖ.

247. Missing parts, Murray (followed by Hunt). For ὀρθοψάλακτον see Ch. v. § II. A. 2, a.

248. Supplement, Hunt.

250. I agree with Hunt that to assign the speech beginning here to Silenus would be to make him choragus.

251. οὐνεκ' P+P<sup>2</sup>. I cannot but think that the preposition οὐνεκα in classical Greek is an error of the copyists—an error that established itself—for εἵνεκα.

252. του. οπερφωνειφρασον (i.e. τοῦθ' ὅπερ φωνεῖ φράσον) P: P<sup>2</sup> adds a marginal note τουτοπωσφωνειφρασονο"ηνεν'θ' (i.e. τοῦτο πῶς φωνεῖ φράσον· οὗτως ἦν ἐν τῷ Θέωνος). Hunt originally read τοῦθ' ὅπερ φωνεῖ φράσον: but H. Richards subsequently proposed the convincing τοῦθ' ὃ περιφωνεῖ, and Hunt adopted this. For φράσον, seeing that the line before ends ὕστερον φράσω, I propose φθάσον, "understanding" with it φράσσα from the previous φράσω: this involves a real, but, I think, a not unnatural, ellipse. For περιφωνεῖ see Ch. v. § III. E. pp.

253. καιτισποταυτωιδι. χαρασσεταιβροτων P: καὶ τίς ποτ' αὐτῷ διαχαράσσεται βροτῶν Hunt. διαχαράσσεται is meaningless in the context. I suggest διακανάσσεται, and translate *and what mortal*

man has it gurgling through him? For διακανάσσεται see Ch. v. § III. A. a.

256-258. Supplements, Hunt.

259. ζ . . . σγ . κρυφ . . . . . γηνα . λαντιδος P; but the first extant letter, ζ, the third, γ, and the eighth, γ, are not certain. Though the ζ is not certain, the line seems to begin with Zeus, as the name must be introduced into the passage, and it appears scarcely possible to get it in elsewhere. Hunt prints Ζεύς γάρ κρυφαίαν ἐς στέγην Ἀτλαντίδος: but γάρ is too long for the space, and -αίαν ἐς στέγην is doubtfully short enough. γηκρυφῇ seems to be indicated; and I propose Ζεύς γηκρυφῇ γάρ ἐς τέγην Ἀτλαντίδος. For γηκρυφῇ see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, f, and for τέγην see Ch. v. § III. C. x.

260. Murray proposed ἀβουλεύσατο. Hunt suggests completing the line as τήνδ' ἦλθε καὶ ἐπράξεν ἀβουλεύσατο: but this is some three letters too many. I offer ἔβη τε καὶ ἐπράξεν ἀβουλεύσατο.

261. Missing parts, mine.

#### Column 11.

262. Supplement, mine.

263-264. Missing part, Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt).

265. Supplement, Hunt.

266. καδεστά Wilamowitz: Hunt accepts this, but takes κασθηῖτα into consideration. Apart from the meaning, the verbal adjective ἐδεστά seems to me to go ill with ποτῆτα and κοιμήματα. For ποτῆτα see Ch. v. § III. E. qq. Bucherer, followed by Pearson, reads καδεσμα. Without authority, I cannot assume that the infant Hermes ate solid food. In the Homeric *Hymn* (ll. 126-133) he was tempted to eat roast beef, but abstained from doing so (that passage is somewhat obscure).

267. . . . . αργανοῖς P: πρὸς σπαργάνοις Hunt: but for this there is not space, and *waiting by the swaddling clothes* is a curious expression. I read πρὸς σαργάνοις. For σαργάνοις see Ch. v. § III. D. b, and for λικνῖτιν see the same Ch. v. § III. C. n.

268. Supplement, Wilamowitz. For ἐξευθετίζω see Ch. v. § II. B. 4, e.

269. . . . . υξεται P: ὁ δ' αὔξεται Hunt, who adds that this "is admissible on the assumption that the ε was unelided; otherwise the space would not be filled." Read ὅς δ' αὔξεται.

270. Supplement, Hunt. Pearson ἀπαυστος.

271. Supplement, Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt). P εκτονημαρ-εκπεφασμεν.σ, i.e. ἕκτον ἡμαρ ἐκπεφασμένος: on which P<sup>2</sup> adds in the margin the correctional note ημεραςπεφασμενος, i.e. ἡμέρας πεφασμένος. P<sup>2</sup> has however failed to indicate his reading in place of ἕκτον: it very likely was ἐξ ὁ γ'. Hunt states: "By the marginal note a variant ἕκτην ἡμέραν πεφασμένος is presumably implied." Certainly not: P<sup>3</sup> writes ἡμέρας, not ἡμέραν.

272. . . . . σ P: γυλοῖς Wilamowitz (followed, hesitatingly, by Hunt): πρίστης, in the sense of πριστῆρ ὁδούς, Murray: μέτροις Pearson formerly, but now τύπους: φθάσας myself.

273. For ἐξορμενίζει see Ch. v. § III. E. r.



274. P<sup>2</sup> alters P's τεγει to στεγει : P<sup>2</sup> also adds a marginal note τ . . φει (*i.e.* τρέφει) ; which raises a suspicion that τέγει (*cf.* l. 259) may be the original, and have given rise to two separate alterations.

275. . . . . τ . ' . . . . 'εστι P+P<sup>2</sup> : δυσεύρετός τ' ἔτ' ἐστὶ Hunt, taking δυσεύρετός from Murray : Hunt points out that the acute accent over the *lacuna* necessitates τε, not δε. Pearson κατάσχετος δ' ἔτ' ἐστὶ, after previously proposing ἐγκληστέος. I read ὁ μὲν στατός γ' ἔτ' ἐστὶ. For θέσει see Ch. v. § III. E. γ.

276. Supplements, Hunt.

277-278. Supplements, mine : Hunt reads (without a stop at the end of the previous line) καὶ πόλλ' ἐθάμβεις, αὐτὸς ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ | ἐξ ὑπτίας κίστης γ' ἐμηχανήσατο. In the ἐθάς δὴ, which I propose, I mean δὴ as *already*, and the combination as approximating to ἐθάς φύς. In l. 277, for ἐθάς see Ch. v. § III. E. ο. In l. 278, for ἐξηχανήσατο see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, l.

279. Supplement Hunt (with, one would think, certainty).

280. Supplements Hunt, except that I read ἔκαμε for his εὔρε : I follow with much hesitation. εὔρε is too short, and therefore I alter it. δ[ονεῖ] is not too long for the *lacuna* of three letters' length indicated by Hunt himself, as ει is commonly spaced by P as if the combination were a single letter ; and δονεῖ is the one and only appropriate Greek word of correct length that begins with δ and will yield, with κ]αὶ κάτω, the sense *and he makes music below*. That sense is germane to the context ; but, although germane, it is somewhat pedestrian. *Such a vessel hath he fashioned from a dead beast, a vessel brimmed with joy* seems to demand, especially seeing that this is the peroration of Cyllene's speech, a more sententious sequel than *and therewith he makes music below*. *A vessel brimmed with joy, yea, and in time to come with anguish* would, perhaps, suit the case, and Greek to mean this can be provided in a moment, *viz.* ἡδονῆς | ἔμμεστον ἄγγος ἔκαμε καὶ κάτω δύης. I should read this, leaving to others the task of explaining how and when the lyre became ἔμμεστον δύης, if only I could satisfy myself that κάτω in the mouth of Sophocles is capable of the same meaning as κάτω in the mouth of Lucian. For ἔμμεστον see Ch. v. § III. E. p.

281-287. Line 281 is provided with a definite *terminus ad quem*, and the *maximum* length of the *lacuna* at the end of l. 286 is precisely fixed. It may be assumed that we thus obtain an appropriate standard for the length of the remaining lines, and, on an attempt at reconstruction, the assumption appears to be supported. In ll. 283-285 I incorporate a fragment (see Latin notes). The supplements are mine, except ἐ[κ θανόν- (l. 287), which Hunt took from Wilamowitz. My supplements are of varying degrees of uncertainty. I consider that θήρευμ' in l. 283 strongly suggests and supports my δῖωξ' in l. 282. I also think that, in l. 287, ρόντ' ἅπα almost necessarily involves ἄπαργμα or ἄπαργμ' (the singular because of the accent), as the lexicon enables one in this case to apply a process of exclusion. For ἄπαργμ' see Ch. v. § III. E. γ. In l. 281, P gives βοησ, not βοας. In l. 286, for ἐξεφράξω see Ch. v. § III. E. γ.

## Column 12.

290. For the  $\bar{\gamma}$  before this line see Ch. VI. A.

291. τωνδαναιῶδος P, which is obviously a mistake for ζων κτλ., i.e. ζῶν δ' ἀναιῶδος: but P<sup>2</sup> appends a marginal note ζωνδενη[: Allen suggests that νη is the remains of νηῦδος: but I think it fairly clear that P<sup>2</sup> read ζῶν δ' ἐννηχος ἦν ὁ θήρ. ἐννηχος is an adjective technically applied to wind-instruments, in opposition to ἐγχορδος of stringed instruments (see Phillis, quoted by Athenaeus, XIV. 636 c): but the idea that the tortoise was a wind-instrument, when alive, but became a stringed instrument, when dead, is due to some copyist or commentator, not to Sophocles. Strictly speaking, the living tortoise is indeed not absolutely dumb, but emits at intervals a perceptible snorting sound; and some sciolist may have observed this fact.

292. For προμήκης see Ch. V. § III. E. rr.

293. χυτρίδις P + P<sup>2</sup>: and P<sup>2</sup> adds a marginal correction τροχοιδ<sup>7</sup>. Hunt emends in the text to χυτρώδης and in the margin to τροχώδης. Both Hunt and Pearson read χυτρώδης, not τροχώδης, though both express hesitation. I agree that χυτρ- should not be altered to τροχ-, but I refuse in either word to emend -οίδης to -ώδης. ο + ει (when ει is the pure diphthong) regularly contracts into οι: cf. δηλόει, δηλοῖ. For χυτρίοις see Ch. V. § III. E. ccc, and for τροχοίδης see the same Ch. V. § III. E. xx. For κατεβρίνωμένους, or κατέβρινωμένους, see Ch. V. § II. B. 6.

294. For τῶς see Ch. V. § II. B. 7. Stahl proposes χάς. For αἰέλουρος see Ch. V. § III. E. a. For πόρδαλις see Ch. V. § III. c. p.

295. For βραχυσκελές see Ch. V. § III. E. l.

296. P presents ωσιχνευτη and ωσκαρκινωι. Hunt, however, who has now deciphered ωσιχνευτη, originally read the letters as ωσιχνευμ[.]νι, i.e. ὡς ἰχνεύμονι. Wilamowitz consequently substituted the nominatives ἰχνεύμων and καρκίνος, which Hunt adopts in both his editions. Pearson is the first to print the true reading. For ἰχνευτῇ see Ch. V. § III. E. z, and for καρκίνῳ see the same Ch. V. § III. E. bb.

301. . . . . λο . . . . ορεινησυγγονοστωστρακρεων P: P<sup>2</sup> deletes the ε of ορεινη, and also adds a marginal note in two lines, συγγονουσε(or ο)στρα[ and ο'ηενν[.]' = συγγονοῦς' ἐστραμμένων· οὕτως ἦν ἐν τῷ Θέωνος, the ἐστραμμένων probably qualifying a substantival ἐλλόπων, fish, earlier in the line: inverted fish are crabs (which walk backwards). Both Hunt and Pearson take Theon as reading οστρα[, not εστρα[, though Hunt indicates the ο as dubious, and Hunt goes on to add a κ by conjecture. But on that basis Theon's reading cannot be reduced to metre. ἐστραμμένων appears to be the sole metrical possibility. ορεινη is an inferior spelling, frequent enough in mss., of ὀρεινή: but both Hunt and Pearson turn their thoughts towards some compound of ῥινός. I cannot follow Theon's guidance, especially as συγγονοῦς' (συγγογεῖν occurs nowhere else and εὔγογεῖν only in Theophrastus, C.P. I. 14, 1) is an unclassical formation, and as crabs are dismissed in l. 296. Therefore, founding myself on P, I read as in the accompanying text. Cf. the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, 32-33, πῶθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα, | αἰόλον ὕστρακον, ἐσσί, χέλυσ ὕρρει ζώουσα;

This seems to me to show that ορεινή is right ; but I read ὀστρέων, not ὀστράκων, because, on account of my ἐλλόπων, *dumb*, I require a direct mention of *oysters*. To speak of a λώπη as σύγγενος ὀστρέων is no harsher than to write κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὅμοιαι. Hunt, followed by Pearson, reads.....λο...ορίνη, σύγγενος τῶν ὀστράκων. For ὀρεινή see Ch. v. § III. E. *kk*, for τῶς see Ch. v. § II. B. 7 (and *Addenda*), and for ὀστρέων, instead of ὀστρείων, see Ch. v. § III. E. *mm*.

302. Hunt ποῖον δὲ τοῦνομ' ἐννέπεις; and πλέον. Text mine.

303. Supplement τὸν—χέλυν Murray, rest Hunt. See *Addenda*.

304–306. Supplements mine, except that in l. 306 Hunt proposed ὦδε κλαγγάνει. In l. 304, for σύρβη see Ch. v. § III. C. v. Pearson suggests as possible πῶς δ' ἂν γένοιτο φίλτερον τὸ κτέανον ἢ σῦριγξ τινί; He should write σῦριγξ τινί, as σῦριγξ, though properispomenon, ends in ξ and the enclitic is disyllabic.

In l. 305 Wilamowitz proposes δέρμα κῶστρακον: Viljoen suggests δέρμα καὶ στέγος φέρει.

307. Schenkl is manifestly right in completing this line from *Fr.* 315 (see my *apparatus criticus*), but, scarcely less manifestly, wrong in the details of his treatment. He reads:

ἐνήλατα ξύλ' ὥς τρίγομφα διατόρως ἐρείδεται.

I imagine that he would be hard put to it to make out a satisfactory case for the lawfulness of the scansion of the second iamb in the tetrameter. In tragic trimeters such a declensional form as ἐνήλατα cannot properly, or at least normally, present its final syllable as long by position, in conjunction with two consonants, or with a double consonant, save at the end of the fifth foot: Satyric drama appears to extend the liberty to the fourth foot (see Euripides, *Cyclops*, ll. 206 and 524), but earlier feet are another matter: one would expect iambic tetrameters to follow in the wake of iambic trimeters. Also he presents 24 letters in a *lacuna* which seems to have room for 23 only. The reading in my text, which reading is my own, avoids both these objections. Moreover, up to and including the ρ of διατόρως, it follows precisely the text of Pollux, if we write that text without breathings, accents, or spaces between words, except only that, to obtain ἀρτίγομφα, I have transposed the letters τρ. That the number of letters in Pollux is exactly the number demanded by the *lacuna* is a strong proof, if any be needed, that in the main Schenkl—though he wrongly himself alters that number—is in the right. I have arrived at my general conclusion with some surprise, because as a rule I have failed to find recent German scholarship seriously illuminating and because intuition in particular is a quality most rare in Teutondom: still, there are exceptions, and *fas est et ab hoste doceri*. To pass to details, Hermes is represented as *pressing loudly* on certain crossbars, *not made of wood, tightly bolted*: these crossbars are clearly the strings of the lyre. ἐνήλατον (plural ἐνήλατα) means properly *something driven in*. Hence, with the addition of ἀξόνων, it is used in the sense *linch-pin* by Euripides, who writes (*Hippolytus*, ll. 1234–1235): σῦριγγές τ' ἄνω | τορχῶν ἐπήδων ἀξόνων τ' ἐνήλατα. *Scholia* on that passage (τοὺς πασσαλίσκους τοὺς πρὸς τῷ ἄξονι and τὰ ἐμβαλλόμενα πρὸς



τῷ ἄζονι ὥστε μὴ ἐξιέναι τὸν τρόχον) confirm the almost necessary interpretation. Similarly Euripides twice uses ἐνήλατα, with the addition of κλίμακος, κλιμάκων, in the sense *ladder-rungs*, writing (*Phoenissae* l. 1179): κλίμακος ἀμείβων ξέστ' ἐνηλάτων βάθρα, and (*Supplices*, l. 729): εἰς ἄκρα βῆναι κλιμάκων ἐνήλατα. Further, Eustathius (*Il.* p. 782, l. 8) gives a tragic *Fragment* as: πηκτῶν κλιμάκων ἐνήλατα. This *Fragment* is doubtless Euripidean, closely resembling, as it does, l. 729, above quoted, of the *Supplices*, and also l. 487 of the *Phoenissae*: indeed it seems to have been commonly, but rashly, taken for granted that it is a negligent conflation by Eustathius of those two lines. Speaking of the *Fragment*, Eustathius assigns to ἐνήλατα the obviously right meaning of *rungs*: but a *scholium* on l. 1179 of the *Phoenissae* absurdly interprets the word as signifying the ὄρθα ξύλα, or *uprights*. As ἐνήλατα is employed of the *rungs* of a ladder, so also it is employed of the *rungs*, *ribs*, or *cross-pieces*, that run underneath a bed, joining together the two long sides of the frame of a bedstead and supporting the mattress, or its equivalent. But, in relation to a bed, various scholars, misled, I suppose, by the above-mentioned *scholium* on Euripides' *Phoenissae* (l. 1179), have taken ἐνήλατα as meaning the four beams which constitute the outer frame of a bedstead. Such a sense is contradicted by at least three facts. First, there is the plain etymological signification of the word. Secondly, the strict Attic equivalent of ἐνήλατα, in connexion with a bed, was κραστήρια (also a neuter plural), properly the *bars of a rack* for horses, etc. (see Phrynichus, 178, and Pollux, x. 38): it is clear from what Pollux says (*l.c.*), coupled with a consideration of the essential nature of a rack, that a Greek rack normally consisted of four bars of wood, joined together at their lower extremities (usually, no doubt, in an angle where two side-walls met), thence spreading out fan-wise in an upwardly slanting direction, and fastened, at the top, to one another and to the two walls (or one wall would serve at a pinch) by a rope; such a rack—and indeed any rack—is utterly unlike the outer frame of a bedstead; but the bars of it, though they converge at one end (the number four, mentioned by Pollux, is the maximum that, without skill approaching that of the cabinet-maker, can easily be made so to converge), have in any case a distinct similarity to cross-pieces, and would exactly resemble the cross-pieces of a bed, if the latter were so arranged that they spread out fan-wise from each side and thus formed an interlacement (which arrangement would be good carpentry and make for strength). Thirdly, Josephus (*A. J.* viii. 5, 2), speaking indeed, not of a wooden bed, but of the ivory throne of Solomon, says: τὸ δ' ἐνήλατον τοῦ θρόνου χεῖρες ἦσαν δεχόμεναι τὸν βασιλέα: now neither *hands* nor *arms*—the word χεῖρες is in itself ambiguous—can constitute the frame, whether square, oblong, or curved, of the seat of a throne; but two linked hands, palms upward, could suitably replace the lateral cross-bars, and these two hands would naturally be carved all of one piece, so that the exceptional use of the singular number would be justified. On these grounds I consider the sense of ἐνήλατα sufficiently proved. Pearson, however, who adopts the view that ἐνήλατα are the four beams of a bed-frame, attaches importance to a passage

in Artemidorus (*On.* i. 74), where the word is used. I see nothing in that passage to disturb my conclusions, and I am surprised that Pearson speaks, or seems to speak, as though it had only recently been adduced (it is recorded and partially quoted, *s.v.* ἐνήλατα, in Dindorf's Stephanus). Next, it is evident from Pollux (vi. 9), and from two glossarial entries quoted in Dindorf's Stephanus (*s.v.* ἐνήλατα), that ἐνήλατα, and even the singular ἐνήλατον, came, not unnaturally, to mean simply a *bed*: but of this usage no actual example is extant, except that Hesychius himself (*s.v.* ἔρμινα) so employs the singular and (*s.v.* κρατηρίαί) the plural (the latter in the sense *beds*, not a *bed*). To turn to the precise meaning of ἐνήλατα in the *Ichneutae*, although the usage of the word in connexion with an axle, with a ladder, with a bed, and with a throne is important as enabling us to determine its application in connexion with a lyre, still there is no metaphor or simile involved. Yet scholars have imagined that Pollux (x. 34) states that in the *Ichneutae* the word signifies a part of a bed, and Schenkl in consequence has so altered the text, on that assumption, as to introduce a simile. Now it is a great and gratuitous error, due to lack of attention to the language used by Pollux, to suppose that he asserts or implies that in the *Ichneutae* the word ἐνήλατα has anything to do with a bed. Pollux writes: μέρη δὲ κλίνης ἐνήλατα καὶ ἐπίκλιντρον, τὸ μὲν γε ἐπίκλιντρον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφانوῦς εἰρημένον· Σοφοκλῆς δ' ἐν Ἰγνευταῖς σατύροις ἔφη κτλ. Now μὲν γε is entirely distinct in sense from μέν and in fact is almost or altogether indistinguishable from γοῦν. This circumstance has escaped the commentators, who have in consequence taken the quotation from the *Ichneutae* as furnishing an example, not an exception. The correct translation is: "ἐνήλατα and ἐπίκλιντρον are parts of a bed, ἐπίκλιντρον at all events being so employed by Aristophanes; but Sophocles in the satyric *Ichneutae* says etc." This means that Pollux regarded ἐνήλατα in the *Ichneutae* as signifying something other than a part of a bed. Even had the simple μέν, instead of the composite μέν γε, been used, the change of construction from the participle to the indicative would render obligatory a somewhat similar translation. Such a change is fairly common (see Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* μέν), but when it presents itself, δέ has always a markedly adversative force. I do not however myself think that this use of μέν and δέ is relevant, seeing that μέν γε is a composite particle complete in itself, whereas the simple μέν is only one half of an organic whole; it would, in my opinion, be wrong to take Pollux' μέν γε as in any strict manner complemented by the δέ which follows. If that be so, the mere change of construction has not, given μέν γε, the crucial significance which, given μέν only, it would possess. Two other implications of the μέν γε might be suggested as *prima facie* possible, either (a) the direct raising of a doubt whether Aristophanes does not employ ἐνήλατα, in addition to ἐπίκλιντρον, as meaning part of a bedstead, or (b) an indirect disparagement of the authority of Sophocles in comparison with that of Aristophanes; but the former, unaccompanied by an explanation, would be on the part of any antiquary wont to measure his language a pointless parade of ignorance, while the latter is wholly foreign to Pollux' attitude. Consequently the words should be translated as I have translated.

them. The completeness and consistency of my reading, if taken together with its close adherence to Pollux, seem, unless I mistake, to put it beyond reasonable doubt. ἄξυλος (see Ch. v. § III. E. f) is an adjective occurring in Homer (*Il.* xi. 155), where however the meaning is perhaps *thick with timber*, in Herodotus, and in late prose and verse, ἀρτίγομος (see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, e) does not present itself elsewhere; but ἀρτίκολλος and εὐγομος are both tragic. The adverb διατόρως (see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, i), though διατόρος is well known, seems unique: but Dindorf's Stephanus gives it, though only with a cross-reference to δίακτωρ, under which heading, however, there is no mention of any reading διατόρως. Until the discovery of the papyrus, no one knew what to make of *Fr.* 315 with its impossible δεῖται. Of pre-papyrus scholars, Blaydes suggests reading the *Fragment* either as ἐνήλατ' οὖν τρίγομα τερνεῦσαι σε δεῖ, or in some similar form: Robinson Ellis as ἐνήλατα ξύλα | τρίγομα διατόρευτ' ἀποξῦσαι σε δεῖ: Hemsterhuis, with whom Pauw concurs, as ἐνήλατα | ξύλα τρίγομοις διατορεῦσαι δεῖ: Herwerden as ἐνήλατα | κλινῶν τρίγομα πολλά τερνεῦσαι σε δεῖ: Lobeck either as ἐνήλατα, | ξυλουργέ, γόμοις διατορεῖν σε δεῖ, or as ἐνήλατα ξύγγομα διατροῇσαι σε δεῖ: and Valckenaer as ἐνήλατα τρίγομα διατορεῖν σε δεῖ. Since the discovery of the papyrus, Robert desires to read the *Fragment* as δεῖ τρίγομ' ἐνήλατα | νῦν διατορεῦσαι σ': and Pearson either as "something like" ξύλα | ἐνηλάτων τρίγομα διατορνεύσεως | δεῖται, or as ξύλα | ἐνηλάτων τρίγομα διατορνεύεται. All such attempts carry their condemnation on their face. It would be possible, much more plausibly, to take the *Fragment* as dochmiac and to read: <υ υ> ἐνήλατα | ξύλα τρίγομα διατορεῦσαι σε δεῖ, | παῖ <υ υ υ υ υ υ υ>. But it is clear that the *Fragment* is identical with l. 307. Apart from that, there are four separate objections to the dochmiac treatment: (a) ἐνήλατα ought to be used substantively; (b) τρίγομα is not easy to understand; (c) διατορεῦσαι has apparently to bear the sense of διατορνεῦσαι, which, *metro repugnante*, cannot be read; and (d) it is unlikely that Pollux would have included the monosyllable παῖ in the quotation. In l. 307 Hunt, though he does not identify the line with *Fr.* 315, reads διατόρως ἐρείδεται.

308-314. Supplements mine, except that in l. 310 Hunt proposed κόλλοπες and in l. 311 ἀμμάτων.

In l. 308, πλεκτα suggests πλεκτάναις: and, if that is read, there is almost necessarily (see the *lexica s.v.*) a metaphor or simile connected with an octopus. The number of the octopus' feet makes one think that the next line must say something of the thumbs of the two hands (as the digits + the thumbs number not eight but ten), and the letters λάδος (so P + P<sup>2</sup>) in that line suggest κλάδος (either nominative masculine, or accusative neuter, or genitive feminine, which last however must be accented κλαδός), and that word at once brings to the mind the idea of the *bunch* of five (see πεντάκλαδος—which in classical Greek must have been πεντέκλαδος—and πέντοζος). The heteroclite cases, with terminations of the third declension, of κλάδος, are, viewed as forms, *prima facie* not masculine but feminine: though the heteroclite declension of the word is strictly classical, the gender of the



heteroclitc cases is not determined by actual usage till we come to Aelian, who writes (*N.A.* 4, 38) ἐπιβῆναι τῇ κλαδί μὴ δυναμένων : the soundness of the text of Aelian at this point is confirmed by Eustathius, who (p. 58, 37) cites this particular τῇ κλαδί. Choeroboscus, however, who apparently wrote *circa* 575 A.D., fancied that the word κλαδί was of the masculine gender (Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 1226). But the accentuation λάδος seems to put the feminine genitive κλαδός out of the question. In the presumable context the masculine nominative κλάδος does not appear to be anything like so probable as some oblique case. I therefore have recourse to the neuter κλάδος, which I take as here being the accusative. For the neuter κλάδος see Ch. v. § III. E. *dd.* Instead of κλάδος, Schenkl proposes κέλαδος, and Mekler κοιλάδος. In l. 310, for κόλλοπες see Ch. v. § III. E. *ee.*

In l. 311, P<sup>2</sup> writes ο above the α of αμματω[ν, desiring apparently to read ὀμμάτων. At the point where I insert ll. 313–314 two lines have been lost (see Ch. vi. A.): I introduce a mention of the πλῆκτρον, because in the Homeric *Hymn* the lyre is played with the πλῆκτρον *exclusively*, so that its existence ought not here to be entirely ignored.

### Column 13.

315–317. Supplements, Hunt. In l. 315, for παραψυκτήριον see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, *r.* In l. 317, for αἰόλισμα, see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, *a.*

319–327. This strophe finds its antistrophe (of which the two final lines are missing) in ll. 361–367. The division into lines in the strophe and that in the antistrophe, though presenting points of contact, are not identical. The fourth and seventh lines of the strophe respectively are continuous with the fourth and seventh lines of the antistrophe ; but in all the other lines there are differences of division. The strophic text is thus divided in P: οψαλακτος—τοπου | πρεπτα—εγ|χωρ—θεμιζει | τοπραγμα—βαδην | ισθι—ποθος | ταυτ—κλ[ | αντ—ισθι | συ—χαλε|φθις—δυσφορηθις. On consideration, I have followed the divisions of the antistrophe in the first three lines (where the strophe is curiously, though only superficially, corrupt) except that at the end of the first line of both strophe and antistrophe I have adopted a division found in neither, but imported by Hunt, though by him into the antistrophe only : but later, where divergence occurs, I have adopted the divisions of the strophe. In l. 319, P (nothing is lost) presents οψαλακτος. Hunt emends to ὀρθοψάλακτος : but the antistrophe begins with στρέφου, and, partly on that ground (for in this chorus no syllable appears to be *anceps*), and partly because I do not think that the metre tolerates a spondee, I propose ὑποψάλακτος. See Ch. v. § II. A. 2, *c.* Wilamowitz suggests ἀπροψάλακτος, which Pearson, unintelligibly, says “is by no means perspicuous.” For my τίς, Hunt reads τις, with acute accent on the previous syllable. In ll. 320–1 we are confronted with a most remarkable and interesting sequence of corruption. P presents the following (the asterisk representing a letter which P<sup>2</sup> has washed out) \*ρεπταδιατονουφασματεγ | χωρεπανθεμιζει, evidently meaning θρέπτα δῖ', ἧ τόνου φάσματ', ἐγχωρε Πάν, θεμιζει. τόνου φάσματ' is a manifest corruption of τόμουρ' ἄσματ'. For τόμουρ' see

Ch. v. § II. B. 2, c, and for  $\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\alpha$  see the same Ch. v. § II. A. 1, n. This suits the antistrophic metre perfectly. But P<sup>2</sup> has made havoc of the passage. It is to be noted that, as usual, P does not insert iota "subscript";  $\xi$  is represented by  $\alpha$ , and the absence of an iota from  $\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\tau$  greatly helped the corruption  $\phi\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\tau$ . P<sup>2</sup> usually inserts missing iotas, but, utterly misunderstanding the passage, he does not do so in this instance. He washes out P's initial letter, changes P's next letter,  $\rho$ , into a  $\pi$ , inserts a  $\rho$  after it, and with the help of various diacritical marks, finally presents the following nonsensical and unmetrical result,  $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\tilde{\alpha}\delta\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau'\epsilon\gamma\mid\chi\omega\rho'\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ , i.e.  $\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\tilde{\alpha}\delta\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau'\epsilon\gamma\chi\omega\rho'\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota$  ( $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  is written for  $\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  because the oxytone  $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\alpha$ , which we write  $\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$ , was in Alexandrian times and later commonly written  $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\alpha$ , presumably under Sanscrit grammatical influence, which influence I take to be responsible also for the order of the cases, *Nom.*, *Gen.*, *Dat.*, *Acc.*, *Voc.*, [*Abl.*]). Hunt follows P<sup>2</sup>, except as to the quantity of the final of  $\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\tilde{\alpha}$ , and, conjecturally inserting  $\delta'$   $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}$ , reads  $\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\delta'\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau'\epsilon\gamma\mid\chi\omega\rho'\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ . He thus indeed attains that degree of metrical accuracy which permits the strophic-antistrophic equation of one long with two shorts ( $\delta\iota\alpha$  has to correspond with the first syllable of  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\nu$  in the antistrophe), but, as regards sense, he is reduced to translating "*A loud voice goes forth over the land, and through its tones culls clear images of the scene (?)*." I prefer *What secretly stricken note shrills through the place, wherein thou, quickener divine, Pan, this land's own god, deliverest thy dooms in song oracular?* To l. 321 P<sup>2</sup> appends a marginal note  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\nu\theta'$ , i.e.  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  (or rather  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ )  $\epsilon\nu\tau\tilde{\omega}\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . This note does not necessarily mean that Theon divided the line into words in the same way as P<sup>2</sup>: all that it actually vouches for is that Theon read the letters cited, which end in  $\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  and not in  $\epsilon\iota$ . But I doubt whether Theon did not rather read the termination as  $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ . It seems clear that, at some early period or other,  $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ , scanned as one syllable, was not uncommonly written, at least in lyrical Greek, for the second person singular present indicative middle and passive instead of  $\eta$ . This  $\epsilon\alpha\iota$  had a tendency to be corrupted into  $\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  (see Aeschylus, *Septem*, l. 834, and my remarks on the passage in *Ἀντὶ Μιᾶς*, vol. I. pp. 170-173). Even if Theon did read  $\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ , it must have sprung out of  $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ . In l. 319 P reads  $\omicron\mu\phi\eta$ , and, in l. 322,  $\beta\alpha\delta\eta\nu$ : but the  $\alpha$  ( $\xi$ ) in the midst of the corruption of l. 320 has naturally remained unatticised. In l. 322, Hunt suggests the possibility of  $\omicron\tilde{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho$ , which, following Pearson, I read: Hunt reads  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$ . Stahl proposes  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\pi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ , with  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  for  $\delta\varsigma$  in the next line, and  $\tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau'$  for  $\tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau'$  in the next line but one. In l. 324, I take  $\kappa\lambda\omicron\pi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  from Hunt. In l. 326 another reading is perhaps preserved elsewhere. For  $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\phi\theta\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$  see Ch. v. § III. E. *bbb*. In l. 327, where I, following Wilamowitz and Hunt, read  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , P gives  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\delta\epsilon$ . Hunt also suggests  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , which Pearson adopts. For  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\eta\theta\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$  see Ch. v. § III. c. e.

328. . . . . !  $\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon$  P + P<sup>2</sup>:  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon$  Hunt: this puts an anapaest and a tribrach in the same senarius.  $\acute{\omega}\nu\epsilon\iota\delta\iota\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  Hunt.

329. . . . . ].  $\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$  P:  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma'$ ,  $\tilde{\omega}\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$  Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt): but this seems somewhat too short. Wilamowitz supplies the missing end of the line.

330. . . . . ]ντα P: Wilamowitz suggests alternatively μῶν τὸν Διὸς παῖδ' ὄντα (which Hunt adopts) and τὸν ἐκ Διὸς δὲ φύντα (which Hunt rejects as "hardly long enough to fill the space"): both readings, I think, are too short. Mekler, followed by Pearson, τὸν δ' ἐκ Διὸς βλαστόντα. P gives the inferior spelling (which however is very general) φιλητην. καλεῖς Hunt.

331. Hunt suggests ὃν γ' ἐντυχὼν λάβοιμ' ἂν αὐτῇ τῇ κλοπῇ ("something like [ὃν γ' ἐντυχὼν λάβοιμ'] ἂν"). This is too short.

332-340. Missing parts, mine, except that Hunt supplies in l. 333 τἀλήθη λέγω, in l. 334 κεκλοφέναι, and in l. 336 καθήρμοσε. In line 338, Robert, followed by Pearson, δορᾷ. Where I have supplied, by conjecture, ll. 339-340, two lines have perished from the bottom of the column (see Ch. VI. A). For l. 340 see l. 305.

#### Column 14.

341-343. Supplements mine, except that in l. 342 Hunt reads ἐγχάσκοντα, and in l. 343 οὐδέν. For ἐγχάσκοντα see Ch. V. § III. E. n.

344. Hunt reads σὺ δ' οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν.

345-346. Supplements Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt), except that I alter εἰ σοι φέρει χάρμ' to εἰ τοῦτό σοι χάρμ'.

347. τὸν παῖδα δ' ὄντα Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt): but, as it has been stated several times before that Zeus was the father, something much stronger is needed to justify σαφεῖ λόγῳ.

348. μὴ σκῶπτε πλάσσων Wilamowitz, altered by Hunt to μὴ σκῶπτε ποιῶν to suit the space. Pearson μὴ βλάπτε κινῶν.

349. οὗτος γὰρ οὔτε Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt): but I doubt whether this is short enough.

350. οὐτ' αὖτις ἐν μήτρῳσιν Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt): but this is not sufficiently long. I suppose my πλέω 'ν to have been written πλεωεν. Pearson οὐτ' ἐγγενῆς μήτρῳσιν, which also is too short.

351-352. . . . . ]ισεστιτονκλεπττηνσκοπει | . . . . . ] καρποντουδευτουπαναιδομος, of which the ending is fairly plainly ἔτ' οὐ Πάν αἰδομος; where αἰδομος is only a slight corruption of αἰνόμος, a word not found elsewhere, but clearly formed like αἰπόλος, and with the meaning of αἰγινόμος and αἰγινόμος. For αἰνόμος see Ch. III. and Ch. V. § II. B. 1, c.

But, as in l. 320 (see also l. 358), P<sup>2</sup> bedevils the passage and tries to exclude all mention of Pan by one alteration and two additions which result in the presentation of l. 352 as . . . . . καρποντουδεδούπαναἰδομος, i.e. καρπὸν τοῦδε δ' οὐ πανᾶ δόμος. πανᾶ is a vox nihili. Wilamowitz, swallowing most of the rubbish of P<sup>2</sup>, alters it to πεινᾶ, which Hunt changes to πεινῇ, reading the whole couplet as εἰ δὴ κλοπὴ τίς ἐστι, τὸν κλέπτην σκόπει | ἄπορον ἄκαρπον τοῦδε δ' οὐ πεινῇ δόμος. I need not insist how objectionable in a new sentence and a new sense κλοπὴ is after the κλοπῇ of l. 350 (of course ἡ κλοπῇ κρατεῖ, | εἰ δὴ κλοπὴ τις ἐστίν' would have been quite another matter), nor how curious is the expression τὸν κλέπτην σκόπει ἄπορον ἄκαρπον. The main point is the mention of Pan, and, given that mention, some such restoration as mine becomes inevitable. Pearson reads σὺ δ' ἄλλος' εἰ τις ἐστι, τὸν κλέπτην σκόπει | καὶ γῆν ἄκαρπον τοῦδε δ', οὐ πανᾶ δόμους, κτλ.



353-354. Supplements Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt). In l. 353, Pearson formerly ὄκνει, but now αἴνει.

355. ἀλλ' Hunt. εσσιπαις, altered from εστιπαις, P : εἰ σὺ παῖς Hunt (who reads the original as εισιπαις). Where I read ἕνος, P gives νεος, before and after which P<sup>2</sup> has inserted a dot. νέος, though Hunt reads it, is impossible : Wilamowitz, missing the obvious, suggested πάλαι. For ἐσσί see *Addenda*. For ἕνος see Ch. v. § III. c. h.

356. πώγωνι and κνήκῳ Hunt, the latter for P's inferior (but often found) spelling κνικῳι (so P+P<sup>2</sup>) : but Hunt most strangely thinks that the word here means *a thistle*. For τράχος see Ch. v. § III. A. f.

357. παύου P. My change to παῦ' οὖν is necessary in view of usage in the case of the 2nd person singular of the present imperative of this verb. The same point arises in ll. 389-390. For φαλακρόν see Ch. v. § III. A. f.

358. οὐκ Hunt. ἐκ θεῶν P : εἰς θεοὺς Wilamowitz : εἰς θεῶν myself. At the end of this line P presents γε with some further writing, which latter however P<sup>2</sup> has so effectively washed out that no legible vestiges remain, and in place of that writing P<sup>2</sup> has substituted λουαχρη. In the middle of the line P gives ταμωρακαιγε. The washing out suggests some deletion of a reference to Pan : see ll. 320 and 352. It appears that Pan is not indeed mentioned by name, but that ἐκ θεῶν τὰ μῶρα καὶ γέλοια is an alteration of εἰς θεῶν τόμουρα καίγελατικᾶ. Seeing that P<sup>2</sup> washed out the whole of what came after καιγε in P, it is evident that P did not present any mere slight misspelling of γέλοια χρῆ : that being so, I am unable to complete the line otherwise than with καίγελατικᾶ χρῆ. For τόμουρα see Ch. v. § II. B. 2, c, and for αἰγελατικᾶ see the same Ch. § II. B. 1, a, and Ch. III.

359. χανόντα Hunt. In the latter part of this line P gives υστερω-τερωγελῶ : P<sup>2</sup> alters this to υστερωτετωγελῶ, but also adds an inconsistent marginal note υστερωσεγω, i.e. ὑστέρως ἐγῶ. Hunt reads ὕστερ' ; ὥς ἐγὼ λέγω. But he also regards as possible ὥς ἐγὼ γελῶ. Pearson reads ὥς σ' ἐγὼ γελῶ. Wilamowitz suggests ὥς ἐγὼ σ' ὀρῶ. I disagree with Hunt's note of interrogation. For γέλω see Ch. v. § III. c. d.

360-366. For division of lines, see note on ll. 319-327, the strophe to this antistrophe (the last two lines of the antistrophe have perished from the top of the next column). P divides the lines στρεφου—μυθοῖς | οποιαν—απο | ψηκτον—πεισεις | πωσ—ειργασμενος | ρινοκολλητον—βοων | που—λοξίου | . ημε—βιβάζε. In l. 361, for ἀπόψακτον see Ch. v. § II. B. 5, b. In l. 361, θελοισ P, altered by P<sup>2</sup> to θελεις. In l. 363, πωσ P : ὅπως Wilamowitz and Murray (followed by Hunt). P continues τοχρηματουτεσειργασμενος : P<sup>2</sup> adds a marginal note τοχρηματουτοσ"η . . . , i.e. τὸ χρῆμα οὗτος οὕτως ἦν ἐν τῷ Θέωνος. τὸ χρῆμ' οὗτος Hunt. In l. 365, πουδورا [. . .] αποτων λοξίου : δοράς ἢ 'πο Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt) : but, even if written δορασηαπο, this is a letter too short, so that I propose δοράς γ' ἢ 'πο. In l. 366, missing part Hunt. P presents in ll. 361-362 αποψηκτον, and in l. 364 ρινοκολλητον, but in l. 366 τα, which Hunt expands into τᾶσδ'. For ῥινοκόλλατον see Ch. v. § II. A. 1, r.

## Column 15.

In this column, owing to mutilation, there is supplied (except occasionally by detached fragments) no *terminus ad quem* of *lacunae* at the ends of lines, save the *terminus*, valueless for *senarii*, afforded by the probable width of the column itself, *i.e.* the space on the roll which the copyist felt himself at liberty to treat as a page.

ll. 367-392. The papyrus of the column is in two pieces. Piece one contains the remains of ll. 370-375: it is manifest that from the top of it have been lost the two concluding lines of the antistrophe of which the remainder is preserved in ll. 360-366 (see the whole strophe, ll. 319-327), and, seeing that the chorus and also l. 369 (as is sufficiently proved by the contents, scanty though they are, of the stichomythic fragments immediately below, particularly of ll. 374-375 taken together) are in the mouth of the Satyrs and their choragus respectively, it is likewise manifest that either one single stichomythic line or else an uneven number of stichomythic lines must have equally perished between l. 368 and l. 370 (that one line only has perished will appear in a moment). Piece two presents ll. 377-392 in the sense that (*a*) in the cases of ll. 377, 378, and 382 it contains portions of places where those lines must once have been, (*b*) in the cases of ll. 379, 380, 381, and 382 it exhibits the initial letter, though nothing more, of each line, and in the case of l. 384 the initial letter and also one letter in the middle of the line, and (*c*) in the cases of ll. 385-392 it preserves remains so substantial that in every instance the general sense is ascertainable with but little difficulty, and goes further at certain points, so that the supplement to l. 388 appears to admit of no doubt, while other supplements in the neighbourhood are probable in a high degree. Taking alternate lines upwards from l. 385, which is manifestly in the mouth of Cyllene (and is still more manifestly so, if one looks at the lines below it), we see that l. 377, the opening line, though none of the text is preserved (except in two detached fragments), of the second piece of papyrus, is also in the mouth of Cyllene. Now we have just seen that l. 375, the closing line of the first piece of papyrus, is likewise in Cyllene's mouth. It results that between l. 375 and l. 377 either one single stichomythic line or else an uneven number of stichomythic lines must have perished, exactly as between l. 368 and l. 370. But (*a*) piece one of this column presents six lines, and (*b*) piece two of this column presents lines and places for lines amounting altogether to sixteen, while (*c*) the column must originally have begun with two lines missing from the end of the aforesaid antistrophe. Thus 24 lines are accounted for. The most regular total for a column is 26 lines. We have left on our hands two *lacunae*, each of which must, as we have seen, stand for one line or an odd, not an even, number of lines. Assigning to them one line apiece, we obtain the exact proper total of 26 lines: if we assigned to either of the two *lacunae* three lines and to the other one line, we should obtain the excessive total of 28 lines. Thus we see that between l. 368 and l. 370 one line only is missing, and also between l. 375 and l. 377 one line only is missing. A hopelessly untenable contention advanced by Wilamowitz to the effect that ll. 326-327 do not form part of the strophe of which they constitute the *clausula* has until now obscured the fact that at the head of this

column there originally stood the antistrophic counterpart of the two strophic lines in question, and, as a consequence, this column has not hitherto received proper treatment. Premising all this, we are able with varying degrees of probability to place nine detached fragments called by Hunt *Frr.* 5, 4, 10, 21, 31, 9, 20, 19, and 7, respectively. *Frr.* 4, 5, 7, 9, and 10 Hunt takes as probably from the bottom of column 1-3. *Frr.* 19, 20, and 21 Hunt considers, with a query, to belong to a column which he wrongly thinks to have been lost between column 14 and this column (see note below on ll. 386-388): *Fr.* 31 he does not attempt to place. For the sake of convenience I will deal with these nine fragments at this point.

I take *Frr.* 5, 4, and 10, in that order, as exhibiting portions of the two final lines of chorus which are missing at the top of the column. *Frr.* 5 and 4 seem to me to present portions of both lines, and *Fr.* 10 may without improbability be assigned to the latter of the two lines. *Fr.* 4 can be placed with comparative security.

The first fragment (*Fr.* 5) runs:

367  
]·[  
]ο[

The second fragment (*Fr.* 4) runs, so far as the handwriting of P is concerned :

367  
]εδ[  
]σσ[

But, and this is highly important, P<sup>2</sup> converts σσ[ into σσαι. The absence of an ι in P together with its insertion by P<sup>2</sup> makes it to all intents and purposes a certainty that the ι is what we nowadays call ι subscript. From this fact there arises a strong presumption that the passage is choric. In theory indeed -σσῃ might be the end of the third person singular active or of the second person singular middle and passive of a verb in -σσάω in tragic or Satyric trimeters. But verbs in -σσάω take some finding: one may instance λυσσῶ and ἡσσῶμαι, but διαττῶ is never written διασσῶ, and μασσῶμαι is only a corrupt spelling of μασῶμαι. Again, in tragic or Satyric trimeters σσ[ may result from the juxtaposition of two words, e.g. ἄσ' ἔδου: but words, or cases of words, ending in -σσαι or -σσε are not particularly numerous, while words beginning with α- are few. The conjunction of two such words is in any given case an enormously less likely possibility than the occurrence of a Doric form such, for example, as χαριέσσαι or ὅσαι. Therefore the great balance of probability is on the side of this fragment being choric. If it is not choric, I can say definitely that none of the *lacunae* in this play—of those, that is, in which some textual guidance is left us—will harbour it. If it is choric, I do not see my way to fitting it conveniently into any lines of any chorus, except the last two lines of this chorus.

At a time before I turned my attention to this fragment and when indeed I was barely cognisant of its existence, I had already inclined to the conclusion that the two missing lines at the end of this chorus ought to contain a mention of something like an ἐκ Διὸς ὄσσα, or perhaps, in the circumstances, an ἐκ Φοίβου ὄσσα, in order to justify the cocksureness of the Satyrs, who are certainly jumping at a conclusion





After the  $\epsilon$  of l. 370, Hunt prints a colon as doubtfully occurring in the papyrus: but I suggest that the doubtful colon is the vestige of  $\nu$ . The important fact to observe is that the lines which I identify as ll. 369-371 project well beyond the maximum limits of the lines which I identify as ll. 367-368. This suggests strongly that the former two lines are choric and the latter three senarii. Hunt reads  $\gamma\upsilon\nu$  as  $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ : but  $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota$  cannot occur in a senarius immediately succeeding any extant chorus in this play, as the Chorus itself is not composed of women, and whenever Cyllene, the only female character, is present at all, it is Cyllene who necessarily is the speaker at every such point. Hence I read  $\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\ \gamma'\ \upsilon\nu\iota\nu$ , which appears to make admirable sense in the presumable context. For  $\upsilon\nu\iota\nu$  see Ch. v. § III. c. z. The chief reason why I place this fragment where I do is that the difference in length between the first two lines on the one hand and the three following lines on the other hand indicates that we have a case of two choric lines followed by iambic trimeters. There exists nowhere else in the play a *lacuna*, immediately after a chorus, into which  $\gamma\upsilon\nu$  can be introduced.

The fifth fragment (*Fr.* 31) runs:

]	
]ροτ[	
]ρια[	370
]εϋθυ[	
]ατω[	

It is clear, almost to demonstration, that the first line, of which only the *locus* without any writing is here preserved, was choric, owing to its extreme comparative shortness; and it is highly probable, because of the tendency of the papyrus to equalise choric lines as regards length, that the remaining lines are not choric. I therefore attempt to fit in the fragment at the end of the chorus which closes with l. 368.

Piecing *Fr.* 21 and 31 together we obtain, including the columnar remains, and assigning the normal indentation to the two choric lines:

[ . . . . . ]	
[ . . . . . ]	
[ . . . . . ]ροτ[ . . . . . ]γυν[	
[ . . ]ευσγαρ[ . . . . . ]ρια[ . . . . . ].ε.	370
[ο]παισκλο[πευσουκ]εϋθυ[σωναντωσαλ]αι	
[ . . ]τοιπονη[ . . . . . ]ατω[ . . . . . ]	

This is the framework on which I have built up my text, controlling the precise spacing by l. 371 as filled in by me, which filling in (though there is not much room for choice) was naturally made in the course of consultation, so to speak, with the other lines. It seems to me certain up to the end of  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , and highly probable afterwards.

The sixth fragment (*Fr.* 9) runs:

]π[	373
]τ[ .	

Such a fragment might obviously be fitted into a considerable variety of places. I put it here because I desire, so far as possible, to

keep the group, to which it belongs, together, and because it cannot conveniently be fitted in elsewhere in this column. With the help of it I read ll. 373-374 as :

[κ]ακωσακου[εινου]π[ρεπειδισγονωι 373  
[ε]ι δε σ ταλη[θη ταυ]τ[αχρημεκαιλεγειν .

The seventh fragment (*Fr.* 20) contains, almost obviously, early portions of ll. 376-379, and the eighth fragment (*Fr.* 19), with great likelihood, later portions of the first three of the same lines (*i.e.* ll. 376-378).

*Fr.* 20 runs :

]νβοω[ 376  
]ανεξ[  
]στιτο[  
]τασ[ .

*Fr.* 19 runs :

]αμ[ 376  
]ων[  
]σσ[ .

Seeing that we can reconstruct l. 377 sufficiently surely for us to judge clearly of the spacing, we are entitled to piece the two fragments together thus :

[...]νβοω[.....]αμ[ 376  
[ουσιγ]ανεξ[ηπεριβ]ων[τωνδαιτικα  
[.]στιτο[.....]σσ[  
τ[.....]τασ[ .

That is the framework on which I have built up my text.

The ninth fragment (*Fr.* 7) runs thus, as regards the handwriting of P :

]ο[ 385  
]αι[ .

P<sup>2</sup> accents αι as αἰ. It would no doubt be possible elsewhere in the play to insert into one or other of the *lacunae* that extend to portions of two lines an ι with a diphthong αἰ beginning immediately underneath it : but there is no place, except here, where such a supplement is positively indicated. In l. 385 βουκόλος is strongly suggested by the sense of the extant portion of the columnar line, and in l. 386 τεκμαίρομαι is well-nigh unavoidable (see notes below on ll. 386-388). Consequently I place *Fr.* 7 with considerable confidence in a position near its fellows and read ll. 385-386 as having been presented by P in the form :

π ο [υ]καιβοεσνεμουσιτ[ισδοβ]ο[υκολος 385  
π[λ]εουσδεγηδηνυν[βοαστεκμ]αι[ρομαι .

That this was the reading of P in l. 386 is independently rendered almost certain by a marginal note appended by P<sup>2</sup> (see notes below on ll. 386-388), and it is likewise almost certain for the same reason (see the same notes below) that the true reading in the line is not that of P but :

πελέθοις δέ γ' ἤδη νῦν βοῶν τεκμαίρομαι.



I have also worked into this column a group of eight "small decayed" (so Hunt) fragments, which, Hunt considers, all belong to the same column; and that column, column 9. I am satisfied that they cannot all find a place in column 9; and therefore, if they are of common origin, none of them can come from column 9. I deal with them not here, but among the Fragments, as the placing of them is highly problematical (though personally I am fairly satisfied that I have put two at least of them in their original positions). For the same reason I have shown in my text of this column a line under the letters which I have incorporated out of these fragments. The Fragments bear the following numbers, and I have used them in the following order (1) *Fr.* 18 (l. 369), (2) *Fr.* 15 (ll. 369-370), (3) *Fr.* 12 (ll. 370-372), (4) *Fr.* 17 (ll. 370-371), (5) *Fr.* 11 (ll. 377-378), (6) *Fr.* 16 (ll. 380-381), (7) *Fr.* 14 (ll. 386-387), and (8) *Fr.* 13 (ll. 389-390).

In ll. 367-372, missing lines and parts, mine, except that in l. 370 Hunt gives ὁ Ζεὺς γάρ, and in l. 371 ὁ παῖς κλοπ. Hunt, going by columnar remains only, reads in l. 372 εἴ τοι πονηρὰ δρᾷ, πονηρὸς ὦν κυρεῖ. In l. 370, for παιδάρια, see Ch. v. § III. B. c. In l. 373, missing parts, Hunt. In l. 374, Hunt, going by columnar remains only, reads εἰ δ' ἐστ' ἀληθῆ, χρεὶ με καὶ λέγειν τάδε. In l. 375, missing parts, mine, except οὐ μὴ τὰδ' εἴπης, Hunt. In ll. 376-384, conjectural lines and restorations, mine. In l. 385 Hunt gives ποῦ καὶ βόας νέμουσι τ[ : but he states that "βόες might well be read," and he adds that "the top, which is all that remains of the doubtful letter" (i.e. the third letter of βοεσ or βοας), "is perhaps not inconsistent with an α." He points out that, on the one hand, with βόες one would expect, not νέμουσι, but νέμονται, but that, on the other hand, the form βόας is questionable. I am inclined to think that, at any rate in the style of this play, βόας for βοῦς would be most improbable. I also think that such a variation as νέμουσι for νέμονται, based apparently on Herodotus, would be in accordance with the manner of Sophocles. See Ch. v. § III. E. *hh*. Supplement mine, except ποῦ Hunt.

Lines 386-388 present a special and interesting, but not a difficult, problem. P gives them thus :

π.ειουσδεγ'ηδηνυν[  
τ.σωπονηρεχειτιπλ[  
οπαιστοδενδονεγκεκλη[

i.e.

πλείους δέ γ' ἤδη νῦν[  
τί σ', ὦ πόνηρ', ἔχει; τί πλ[  
ὁ παῖς τόδ' ἔνδον ἐγκεκλη[.

P<sup>2</sup> alters P into :

π.ειουσδεγ'ηδηνυν[  
τ.σωπόνηρεχειτιπλ[  
οπαισὺδενδονεστινεγκεκλη[

i.e.

πλείους δέ γ' ἤδη νῦν[  
τί σ', ὦ πόνηρ', ἔχει; τί πλ[  
ὁ παῖς ὅδ' ἔνδον ἐστὶν ἐγκεκλη[.

We now approach the problem. These lines (ll. 386-388) are situated towards the bottom of column 15. Line 392 is the final line of the column—not merely now, but as the column was originally written. Consequently, l. 388 is, and originally was, the fifth line from the bottom of the column, l. 387 the sixth line from the bottom of the column, and l. 386 the seventh line from the bottom of the column. Now we have already dealt with every extant column (extant as a column, not in fragments) of the papyrus, except one only. The outstanding column (which Hunt calls the 17th, but which, in my opinion, is quite clearly the 16th) has suffered extreme mutilation, and the top of it has been destroyed: but the original bottom is still discernible, so that the lines can be counted upwards. On a level (I am speaking throughout, not with geometrical precision, but with that degree of accuracy which is appropriate to levels and the like in the case of handwriting) with the seventh line from the bottom of that column, which I will call column 16, and also, if you put the bottoms of columns 15 and 16 flush with one another, on a level with the seventh line from the bottom of column 15, column 16 presents in its extreme dexter margin (*i.e.* in popular parlance in its extreme *left*, not *right*, margin) the end of the first line of a marginal note by P<sup>2</sup>, and, immediately underneath this, on a level with the sixth line from the bottom, both of column 15 and of column 16, the end of the second (the concluding) line of the same marginal note; and immediately under this again, on a level with the fifth line from the bottom both of column 15 and of column 16, the end of a further marginal note by P<sup>2</sup>. These two marginal notes, as is manifest from their position, have nothing to do with column 16, but pertain to a column which, when the papyrus was intact, ran parallel to column 16, preceding column 16 on the dexter (left) portion of the same sheet. Was that column column 15, and are these two notes notes on l. 386 and l. 388? I think so, and I see no valid ground for doubt.

These are the marginal notes (*a*):

]ελεθοισβοων  
]νεν'θ',

*i.e.*

πελέθοις βοῶν  
οὕτως ἦν ἐν τῷ Θέωνος:

and (*b*):

]νοσ .

Now note *b*, on a level with l. 388, appears to suit that line admirably. P reads (to use modern writing) ὁ παῖς τὸδ' ἔνδον ἐγκεκλη[ , which P<sup>2</sup> alters (again to use modern writing) to ὁ παῖς ὅδ' ἔνδον ἐγκεκλη-. It is reasonable to suppose that P went on with the neuter ἐγκεκλημένον, and that the marginal note is corrective and ran ἐγκεκλημένος. This view as to note *b* at one time had weight with Hunt: but Hunt was over-persuaded by his ideas about note *a*, and also by a contention of Wilamowitz', of which I will speak in due course. To come to note *a*, Hunt argues that the remains in l. 386 are not consistent with P having presented πελεθοουσ, and that, even if they were so consistent, the reading πελέθοις βοῶν would present too wide a difference

between the variant and the text. But (1) I do not suggest that P read anything other than  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\varsigma$ : that the word began with  $\pi\lambda$ , not with  $\pi\epsilon\lambda$ , is sufficiently proved by the  $\pi\lambda$  repeated in the next line (387). Moreover (2)  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\omega\tilde{\nu}$  does not present a very wide divergence from P, except on the gratuitous assumption (which I can only imagine Hunt must have made) that P<sup>2</sup> meant  $\beta\omicron\omega\tilde{\nu}$  as the word immediately succeeding  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\varsigma$ . Let us go a step further. If  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\omega\tilde{\nu}$  ever occurred in the context, the general meaning must be something of the nature *I judge of the oxen by the dung, From the dung I infer the presence of the oxen*. The obvious verb to use in such a case is  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , and it so happens that  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is capable of two constructions—a fact that will be seen to have its bearings.

I suggest that P read :

$\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\varsigma$  δέ γ' ἤδη νῦν βόας  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,

a mere unintelligent corruption of a more original :

$\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\varsigma$  δέ γ' ἤδη νῦν βόας  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,

which meant :

*Why, now at last I can judge of the oxen by the dung.*

Theon read (meaning exactly the same thing) :

$\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\varsigma$  δέ γ' ἤδη τῶν βόων  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ .

The use with  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  of the genitive, instead of the accusative, of the thing about which a judgement is formed (this must be distinguished from any other use of the genitive with  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ) does not occur in extant literature until post-classical times, though it involves no unclassical principle. An instance precisely parallel to Theon's reading is presented by Appian (*Civ.* 77, *med.*) τῷ πυρὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota$ , *judging of the road by the fire*. I will not say that P<sup>2</sup> did not interpret Theon's  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\omega\tilde{\nu}$  as *by ox-dung*. I prefer the genitive, seeing that it is, as I said, not unclassical in principle, as the *difficilior lectio*, and because I doubt the possibility here of the form βόας (see l. 385). If we have got l. 386 right, or approximately so, it is easy to restore l. 387 to the form :

τί σ', ὦ πόνηρ', ἔχει ; τί  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\iota\varsigma$  τοῦσδ' ὕθλει ;

Here also P must have read  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\varsigma$ . He must moreover have read  $\tau\alpha\sigma\delta$ , not  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\delta$ , as he means *more cattle*, and the cattle are feminine in l. 390. I have already dealt with the marginal note on a level with l. 388, and have mentioned the reading of P and the alterations effected by P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>2</sup> went hopelessly wrong, except (assuming the marginal note to refer to this line) as regards  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . Observe that he does not here allege Theon's authority. P read (we should not know the end of his reading except for the note of P<sup>2</sup> ; but I think it is already safe to take the notes as referring to these lines, subject only to Wilamowitz' objection, alluded to above, with which I will deal in a moment) :

ὁ παῖς τὸδ' ἔνδον  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ .



The ὅδ' ἔνδον ἐστὶν ἐγκεκλιμένος of P<sup>2</sup> makes no sense in the context. P's τόδ' is right. τόδ' ἔνδον is a haplography for τοδοιδενδον, i.e. τόδ' οἶδεν ἔνδον. But οἶδεν ἔνδον must in its turn be an error for οἶδεν οὖνδον (probably written οἶδεν ὁ ἔνδον), as, after the *ι* of ὁ παῖς grammar requires that ἔνδον ἐγκεκλιμένος, unless predicative—and it cannot here be predicative—must have the definite article. Read :

ὁ παῖς τόδ' οἶδεν οὖνδον ἐγκεκλιμένος.

To turn to Wilamowitz, his contention, which has impressed Hunt, is that at the end of column 15 we still have Cyllene maintaining her position, whereas, on the assumption that the marginal notes refer to ll. 386 and 388, it follows that what I call column 16 must really be column 16, and early in that column we witness her final discomfiture, so that in some ten lines the position has to be revolutionised—an impossible supposition, it is urged. Hunt goes the length of saying that this difficulty being taken into account along with the other (to him) difficulties mentioned above, the reading of the notes as notes on ll. 386 and 388 “cannot seriously be defended.” But, as far as Wilamowitz’ objection is concerned, let any candid scholar look at l. 392. My reading in that line ὅδ' ὀλεῖ σε πρόχῳ γ' seems to me to follow with very high probability from the papyrus remains. No doubt the situation might have drifted indefinitely. When Cyllene says *You are choking me, you and your oxen*, she gives the Choragus an opening, which he seizes. He forces the pace. He shouts *Yes, I will destroy you utterly. Either that, or drive out the oxen hither*. Things have become impossible; so that it need not surprise us to hear the Chorus bursting into lyrics, and to see, only nineteen lines after that in which the Choragus uttered his threat, Apollo appearing on the scene. For πελέθοις and πελέθους, considered linguistically, see Ch. v. § III. E. oo. In l. 387, Hunt reads τίς, ὦ πόνηρ', ἔχει; In l. 388, Wilamowitz and Murray (followed by Hunt) read ὁ παῖς ὃς ἔνδον ἐστὶν ἐγκεκλιμένος, where ὃς is an emendation of the ὁδ' of P<sup>2</sup>. In l. 389, παύσαι P, altered by P<sup>2</sup> to παυοῦ. This variation indicates an original παῦσε, which is imperatively demanded by usage (as against παύου, not as against παῦσαι), and also (as against παῦσαι, not as against παύου) by the present tense in the following line, on which see note below. Also cf. l. 357. τουδῖος P: Wilamowitz, with high probability, τὸν Διός. Supplement mine: Hunt, not incorporating any fragment, κακῶς λέγων. For the δ, doubtless the remains of δ̄, before l. 390 see Ch. vi. A. In l. 390, supplements Hunt, except ἐξελᾶν θέλοι Wilamowitz (followed by Hunt). The text is sufficiently intact for us to be sure that παύοι μ' ἄν is the reading to be adopted. Yet Hunt actually divides the words as παύοιμ' ἄν, *I would cease* (neuter). Now the active of this verb in the sense to *cease* (neuter) is confined exclusively to the second person singular of the present imperative (where indeed the active is the only classical possibility), except that in *Odyssey*, iv. 659, beside the correct μνηστῆρας—κάθισαν καὶ παῦσαν ἀέθλων, there is a corrupt reading μνηστῆρες—κάθισαν καὶ παῦσαν ἀέθλων, and that in Sophocles, *O.C.* 1751, beside the correct παύετε θρήνον, there is a corrupt reading παύετε θρήνων. In l. 391, πνε· γεισ

(i.e. the inferior spelling πνίγεις) P: πνίγεις Hunt. In l. 392, supplements mine: Murray proposes ἀπολεῖ: Hunt prints ἐξελαυν[. I mean by ὅδ' I. For πρόχλυ see Ch. v. § III. E. ss.

Column 16.

393–418. This column (except as regards a detached fragment, numbered by Hunt *Fr.* 22, of which I have made use, because ονθο occurs in it, in conjecturally restoring ll. 394–396, and another detached fragment, numbered by Hunt *Fr.* 30, which exhibits the *loci* and maximum *termini ad quos* of l. 405, l. 410, and l. 411, penultimate portions of l. 406 and l. 407, and the ends of l. 408 and l. 409) is presented, so far as it is presented at all, on the piece of papyrus recently mentioned (see note above on ll. 386–388) which contains in its dexter margin writing by P<sup>2</sup> which I have shown reason for taking as annotatory of l. 386 and l. 388. If that conclusion be correct, it follows that this column immediately succeeds column 15. The piece of papyrus shows the bottom of the column: assuming that the column was of 26 lines, the first six lines (ll. 393–398) are missing (except so far as supplied by *Fr.* 22) in the fullest sense; the places of the next four lines (ll. 399–402) only remain, without any writing; but of the residual sixteen lines (ll. 403–418) the beginnings, though not in l. 411 the initial letter, are preserved, and the run of the sense is, in a general way, sufficiently indicated. There exists no ulterior limit to indicate the number of letters to be supplied in the various lines. *Fr.* 22 runs thus:

.....]	...[.]	[	
.....]	ρυει[		
[κεινηνανοιζωγαυτοσενθ]	ονθο[σπυλην		395
.....]	ηλλ[		
.....]	.....[	.	

*Fr.* 30 runs thus, plus the columnar remains, those of the fragment being underlined, and the maximum lengths of ll. 405, 410, and 411 given as indicated by blank *loci* in the fragment:

ουτοσουφ[.....]	maximum	405
ωλ[.....]	αβου[	
ιωδ[εχεσθαιβουσσεδειμισθ]	ονδ[εμε	
ωλοξιαδε[.....]	λε[	
καιπαρη[.....]	[.]ν	
των[.]οω[.....]	maximum	410
[.]νυ[.....]	maximum	

Fitting together the two parts of l. 407, viz. ιωδ and ονδ, the reconstruction ιω δέχασθαι βοῦς σε δεῖ, μισθὸν δ' ἐμέ seems, in view of the context (of course only in view of the context) fairly safe. That reconstruction gives one the position of the remains in their various lines. The supplements throughout are my own, except that in l. 406 Hunt prints “ὦ Λ[οξία (?)” and in l. 410 τῶν [β]οῶν[ν. In l. 405 Hunt divides the text into οὔτος οὐ φ: but this seems to be inconsistent with the surviving, though scanty, context. I have filled up the enormous *lacunae* chiefly for the sake of completeness: but incidentally

I think I have demonstrated as by an object-lesson that Wilamowitz' contention, to the effect that ll. 393–402 do not provide room enough to lead up to the immediately ensuing state of affairs, does not hold water. In l. 403, P gives  $\iota\upsilon\iota\upsilon\pi\cdot\gamma$ : P<sup>2</sup> inserts a mark cancelling the  $\pi\cdot\gamma$ , but we cannot tell the ulterior limit of the cancellation: Hunt, following P<sup>2</sup>, reads only  $\iota\upsilon\iota\upsilon$ : I mistrust P<sup>2</sup>, base myself on P, and read  $\iota\upsilon\iota\upsilon\cdot\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\sigma\upsilon\kappa\tau\lambda$ . In l. 404, P gives  $\eta\eta\delta\epsilon\phi\eta\pi$ : P<sup>2</sup> alters to  $\acute{\eta}\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\pi$ : Hunt follows P<sup>2</sup>: I follow P. In l. 404 I change P's  $\epsilon\phi\eta$  to the Doric  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha$ , and in l. 409, where P presents  $\pi\alpha\rho\eta$ [, I expand to  $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\gamma\acute{o}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ , which I alter to the Doric  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$  ( $\bar{\alpha}$ ): cf.  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , Pindar, *Ol.* i. l. 85. That ll. 406–407 are not choric is shown by the indentation in the papyrus, the strophe before and the antistrophe after them protruding, at the beginnings of lines, well beyond the senarian alignment; which is the reason why comparatively so much of the choric lines has been preserved. But such an indentation, instead of one in the opposite direction, which elsewhere in P is universal, shows that the choric lines were too long to be included even in the space of average senarii. This fact implies another. Seeing that, in practice, choruses are cut up into lines without much attention to metrical considerations, but chiefly in order to make the lines of a convenient length, though also with a view to adapting them more or less to the punctuation, these particular lines must have been easily recognisable units, in the sense in which hexameters or senarii are easily recognisable units, to have been preserved from subdivision into convenient lengths. But we can see precisely what they were. The first line, both of the strophe and of the antistrophe, is set back exactly two feet—feet such as occur in senarii—in front of the adjacent senarius: this means that the lines in question are iambic tetrameters. The other choric lines are naturally set back to the alignment of the first lines of strophe and antistrophe, but begin trochaically: this means that they are trochaic tetrameters. I know of only one other place where there occur sequences of choric trochaic tetrameters (Euripides, *Helena*, ll. 338–347 and 355–361, on which see my remarks in *Ἀντὶ Μῆζ*, II. pp. 246–252); but there, as here, in strophe and in antistrophe the choric trochaic tetrameters are preceded by a choric iambic tetrameter acatalectic. That the lines here are choric is shown by the end of l. 409, where *Fr.* 30 gives  $[\cdot]\nu$ . At the end of a line, where no copyist would see a *metrical* reason for marking quantity,  $[\cdot]\nu$  obviously means a Doric genitive in  $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$ . This fragment (*Fr.* 30) is of substantial use. That it belongs here is rendered highly probable by the fact that the second line of it runs  $]\alpha\rho\upsilon$  [. If one takes this as some case of  $\pi\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ , then that word is appropriate to no extant chorus, except this, where the *presence* of Apollo is evidently prayed for. If, again, one acts on that hint, one obtains a series of *termini* which work in most excellently with the presumable sense of the whole passage. In l. 406, I suggest that the papyrus presented, without prodelision,  $\omega\lambda\omicron\xi\iota\alpha\epsilon\kappa\phi\alpha\iota\delta\rho\upsilon\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\pi\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\iota$ .

In l. 407, Hunt prints the  $\delta$  as a doubtful  $\alpha$ .

In l. 403, to pass from textual questions, the scansion of  $\iota\upsilon\iota\upsilon$  as — — — is remarkable (it is guaranteed by the antistrophe). The first syllable of  $\iota\upsilon\cdot$  is apparently not found long elsewhere, though



in tragedy the ι of ἰώ is occasionally lengthened (e.g. Sophocles, *El.* l. 150). But ἰοὺ ἰού shows, not mere lengthening, but the elegance of varying quantity, as Ἄρεας Ἄρες in Homer. The nearest parallel is ἰῆ ἰῆ, which occurs four times in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (ll. 25, 80, 97, and 103). I suppose that the elegance must have been a feature of various hymns to Apollo. Callimachus scans ἰῆ ἰῆ as — ∪ ∪ —: Sophocles scans ἰοὺ ἰού as — — ∪ —. The difference of metrical ictus in hexameters and iambs accounts for this difference of scansion; but it is to be observed that Sophocles has imported into an alien metre an elegance originally only justified by hexametrical ictus.

### Column 17.

419–447. I restore this column throughout, if only in order that it may be understood on what lines I am working and in what sense I take the indications afforded by the papyrus. Those indications are so considerable that there is much less guesswork (though of course a great deal) involved in the process than would at first sight appear to be the case.

I reconstruct the column from these fragments.

The first fragment (*Fr.* 23) is in two pieces, which however Hunt has seen must be taken together. It contains, first, the remains of three lines in the handwriting of P<sup>2</sup>: these lines P had clearly omitted in their proper place lower down, and consequently P<sup>2</sup> wrote them in at the top of the column, just as in column 10 he wrote l. 242, which is omitted by P, at the top of the column above l. 235. The three lines in question are ll. 436–438. It will shortly be seen that their *locus* is easily determinable. The supplying by P<sup>2</sup> of these three omitted lines increases the total of the whole column from the normal figure of 26 lines to the abnormal figure of 29 lines. The first fragment contains, secondly, in the handwriting of P, remains of the first two lines, properly so called, of the column (ll. 419–420). Why I place these and other lines where I do place them, I will explain in due course.

*Fr.* 23 runs as follows.

It is in two parts, separated vertically, and with no point of actual contact between them. The upper portions of these two parts exhibit writing by P<sup>2</sup>, thus:

(a)	(b)	
	]θουρι[	436
] . [	]λοσδ[	437
]χρυσωιπλ[ .	]τισας[ .	

Putting (a) and (b) together, so far as they contain the writing by P<sup>2</sup>, we obtain:

.....]θουρι[  
 .....]λοσδ[  
 [ασσαρτι]χρυσωιπλ[ου]τισας[ηλευθερους.

(a) and (b) continue, with writing by P, thus :

(a)	(b)
]βωνα[. . .	]πο[
]πονησα[. 420	]σα[ . 420

Putting (a) and (b) together, so far as they contain the writing by P, we obtain :

[τονδαρσα]βωνα[του]πο[ρουτιμωπλεον	420
.....]πονησα[.]σα[	

The second fragment (Fr. 34) exhibits the *loci* of ll. 421, 422, 425, and 427, and the actual ends of ll. 423, 424, 426, and 428. The metre of the end of l. 426 (P ελεασ) and the Doricism at the end of l. 428 (P + P<sup>2</sup> νᾶν) demonstrate that those two lines are choric. That the whole of ll. 421–428 is choric is proved thus. The arrangement of choric lines in this papyrus is such that only the very longest of them extend so far as the average ulterior alignment of adjacent senarii. The papyrus here is sufficiently intact to show that not one of the lines in the area involved (this applies more than equally to the lines of which we have the *loci* only) projects so far as l. 426 and l. 428: l. 428 itself falls two letters short of l. 426. Of the other two lines of which the ends are extant, l. 423 falls two letters short of l. 428 and four letters short of l. 426, while l. 424 falls four letters short of l. 428 and six letters short of l. 426. In the cases of the four lines of which we have the the *loci* only, it is certain from the papyrus that not a single one of them projected further than l. 424, *i.e.* four letters short of l. 428 and six letters short of l. 426, and they may have been shorter still. It is thus abundantly proved that the entire passage, ll. 421–428, is choric.

I have given the longest choric line (l. 426) a length of 26 letters after consulting the other *chori* in the papyrus. I have adhered strictly to this basis in the cases of the other lines and find that it works admirably.

Fr. 34 runs as follows :

.....] <i>maximum</i>	425
.....] <i>maximum</i>	
.....]ατον	
.....]σ	
.....] <i>maximum</i>	
[ζευγλανγαρδουλοσυνασμ]ελεασ	
.....] <i>maximum</i>	
.....]νᾶν .	

The third fragment (Fr. 33) presents portions of ll. 429–435 and 439–446, together with the *locus* and maximum *terminus ad quem* of l. 446. l. 439 follows without gap on l. 435, as ll. 436–438 are omitted by P and have been written in by P<sup>2</sup> at the top of the column. In the case of every line, except l. 446, an actual portion is preserved, not the *locus* only: but the two bottom lines of the column (ll. 446–447) have perished.

Fr. 33 runs as follows :

[αλλαμνητωνδωδεχοντωνειμικαικ]α[τοφομαι	
.....]αισ[	430
.....]τω[	
.....]οφ[	
.....]νηλ[	
.....]ι	
[τουδηχαρινκατηλθεσαυθισωσε]με	435
.....]σ[	439
.....]νο[	440
.....]χε[	
.....]ον[	
.....]αδ[	
.....]ομ[	
.....]αεφ[	445
.....] <i>maximum</i>	

Over the σ in l. 439 P<sup>2</sup> has written another σ, i.e. P<sup>2</sup> has corrected P's σ to σσ.

To turn to the placing of the remains, ll. 419–420 are fixed by the letters βωνα in l. 419, coupled with the fact that they are in the same fragment as the supplement written by P<sup>2</sup>. Not many Greek words end in βωνα, and ἀρσαβῶνα is almost irresistible after Silenus' τὸν ἐγ[γῶντ'] in l. 418. I suppose the ρσ rule extends to ἀρῶναβῶν: but it is not easy to be sure, as the word is clearly of Semitic origin. For a discussion of the word see Chapter v. § III. c. b. If one reads ἀρσαβῶνα, metre practically compels τὸν δ' ἀρσαβῶνα: this gives a *terminus a quo* for l. 420, and necessitates the putting of eight letters—none too easy to get in—before the πονήσας of the latter line: hence my τοὺκ νέου. I have just spoken of the fact of these two lines being in the same fragment as the supplement written by P<sup>2</sup>. In view of the fact that the Satyrs had unquestionably been interfering with a precinct of Pan, and in view of the further fact that such conduct was traditionally punished by a species of madness, I read the remains of the lines written by P<sup>2</sup> as signifying that something θούριος, presumably a τυφῶς (see Aeschylus *P.V.* 354, Τυφῶνα θούρον), otherwise described as a -λος, presumably a στρόβιλος, had afflicted the Satyrs whom Apollo had recently enriched. See the reading in my text. This news must have been brought to Apollo by Silenus.

Now there is one place in Fr. 33 which seems to call for insertion of the three lines. A distinctly shorter metre is adopted in the sixth and seventh lines of the fragment (ll. 434–435) than has been previously used: this is shown by the projection of the lines. Apollo has obviously been left alone on the stage after the departure of Silenus and the Satyrs. He speaks in monologue, and, I suggest, in trochaic tetrameters: but that someone enters at ll. 434–435 is indicated alike by the shorter measure and by the fact that l. 435 ends with με. If we insert Silenus' lines after l. 435, we then find that ll. 429–433 can readily be filled up as containing a statement of Apollo's intention to visit Hermes in the cave, ll. 434–435 as addressed to Silenus reappearing on the stage, and ll. 439–446 as explanatory of the Satyrs' madness. A difference



may perhaps be traced without fancifulness between the remains of ll. 429-433 and those of 439-445. In the former, αἰς, τω, οφ and νηλ hint at παῖς, κάτω, δνόφος, and ἀνήλιον respectively: in the latter, αδ and ομ make one think of μαινάδι and some case of ὁμφή, while in l. 445 αεφ seems necessarily to involve ἄεπτα with the final vowel elided and followed by an aspirate. The idea of ἄεπτα suggests Pan at once.

If these views are sound, the parts of the column fall into place, and we have an absolutely consistent *tout ensemble*.

As ll. 434-435 are markedly shorter than ll. 429-433, they are also markedly shorter than ll. 439-445, and therefore I present ll. 430-445 also as trochaic tetrameters. Though l. 446 has entirely perished, nevertheless its maximum length is accurately known from the papyrus; and that maximum length is two letters short of the actual length of the iambic senarius, l. 435. If two such short maximum lengths occurred in succession, I should conclude that the trochaic tetrameter metre had been abandoned in favour of a less lengthy measure. But a single instance is a different thing. Therefore, especially as trochaic tetrameters appear to continue at the beginning of the next column, I reconstitute l. 446 as a tetrameter of exceptionally few letters, and I also make a tetrameter of l. 447. For the tetrameters I take l. 429, which I can hardly have reconstituted very wrongly, as a standard in order to obtain a *terminus a quo*. I there supply 27 letters before the first extant letter. That means that I have had to supply 27 letters similarly in such case in l. 430, l. 431, and l. 432, and 26 letters in l. 433. Note however that the diphthong εἰ causes a slight difficulty. In l. 429 I have counted εἰ as one letter and I have done the same in l. 431: but in l. 432 I have written the diphthong twice (in the word εἴργει), and I have assigned to the two diphthongs together the value of three letters. Similarly, in each of the other tetrameters I have counted the letters precisely.

With regard to the senarii I have been equally strict. The guidance afforded by the number of letters, if you are pretty sure of the general sense, and if you have even a letter or two surviving to help you, is invaluable. That Apollo does not break off at the end of l. 445 or of l. 446, but continues speaking till the end of l. 447, is both agreeable to the run of the speech, and is also indicated by the words of Silenus in l. 448. I once had considerable hesitation as to filling the gap after l. 420 with the choric lines which constitute Fr. 34. But they exactly fit in, and I have come to the conclusion that I have more probably than not put them in the right place. I would adduce the consideration that now that the chorus has gone mad it is not likely to return to the stage until it has been cured. It might indeed have rushed in, announcing by its actions its own lunacy, but Silenus came instead, so that that opportunity is gone by. These lines, being unquestionably choric, should therefore come in either where I have put them or else sufficiently later on in the play to allow opportunity for the cure of the chorus in the interval. But it may be most gravely doubted whether any of the surviving fragments (they are not very numerous) come from columns much subsequent to that with which we are now dealing.

## Column 18.

448-473. This is the last extant (so far as it can be called extant) column of the papyrus; and it is not extant in columnar form. ll. 455-464 are indeed not extant in any sense; but the meaning to be conveyed in them is not doubtful. As regards the number of the lines in question, it is either the normal number 26, which I have assumed, or else 27: it cannot be less; in the ten lines postulated by me, of which no traces remain, one is only just able to express what has to be expressed. It follows that l. 473, of which only an accent survives, is either the last line of the column or, less probably, the last line but one.

Before the *lacuna* caused by the loss of ll. 455-464, a composite fragment, made up of Frs. 27, 26, 35, and 32, in that order, gives us portions of ll. 448-450 and of 452, together with the *loci* and maximum possible lengths of ll. 451 and 455.

Fr. 27 begins with a portion of the top line of a column (which fact is important), and runs in the handwriting of P:

]. ι α ν ε ι φ ρ α σ[ 448  
] ρ α κ[ . . . ].[ .

In l. 449, P<sup>2</sup> writes, with an apostrophe, ρ'ακ.

Fr. 26 consists of a portion of the top line of a column (which fact is important), and runs:

] β ρ α β ε υ μ[ . 448

Fr. 35 runs:

] ρ α[ 450  
] ρ α[  
] ο υ θ α . ο[  
]  
] .

Fr. 32 runs:

].  
] φ λ ε β ο[ 450  
]  
] μ η[ .

Both in Fr. 35 and in Fr. 32 the abnormal variation of the lines in length appears to indicate a dialogue in two widely differing metres, I suggest dochmiac monometers and trochaic tetrameters. Such an arrangement works out easily when one comes down to detail. Senarii, instead of trochaic tetrameters, would not leave room (on any arrangement which seems to me probable) for fitting in, consistently with the papyrus indications, any alternating shorter measure, as the shorter lines would then apparently have twice to consist of not more than four letters, and once of not more than two letters. Three trochaic tetrameters in the mouth of Silenus, the first of them followed by a trochaic tetrameter in the mouth of Apollo, and each of the other two by a dochmiac monometer in the mouth of Apollo, and the whole succeeded by a single dochmiac monometer in the mouth of Silenus just before Apollo begins a speech in senarii, will be found to constitute an arrangement in harmony with every indication in the papyrus, and to involve the presentation of a rather subtle symmetry, viz.

that though in the passage Apollo affects, if to use twice is to affect, dochmiac monometers and Silenus trochaic tetrameters, yet the first utterance of Apollo is a trochaic tetrameter, and the last utterance of Silenus a dochmiac monometer, these two exceptions balancing one another. A chief reason why I join numerous fragments together in this column is that, in view of the progressive dilapidation of the papyrus as it proceeds, I regard it as likely that those fragments which do not seem to form part of any column earlier than this form part of this column rather than of any subsequent column: we are at the point beyond which, so far as I can judge, dilapidation has passed into destruction. In confirmation of this view I would urge that no single papyrus fragment of this play, so far as it exhibits or suggests any meaning whatever, has the appearance of relating to any portion of the action subsequent to that with which this column (if I am in any way right as to its contents) has to deal.

This is the composite fragment made up of Frr. 27, 26, 35, and 32 :

.....].ιανειφρασ[.....]βραβευμ[  
 .....]ρ'ακ[...].[.....].  
 [αλλαποτε]ρα[φαρμακοντουτεστινητομη]φλεβο[σ 450  
 .....] *maximum*  
 [ειδρααζω]ουθανο[ντοσγαισθανοινομφηστι]μη[ν  
 .....] *maximum*  
 .....] *maximum*.

I have here constructed two key-lines (l. 450 and l. 452), and with their aid I have built up my text. The four fragments appear to me to fall readily into a consistent whole. In l. 450 φλεβο is an indication of the greatest value as regards the sense.

After the *lacuna* caused by the loss of ll. 455-464, another composite fragment, made up of Frr. 24, 36, 29, 25, and 28, in that order, gives us portions of every one of the group of lines 465-472, together with the *locus* and one accent of l. 473.

Fr. 24 runs :

υκεχ[ 465  
 ]ιμαζ[  
 ]ξυνα[  
 ]χμον[ .

Hunt, without making any express statement, prints Fr. 24 as if its last line were the bottom line of a column; but in view of the abnormal straightness of the two vertical fractures, I query any reasoning that might be founded on the lower horizontal fracture.

Fr. 36 runs :

]επ[ 465  
 ]ιδια[  
 ]  
 ]  
 ] .

Fr. 29 runs :

]φ[  
 ]παια[  
 ]εστι[ . 470



Fr. 25 runs :

]. . α ξ [	
] λ ι θ ι [	470
] σ τ ρ [	
] μ η π [	
] . . ρ [	

Fr. 28 runs :

] δ [ . . . ]	470
] τ ο ι ο [	
] κ τ [	

This is the composite fragment made up of Frr. 24, 36, 29, 25, and 28 :

. . . . . ] υ κ ε χ [ . . . . . ] ε π [	465
[ δ ε ι μ ο υ τ ι χ ε ] ι μ α [ ε ι ν ν ι ν α λ λ α μ ε ι δ ι α [ ν	
. . . . . ] ξ υ ν α [ . . . . . ]	<i>maximum</i>
. . . . . ] χ μ ο ν φ [ . . . . . ]	<i>maximum</i>
. . . α ξ [ . . . . . ] π α ι α [ . . . . . ]	<i>maximum</i>
[ η ] λ ι θ ι [ ο σ ο υ γ κ ρ ] ε σ τ ι [ ν ο υ ] δ [ α π λ ο υ σ ο π α ι σ	470
. ] σ τ ρ [ . . . . . ] τ ο ι ο [	
[ ο ] μ η π [ ρ ο π ε υ σ ε ι τ α ι π ρ ι ν α ν ] κ τ [ η σ ω μ ε θ α	
. ] . . ρ [	

I have here constructed three key-lines, ll. 466, 470, and 472, and with their aid I have built up my text. In l. 448, for βράβευμα see Chapter v. § II. A. 1, e. In l. 468, I take (conformably with usage) νεοχμόν as *new-fangled*, not *young*. In l. 472 I write προπευσεῖται rather than προπεύσεται because, although the direct evidence fails completely to supply an answer to the question whether πεύσομαι or πευσοῦμαι is the better form, nevertheless I have myself shown in the *Classical Review* (viii. pp. 17-21, and xx. pp. 212-213) that φεύζομαι is stricter Attic than φεύζομαι, and it seems to me that πεύθομαι, πυνθάνομαι is on all fours with φεύγω, φυγγάνω. Owing to the graphic treatment of the εἰ diphthong, προπευσεῖται is likely to be so written by P as to occupy either no more or only inappreciably more space than προπεύσεται.

With regard to the uniformity of spacing which I have assumed as a condition of conjectural restoration, it is to be observed that P normally writes letter under letter, and, that, if he fails to do this, he has a tendency to compensate for his failure a few letters afterwards.

### Column 19.

At this point we have ceased, so far as the papyrus is concerned, to be even ἰχνευταὶ of the text; for that text either does not extend beyond column 18 (and this I take to be the case), or else is, as regards any minute portion of it that may belong to a later column, unrecognisable and in a state indistinguishable from that of destruction. But, even so, we are not left wholly in the dark as to what were once the contents of the nineteenth column.

It is clear that the moment has arrived for Apollo to summon Hermes from the cave. As it is evident from the earlier portions of this

play that there were only two actors (apart from the Choragus) time has to be allowed for the impersonator of Silenus who recently left the stage (I fix his departure at the end of l. 463) to change into the accoutrements of Hermes and to make his way behind the scenes to the door through which, as Hermes, he has to re-enter. Ten senarii have been uttered by Apollo since his exit. A summons by Apollo to Hermes taking up about ten further lines will give him such margin as is necessary: then, enter Hermes. I am not indeed sure that so much as even ten senarii is essentially required to give time for the actor to change his insignia: when the impersonator of Cyllene went off the stage and then returned in the character of Apollo (see the earlier half of column 16), an interval of five lines only was, according to my arrangement of the passage, allowed, and on no reasonably possible arrangement can the interval have exceeded eight lines; but of the five lines which I assign to it two only are senarii, the other three constituting a complete choric strophe, so that it is possible that the presence of set music prolonged the action to such an extent that the bare counting of lines becomes a faulty criterion of the time occupied. In Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vincit* (ll. 82-87) the actor who has been taking the part of Hephaestus is, it is true, given the space of only six senarii in which to leave the stage and make his way into the interior of the wooden effigy of Prometheus, in the character of whom he begins immediately to speak; but in that instance he obviously assumed no new mask or dress, though he doubtless divested himself of his old mask and probably of his buskins also. Seeing that the "make up" of the infant Hermes was, it may be supposed, of a somewhat special character, I am inclined to postulate in this particular case not indeed a long, but still an appreciable, interval.

It is safe to assert that Apollo, in exchange for the *caduceus*, obtains the lyre from Hermes, that the sound of its music restores the Satyrs to sanity, that they, headed by Silenus (whose return necessitates, as there are only two actors, the previous departure of Hermes) come back to the stage, and that everything ends happily.

Maas has suggested that Sophocles' 933rd Fragment, ὄρκος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀνδρὶ φηλήτη βαρὺς, belongs to this play. If so, it seems to convey that matters between Apollo and Hermes came to the point of an altercation: but I do not quite like the use of ἀνδρὶ as applied to Hermes, and should rather continue to class the fragment as from a play unknown.

Maas also, and with more probability, assigns Fragment 930 to the *Ichneutae*. It runs:

κλέπτων δ' ὅταν τις ἐμφανῶς ἐφευρεθῇ,  
σιγᾶν ἀνάγκη, καὶν καλὸν φέρη στόμα.

If it is from this play, it would appear to indicate that Hermes remained silent for so long a time that Apollo was at last reduced to endeavouring to taunt him into speech: for, we must remember, Apollo, if I am at all right in my reconstructions, determined (ll. 465-473) to be pleasant to Hermes.

But I have pursued my theme to the utmost permissible limit.

*Fragmenta Fabularum Sophoclis Incertarum.*

Fr. 901. It is at least as probable as not that this *Fragment* is from the *Ichneutae*. In the portion extant in the papyrus *Hermes* is not given any name: but he can hardly have remained anonymous throughout the play. In the Homeric hymn the writer speaks of him as *Hermes*. Nauck suggests changing *κάρα* to *ὄρος*, so as to make the Homeric scholiast quote, not a *Fragment* otherwise unknown, but the *Philocetes* (l. 1459). But why? Pearson considers *κάρα* to mean *hill*; but compare *Ἑρμαίου ποδός*, the better reading, in *Lycophron* (l. 835).

Fr. 909. This *Fragment* may quite well come from the *Ichneutae*. It would be appropriate in the mouth either of *Apollo* or of *Hermes* at the conclusion of their negotiation for bartering the lyre against the *caduceus*. Meineke, for no good reason that I can see, omits the word *Σιδώνιος*: Gomperz alters *Σιδώνιος κάρηλος* to *παλιγκάρηλος*, on the wholly insufficient ground that the scholiast on *Pindar* writes: οἱ γὰρ Φοῖνικες παλιγκάρηλοι· καὶ Σοφοκλῆς κτλ.

Fr. 930. The former of these two lines appears to be almost technical in its language, which makes one think of the Latin *per manifestus*. In view of what I have said elsewhere as to the *Ichneutae* exhibiting the Greek equivalent of a search *per lancem et licium*, this is an additional reason for provisionally assigning to that play a *Fragment* that in any case must be included among those that could well belong to it. Blaydes suggests *λάλον* for *κάλον*. Cobet changes *φέρη* to *φορή*: but in tragedy *φέρειν* may apparently replace the *φορεῖν* of prose. Maas takes the *Fragment* to be from the *Ichneutae*.

Fr. 318. This *Fragment* is to a moral certainty from the *Ichneutae*. That is so even if *βοόκλεψ* be read, seeing that *Athenaeus* tells us that the application of the adjective is to *Hermes*. But if we read *βοοῖκλεψ* (and this, the *difficilior lectio*, has at once the better authority and is hard to explain as a corruption), we seem to be face to face with a Satyric peculiarity which clinches the argument. *βοοῖκλεψ* can only be a compound equivalent to *βοῶν οἶκλεψ*, *sheep-stealer of oxen*: compare *ἱπποβουκόλος* (*Euripides, Phoenissae*, l. 28, and *Sophocles, Fr. 1057*), *oxherd of horses*. In normal Greek *οἶκλεψ* would clearly be *οἰόκλεψ* (although the word is not found, and indeed *οἰο-* compounds, with *οἰο-* in the sense of *sheep*, fall only just short of being unknown): yet *οἶκλεψ* is supported by *οἰσύπη* (not *οἰοσύπη*), *lanoline*, and by the proper name *Οἰκλῆς*. But for the purposes of the *Ichneutae* *οἶκλεψ* is more strongly supported by *αἰπόλος*, with the cognate forms *αἰνόμος* and *αἰπός*, both of which, unless I am mistaken, occur in the play and are characteristic of Satyric drama (see *Ch. III.* and *Ch. V. § II. B. 1, c and d*), and by the no less rustic *συβώτης*, *συφορβός*, and *ὑφορβός*. If this be so, *βοοῖκλεψ* is a remarkable example of the same linguistic peculiarity rendered specially strange by the complication of the double composition. There is nothing to show whether *Sophocles'* use of *ἱπποβουκόλος* is or is not Satyric. *βοόκλεψ* may fairly be considered the vulgate reading: Musurus proposed *βοῖκλεψ*, a form to my mind impossible and of which, if the *οι* be meant as a diphthong, the accent is certainly wrong: *Dindorf* emended to *βοῦκλεψ* (the actual existence of which obviously legitimate compound is certified by *Phrynichus* the gram-



marian, with however the false accentuation βούκλεψ in the existing text), objecting, I suppose, not unnaturally to βοόκλεψ in a more or less Attic environment. As a matter of fact no uncontracted βοο- compound occurs in extant tragedy or Satyric drama, not even in a chorus. This circumstance renders the reading βοόκλεψ distinctly improbable. Yet, if βοοῖκλεψ be not the true original, it would seem that βοόκλεψ, not βοῦκλεψ, must be the word that has suffered corruption. Neither the uncial ΒΟΥΚΛΕΥΨ nor the minuscule βουκλεψ would give rise, by way of graphic error, to ΒΟΟΙΚΛΕΥΨ or βοοικλεψ. Nor does etacism in pronunciation help: for, although both οι and υ from a quite early date came to be pronounced in exactly the same way as η (not as η with its original value, but as the French or Italian *i*), so that unliterary scribes could interchange them at will, yet this did not apply to υ as the second element of a diphthong. ου was, and is, pronounced as the French *ou* or the Italian *u*, and it has never been possible to represent the sound by the combination οοι, and therefore βοοῖκλεψ as a phonetic equivalent of βοῦκλεψ is out of the question. βοόκλεψ then must be the parent of the corruption, if corruption there be. Yet not only have we seen that βοόκλεψ itself is improbable, but in addition it becomes evident on consideration that the erroneous insertion of an iota in the middle of βοόκλεψ is a phenomenon, possible indeed, but not particularly likely. Moreover, the writer of codex A of Athenaeus (see my *apparatus criticus*) did not venture to restore βοόκλεψ, but adhered to βοοικλεψ, though he was evidently puzzled by the form, as is shown by the fact that he left it without an accent. From all this it follows that, if βοοῖκλεψ is a possible form, it would seem to be the preferable reading. That in Satyric drama it is a possible form, I think that I have established. But I must not be understood as claiming that the data are sufficient for certainty: what would seem to be the preferable reading is not necessarily the true reading, and in a case of this kind caution is eminently desirable.

Fr. 933. Maas assigns this *Fragment* to the *Ichneutae*: but the word ἀνδρί, as applied to Hermes, or at least to a person such as Hermes (the stricter way, I think, of putting it), is sufficiently inelegant, on the double ground of his godhead and of his infancy, to lead me to consider Maas' assignment as, on the whole, contrary to the weight of probability.

## APPENDIX

### TO INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS

Quicumque deus, quicumque adhibebitur heros,  
Regali conspectus in ostro nuper et auro.

HORACE

NOT until I had surveyed with considerable minuteness the whole Satyric field and in fact had already corrected most of the proof-sheets of this volume, did it dawn upon me that the fourth play of a tetralogy may afford a clue to the contents of the three plays preceding it.

It is evident from the words of Horace (*Ars Poetica*, ll. 227-228) which I have set at the head of this *Appendix* that it was the practice of Greek writers to borrow some at least of the tragic personages figuring in a Satyric drama from the particular tragic trilogy to which that drama was attached: on any other interpretation *nuper* would be quite meaningless.

Now, so far as we are able to determine, Satyric dramas are constructed on one or the other of two models. In the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles—presumably representative of the older type—we have (a) a Chorus of Satyrs, (b) one Satyric character only, *viz.* Silenus, and (c) three tragic characters, *viz.* Apollo, Cyllene, and Hermes. In the *Cyclops* of Euripides—presumably representative of the newer type—we have (a) a Chorus of Satyrs, (b) two Satyric characters, *viz.* Silenus and the Cyclops, and (c) one tragic character only, *viz.* Ulysses. There exist strong reasons for assuming that the type which employs three tragic characters draws one of them from each of the three plays of the trilogy.

First, there is the *a priori* argument that, in view of Horace's inevitable implication that some at least of the characters of a Satyric drama were taken from the trilogy, it would be most inelegant and contrary to the Greek sense of order that all of them should not be taken from the trilogy, or that they should be so taken in any other ratio than that of one from each play. Secondly, there is the *a posteriori* argument that the assumption, if made, will—as will be seen—work admirably. Thirdly, the following special consideration is of weight.

It is a consideration that does not admit of very brief statement. It is based on the fact that a reason is needed why Euripides, in opposition to the general bent of his genius, should have substituted, as is seen in his *Cyclops*, the simplicity, or rather the crudity, of the employment of a solitary tragic character for the comparative complication, as seen in Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, of the employment of three tragic characters. Perhaps the reason is not far to seek. It will not be seriously disputed, either on the *a priori* probabilities,

or on the evidence, though scanty, of the Satyric titles, that Aeschylus made of his Satyric dramas real pendants to his trilogies : the subject-matter was roughly the same. But Sophocles, when he started to compose unconnected trilogies, must obviously have found himself unable to add a similar pendant. I maintain that what he actually did was to maintain a pre-existent rule that one tragic character from each play of the trilogy, *i.e.* three tragic characters in all, should be combined in the Satyric drama. But this course must have led to considerable difficulties. Especially, given three tragedies of three quite different mythological dates, no three tragic characters, unless two at least of them were immortals or quasi-immortals, could possibly be combined in the Satyric drama. This obvious fact accounts, I think, both for the prominence given to *deus* in the passage from Horace's *Ars Poetica* and also for the otherwise most singular circumstance that in Sophocles' *Ichneutae* the tragic characters are two gods and one nymph, the human element being entirely excluded from the play. It is this difficulty (a difficulty which, although comparatively seldom, must have confronted even Aeschylus) of combining in one Satyric drama three characters taken from three tragedies of three discrepant mythological dates that, I suggest, caused Euripides to throw over the whole system. The difficulty was not merely a difficulty : it was also a temptation—a temptation to interfere illegitimately with the due structure of the trilogy in order to facilitate the composition of the Satyric drama. I know of no assumption that will equally well explain Euripides' action.

But at this point I must stem a sub-current of suspicion, that there exists some uncertainty as to the exact nature of Sophocles' innovation. Suidas is commonly thought to have stated that Sophocles introduced a custom of competing "play against play" and not "by tetralogies." Though modern scholars have pointed out that such a method of competition is incompatible with our knowledge of the rules obtaining at the Athenian Dionysia, yet the supposed statement of Suidas has bred a certain sense of insecurity. Furthermore it is a fact that from the ordinary sources of information we can obtain not even the slightest hint of any three plays of Sophocles having in any sense formed a trilogy, nor, *a fortiori*, of any four of his plays having in any sense formed a tetralogy. The natural result is a good deal of, perhaps unavowedly, suspended judgement, or at least of bewilderment.

Now the existing text of Suidas runs (*s.v.* Σοφοκλῆς) : καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξε τοῦ δρᾶμα πρὸς δρᾶμα ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ στρατολογίαν (*v.l.* στρατολογεῖσθαι). The reading στρατολογεῖσθαι is evidently an attempt to produce at least grammar. στρατολογία is more original, and editors have seen that τετραλογία should be substituted. This means that we ought to read : καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξε τοῦ δ' ἅμα πρὸς δράματ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τετραλογία, *And moreover he initiated the practice of competing on the basis of four plays together, but not on that of a tetralogy.* So only can we give to τετραλογία a grammatical construction and to ἀλλὰ its proper force. Moreover the slight emendation brings Suidas' statement into line with known facts. Elisions, such as in δράματ', are fertile parents of corruption.



Of course Suidas is using τετραλογία in a specialised sense, which, for my purposes, I do not propose to adopt.

As for the deficiency of record of the actual tetralogies of Sophocles, it must be remembered that only a few of the tetralogies of Aeschylus, in spite of the fact that they formed unities, are recorded, and of the tetralogies of Euripides, favourite though he was, three and no more. Therefore it would not be surprising, if of the tetralogies of Sophocles, disconnected, like those of Euripides, as regards the component plays, none whatever stood on the record (the reason for the absence of *allusion*—a different thing from *record*—will appear later). But, as a matter of fact, we know by express testimony, though not through the most ordinary channels, of one Sophoclean tetralogy. The testimony is cited indeed in the current books of reference, but it is slurred over in such a way that it attracts little attention. It is this. An inscription (see *Hermes*, xxiii. 283) testifies to the revival of a Sophoclean tetralogy at Rhodes at an uncertain date, B.C. The inscription, which is mutilated, runs: —]ΕΑCΘΟ-ΚΑΕΟΥCΚΑΙΟΔΥCΘΕ[. .] ΑΙΙΒΗΡΑCΚΑΙCΑΤΥΡΙΚΟΝΘΑΕ [—, i.e. ]έα Σοφοκλέους καὶ Ὀδυσσεύ[α κ]αὶ Ἰβήρας καὶ σατυρικὸν Τηλε[—. It is sufficiently conclusive. I deal in the proper place with the probable restoration of the text.

There is then no reason to suspect that Sophocles interrupted the practice of presenting tetralogies, and therefore we are free to adopt my hypothesis without any misgivings on that score.

I will now proceed first to test my hypothesis on all known tetralogies of authorship such that it may be presumed that the Satyric plays concluding them presented three, or at any rate several, tragic characters apiece, and then (for, in my opinion, it will be found to stand the test) to see what use can be made of it in fixing other tetralogies at present undetermined.

We may take it that the presentation of three tragic characters, or at least of a plurality of tragic characters, in the Satyric drama, seen in Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, but not seen in Euripides' *Cyclops*, is a mark of the older school. We may therefore probably attribute it, in the absence of contrary evidence, to all connected tetralogies and also to the transitional variety of unconnected tetralogies introduced by Sophocles, though not to the developed variety favoured by Euripides. In practice this means that, at the present state of the inquiry, we have to deal with the recorded tetralogies of Aeschylus and Sophocles only, although Polyphradmon's recorded tetralogy, the *Lycurgia*, would also come in question, were we acquainted with the names of its constituent plays.

The recorded tetralogies of Aeschylus are, the first three in order of production, (1) the *Phineus*, the *Persae*, the *Glaucus*, the *Prometheus Satyricus*, (2) the *Laius*, the *Oedipus*, the *Septem contra Thebas*, the *Sphinx Satyrica*, (3) the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoroe*, the *Eumenides*, the *Proteus Satyricus*, and (4) an undated tetralogy consisting of the *Edoni*, the *Bassarides*, the *Neanisci*, the *Lycurgus Satyricus*. No tetralogy of Aeschylus is exclusively recorded minus its Satyric drama, or in any other incomplete form. I will take these four tetralogies one by one.

## (1)

Aeschylus' *Phineus*, *Persae*, *Glaucus*, *Prometheus Satyricus*.

The problems presented by this tetralogy are interesting to the verge of fascination. The *Persae*, being fully extant, affords us our main *point d'appui*. We have to discover (a) how any of the doings of Phineus can fitly be so treated as to form the first chapter of a story of which the *Persae* forms the second, (b) which of the two *Glauci* it is that forms the third chapter of the same story, and how, and (c) in what way a play relating to Prometheus can be added as Satyric epilogue, and incidentally whether that play is on the one hand either the *Prometheus Pyrcaeus*, as distinct from the *Prometheus Pyrphoros*, or *vice versa*, or on the other hand a play called indiscriminately the *Prometheus Pyrcaeus* and the *Prometheus Pyrphoros*.

These problems are by no means so difficult as at first sight they seem. I believe that I can establish with high probability that the *Glaucus* is the *Glaucus Pontios*, and that the *Glaucus Pontios* deals with the defeat at Himera of the Carthaginians by Gelo on the very day, according to Herodotus, of the battle of Salamis, and with the subsequent shattering in a storm of the Punic fleet: no closer connexion with the *Persae* could be desired. Just as the Elizabethans attributed the defeat of the Armada to "Protestant winds," so the *Athenians* (Herodotus, VII. 189) attributed to Boreas, and to his Athenian wife Orithyia, a considerable part of the misfortunes of the Persian fleet: for dramatic purposes the almost simultaneous shattering of the Punic fleet could well be attributed to the same agency. In this, I conceive, lies the connexion of the *Phineus* with the rest of the story. Phineus was husband of Cleopatra, daughter of Boreas and Orithyia: he had dealings, variously recorded, with Zetes and Calais, sons of Boreas and Orithyia, and, according to some, was either blinded or killed by Boreas himself. In these circumstances, we may confidently assume in the *Phineus* some dramatic preparation, perhaps in part a prophecy, for the destruction of the Persian and Punic fleets. When I come to the Satyric drama, I seem to find abundant confirmation. The indications, to my mind, are clear that the *Prometheus Pyrcaeus* and the *Prometheus Pyrphoros* are identical, not only with one another, but also with the *Orithyia*, and that the plot of the play is the foundation of the Promethean Lampadephoría at Athens on the occasion of the carrying off of Orithyia by Boreas. I have laid down the outline of the tetralogy. Now for arguments and details.

The tetralogy is given in the argument to the *Persae* as Φινεΐ, Πέρσαις, Γλαύκῳ, Προμηθεΐ.

The *Fragments* of the *Phineus* are most exiguous, and the play seems to have perished early, not being mentioned in the Medicean catalogue. But Philodemus (*De Pietate*, p. 18: circa 50 B.C.) records in a mutilated passage that Aeschylus in a play, of which the name is represented by a lacuna, speaks of the ——— (doubtless *killing*) of the Harpies by the ——— (doubtless *sons of Boreas*). This counts as *Phineus*, *Fr.* 260. It is not much to go on; but coupled with overwhelming antecedent probability, it may suffice. *Phineus* (so called by editors), *Fr.* 259, also seems to refer to Zetes and Calais;

but I disagree, as will be seen when I come to a Herculean tetralogy, with the emendation that assigns it to the *Phineus*. *Phineus*, *Fr.* 259, the only quite certain *Fragment*, is irrelevant. But from this *Fragment* alone (Athenaeus, x. 421 f), apart from the argument to the *Persae*, do we definitely know of the existence of the *Phineus*.

The *Glaucus* stands as a sequel to the *Persae*. As it is Aeschylus (and a very early tetralogy of Aeschylus) that we are dealing with, the action of the *Glaucus* must be either subsequent to, or at least contemporaneous with, that of the *Persae*. This consideration absolutely rules out the *Glaucus Potnieus*: that Glaucus was eaten by horses in mythological times. Therefore we must completely neglect the effort of a late scholiast, who adds Πोटνιεύς in the argument to the *Persae*: the same blunder occurs in Hesychius' ascription of *Glaucus Pontios*, *Fr.* 33 (certified as such by *Fr.* 32, the subject-matter of which is conclusive). We are left with the *Glaucus Pontios*, but with a *Glaucus Pontios* the action of which is in or after the year 480 B.C. The battle of Himera at once suggests itself as the obvious counterpart of the battle of Salamis, and when we find in the *Glaucus Pontios*, *Fr.* 32,

καλοῖσι λουτροῖς ἐκλελουμένος (so Heyne: ms. ἐκλέλουμαι)  
δέμας,  
εἰς ὑψίκρημον 'Ιμέραν δ' ἀφικόμην,

someone, apparently the sea-god Glaucus himself (*cf.* *Frr.* 30 and 31), going to Himera from, it would seem, Euboea (*Fr.* 30 and 31), *via* Rhegium (*Fr.* 33), the suggestion becomes something like a certainty (Welcker alone seems in the main to have appreciated this). We are confronting, fairly clearly, Glaucus' annual peregrination of the islands, and, in particular, a peregrination in which he witnessed the battle of Salamis and hastening at full speed to Himera brought news of the victory, only in his turn to receive news of the other victory there. With whom then did he converse at or near Himera? A deity seems to be required. It probably was Boreas, waiting to batter the Carthaginian ships on their homeward voyage: Orithyia would be too specifically Attic. I cannot suggest what other characters took part, nor who formed the Chorus. I have effectively linked the *Glaucus* both with the *Phineus* and with the *Persae*: that is enough. But I have also, I think, accounted for the fact that Aeschylus thought it worth while to reproduce the tetralogy in Sicily.

We know from the titles of this tetralogy and also from *Fr.* 207 that a *Prometheus* by Aeschylus was Satyric. We have no positive reason whatever for making two plays of the *Pyrcaeus* and the *Pyrphoros*, the titles of which are so similar as to suggest identity. We know from a *scholium* on the *Prometheus Vincius* (l. 94) that the action of the *Pyrphoros* takes place *after* Prometheus has been bound 30,000 years, so that that play cannot be the first of the unrecorded *Prometheus* tetralogy. When I come to that tetralogy, I shall show cause for supposing that its plays were the *Prometheus Vincius*, the *Prometheus Solutus*, the *Nereides*, and a play that might be entitled *Centauri quasi Satyrici*. Therefore—though not much turns on the point—I identify the *Prometheus* of the *Phineus* tetralogy both with the *Pyrcaeus*



and with the *Pyrphoros*. In positive support of this double identification I would point out that the date of the action (see just above) of the *Pyrphoros*, which precludes the play being concerned with the gift of fire to men, and also the title *Pyrphoros* itself, suggest something in the nature of a Lampadephoria, and that similarly the connexion of the *Pyrcaeus* with a gymnasium—Pollux (x. 64) introduces *Fr.* 205 with the words: τῶν δὲ γυμνασίοις προσηκόντων σκευῶν—carries the same suggestion. This observation as to a Lampadephoria has also, it will be seen, a wider bearing.

I also identify—and this identification is more important than the other—the *Prometheus Satyricus* with the *Orithyia*. The only *Fragment* quoted as from the *Orithyia*, and indeed the only mention of a play so named, come in Longinus (*De Subl.* III. 1), supplemented, as regards an important lacuna, by a sort of summary in John the Siceliot (*Walz' Rhet.* VI. 225). The *Fragment*, with its Satyric exaggeration of language and with its reference to Fire, can scarcely come from any play other than a Satyric *Prometheus*. It is fairly clear that Prometheus, not at the time bound, can hardly (see how he is dealt with in the *Prometheus Vincitus*) have appeared in person in the *Prometheus Satyricus*, so that it is reasonable that the drama should have had also a quite different title. The *Fragment* of the *Orithyia* (*Fr.* 281) runs in the vulgate :

καὶ καμίνου σχῶσι μάκιστον σέλας.  
εἰ γάρ τιν' ἔστιοῦχον ὄψομαι μόνον,  
μίαν παρείρας πλεκτάνην χειμάρροον  
στέγην πυρώσω καὶ κατανθρακώσομαι.  
νῦν δ' οὐ κέκραγά πω τὸ γενναῖον μέλος.

5

We gather from Longinus that Boreas is speaking. In l. 2 we ought to read νομόν for μόνον, though νομόν would hardly be tolerable in real tragedy. Translate: "If I shall spy a haunt that hath a hearth." We must read l. 5 as

μυνδοῦ 'κ κέκραξ γ' ἄπτω τὸ γενναῖον μέλος,

*Dumb erst, a brawler now, I frame this slogan of my clan.* I put forward this restoration with considerable confidence: Boreas is declaiming in character as a wind, hushed at one time, boisterous at another. οὐ κέκραγά πω is impossible: κέκραγα is always a present. Besides, the line, as it stands, is babyish.

We may suppose that Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, falls in with Silenus and the Satyrs in the Academy. Silenus and the Satyrs are no doubt slaves of Prometheus, who is hidden in some secret place in the neighbouring woodland. A Messenger arrives from Prometheus, who, knowing what is about to happen, and being minded to establish a Lampadephoria, gives to the Satyrs, as he gave of old to men, the boon of Fire. The Messenger retires. The Satyrs behave ludicrously with the Fire (*Fr.* 206 and 207). Enter to them Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, who while taking the air outside the city walls has been surprised by Boreas and is fleeing for refuge. She appeals to the Satyrs, who conceal her in an adjacent hut. Boreas bursts in and calls on the Satyrs to produce Orithyia. They,

emulating for the nonce the *εὐλανθροπία* of their temporary master, stoutly refuse. A furious scene ensues, in which Boreas, who has learnt that they are slaves of Prometheus, proclaims his revengeful intention (*Fr.* 281) of burning up the house of anyone that makes use of the Fire of that deity. He is partially appeased by a promise to refer the matter to Prometheus himself, and leaves the stage, saying that he will soon return to receive Prometheus' answer. The Messenger re-enters, sent to ask the cause of the tumult. He returns to Prometheus to state the position of affairs. Orithyia emerges from the hut and converses further with the Satyrs, and here, as in other parts of the play, comes a choric ode. Hearing someone coming, Orithyia goes back to the hut. The Messenger again re-enters, bringing a revelation of the future from Prometheus, from whom he also brings and announces a permission of the union on the terms that Boreas, a great runner, and afterwards father of runners, shall train Silenus and the Satyrs as, together with himself, a team to compete in the Promethean Lampadephoria about to be instituted. This involves manumitting Silenus and the Satyrs, as clearly only freemen can compete. The Messenger departs and Orithyia comes out of the hut, is told the future, abandons her scruples, and goes back to the hut. Boreas returns. He hears and accepts the terms, and everything ends happily.

I do not mean that this reconstruction is correct in any kind of detail. But, if I have got hold of the right general idea, some such working of it out is necessitated by the data and especially by the limitation of employing only two actors, though I ask my readers to draw every distinction between any *exempli gratia* suggestions and the more solid substructure.

Yet there are two special points that I wish to emphasise. (1) The Promethean Lampadephoria at Athens was a team-race that started from the temple of Prometheus in the Academy. We know from inscriptions that an Athenian team in a Lampadephoria consisted of fourteen runners, one of the fourteen being the trainer. Now the Satyric Chorus is a Chorus of twelve. Twelve Satyrs + Silenus + the trainer, Boreas, = fourteen runners. But if Silenus were choragus and not a *dramatis persona*, we should only have thirteen runners. Therefore Silenus is a *dramatis persona*. Therefore, in view of the limitation of two actors, Silenus, Boreas, and Orithyia cannot be all three on the stage at one and the same time. But as, both in the *Ichneutae* and in the *Cylops*, Silenus always stays with the Satyrs, when they are on the stage, that means in practice that Boreas and Orithyia cannot both be on the stage together. Hence my suggestion of an adjacent place of concealment for Orithyia. (2) The absence, which seems inevitable in this play, of Prometheus in person from the stage necessitates the extremely free use of a Messenger. The Messenger in fact becomes a very prominent feature. But, seeing that we are dealing with the institution of a Lampadephoria, we seem to need, not an ordinary Messenger, but an Oriental Courier, a Persian ἀγγαρος, to suggest the form that it should take. Herodotus (VIII. 98) compares the λαμπραδηφορία to a Persian ἀγγαρήτιον, and the same idea was present to the mind of Aeschylus himself in connexion with the metaphorical λαμπραδηφορία in the *Agamemnon* (ἀγγάρου πυρός. *Ag.* l. 282).

If by any chance the Messenger in the *Prometheus Satyricus* could be an Oriental Courier, picked up somewhere by Prometheus, everything would fit to a nicety.

Now, if we adopt my hypothesis of the borrowing by a Satyric drama of one tragic character from each tragedy of the preceding trilogy, there is only one character that by any chronological possibility can be borrowed by the *Prometheus Satyricus* from the *Persae*, and that person is the Oriental Courier. None of the other characters were born until long after the date of the action of the Satyric drama. But an ἄγγελος is not an individual: he has no name: he is a type, and as immortal as is a god. It is, I think, a Satyric touch to bring in the Oriental Messenger from the *Persae*.

Orithyia comes, I suggest, from the *Phineus*, Boreas from the *Glaucus Pontios*. I certainly, from this tetralogy, have not proved my hypothesis: but, especially as concerns the *Persae*, I feel that I have commended it.

## (2)

Aeschylus' *Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Septem contra Thebas*, *Sphinx Satyrica*.

This tetralogy is recorded in the argument to the *Septem* in the words: Λαίῳ, Οἰδίποδι, Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, Σφιγρὶ σατυρικῇ. It presents a peculiar and perhaps instructive feature. Though only the *Septem* is extant, we know roughly the subject-matter of each of the other three plays. The *Laius* must have dealt, at least in part, with the exposure of the infant Oedipus (this is confirmed by *Fr.* 122): the *Oedipus* must have been similar in plot to Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (this is confirmed by *Fr.* 173): the *Sphinx* must have treated of the destruction of the Sphinx by Oedipus (this needs no confirmation, but in fact seems to be partially confirmed by *Fr.* 235, which speaks of the crowning of a ξένος, doubtless Oedipus). We thus see that the action of the Satyric drama is in this case intermediate in time between that of the first and that of the second tragedy, and further that it stands in the main line of the events treated in the trilogy. That is the feature which I mean. Normally even if the Satyric drama has not an action either precedent or subsequent to the whole trilogy, it has at least an action sufficiently remote from the important events of the trilogy for it not to strike one as a chapter put in a wrong place. But the *Sphinx* does so strike one. I submit that my hypothesis furnishes the only reasonable justification of this awkwardness. The story of the Sphinx is indeed a tempting Satyric subject; but, apart from what I suggest as the necessity of taking one tragic character from each play of the trilogy, other relevant enough episodes, subsequent to the action of the *Septem*, offer a wide field of choice (*cf.* the *Fragment* which I assign to Pratinas).

As it is, Oedipus himself certainly comes in from the *Oedipus*: I suggest also Creon from the *Laius* and from the *Septem* probably the Herald, who would be useful in the negotiations with the Sphinx. As the Sphinx is a non-tragic character, Silenus is not wanted as a character, so that presumably he functions merely as *choragus* of the Satyrs.



## (3)

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon Choephoroe, Eumenides, Proteus Satyricus*.

Contrary perhaps to expectation, seeing that all three plays of the trilogy are extant, this tetralogy is far from instructive. It is recorded in the argument to the *Agamemnon* ('Αγαμέμνονι, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμενίσσι, Πρωτεῖ σατυρικῶ), and in a *scholium* on Aristophanes' *Ranae*, l. 1124 ('Αγαμέμνονα, Χοηφόρους, Εὐμενίδας, Πρωτέα σατυρικόν). The same *scholium* informs us that Aristarchus and Apollonius speak of the trilogy, omitting notice of the Satyric drama. That both these great scholars should have done this is an illuminating fact: it shows that some of the very best talent of Alexandria was unduly concerned with literary merit to the exclusion of scientific accuracy. The *Fragments* of the *Proteus*, though only six in number, show that the play was in some sense known long after Alexandrian times, three of them even coming from Hesychius. It finds a place in the Medicean catalogue. None of the *Fragments* seem to shed the slightest light on the plot, except that *Fr.* 210 appears to refer to an omen either identical with, or at least similar to, that recorded in *Iliad* II. ll. 303-320, so that the action of the play is probably precedent to the siege of Troy. But from the way in which this *Fragment* is introduced by Athenaeus (IX. 394 A), we may, I think, learn something important. The words in his present text are: Αἰσχύλου ἐν τῷ τραγικῷ Πρωτεῖ οὕτω μνημονεύοντος. Of course τραγικῶ is impossible. Something more or less equivalent in meaning to σατυρικῶ must be substituted. Casaubon proposed σατυρικῶ itself; but the *ductus literarum* forbids. In view of the power of metamorphosis possessed by Proteus, I do not hesitate to read ἐν τῷ Τραγίσκῳ Πρωτεῖ. Silenus and the real Satyrs are absent: in their place appear a set of mock Satyrs, Proteus and his sea-monsters.

The only serviceable legend—and a Satyric drama must deal with a real legend, though it interpolate Satyrs—about Proteus (Menelaus' encounter with him being *nihil ad rem*) is that which makes him settle in Thrace, where his sons behave so barbarously to strangers that he prays his father, Poseidon, to take him back to Egypt, whither he returns *via* a chasm opened for him at Pallene. Agamemnon can easily be made to call at Pallene on his way out to Troy.

The Chorus of Satyrs seems then to be replaced by a marine chorus in the semblance of Satyrs, and the Satyric character, Silenus, by Proteus Tragiscus. The three tragic characters may well be Agamemnon, taken from the *Agamemnon*, the Retainer, taken from the *Choephoroe* (from that play no one else seems possible), and either Apollo or Athene (of which two I choose the former as more fitted to be brought, without offence, into the Satyric atmosphere) from the *Eumenides*. At any rate there is nothing here to contradict my hypothesis, though, I may confess, there is very little to contradict anything.

## (4)

Aeschylus' *Edoni, Bassarides, Neanisci, Lycurgus Satyricus*.

This tetralogy is recorded in a *scholium* on Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriasuzae*, l. 135, in the words: 'Ηδώνους, Βασσαρίδας, Νεανίσκους, Λυκοῦργον τὸν σατυρικόν. The unusual employment of the definite

article before *σατυρικόν* implies that the *Edoni* was likewise called the *Lycurgus*, seeing that the *scholium* goes on : λέγει δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἡδώνοις (*And Lycurgus says in the Edoni*) κτλ. We know from Strabo also (x. 470 *et seq.*) that Lycurgus was a character in Aeschylus' *Edoni*. From the remainder of the *scholium* above mentioned, from Strabo (*l.c.*) and from Longinus (*de Subl.* 15, 6) we further learn that Dionysus was a character in the *Edoni*. Dionysus was in addition closely concerned with the action of the *Bassarides* (see especially *Scholia*—Breyssig—on Germanicus Caesar's translation of Aratus, p. 84, 11), and very likely was a character in that play as well. The *Neanisci* suggests by its title that Lycurgus' son, Dryas, was a character in it. The plot of the *Lycurgus Satyricus* is not known to us by any direct evidence : neither from the three extant *Fragments* nor from a statement preserved (in a *scholium* on Theocritus, *Id.* x. l. 18) from a *hypomnema* of Aristarchus on the play does any light flow. But the one apparently appropriate legend on record is that of the slaying of Dryas by Lycurgus, who mistook him for a vine, at the instigation of Dionysus. Assuming this legend to be that of the Satyric drama, I suggest that Lycurgus is borrowed from the *Edoni*, Dionysus from the *Bassarides*, and Dryas from the *Neanisci*. I would add a chorus of Satyrs, and, as Satyric character, Silenus. There is nothing here of even a remotely demonstrative nature : still my hypothesis contributes to a reasonable and workable, if quite uncertain, conclusion.

#### Polyphradmon's Tetralogy, the *Lycurgia*.

This is mentioned in the argument to Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* in the words : τρίτος Πολυφράσμων (the poet is Πολυφράδμων) Λυκούργιαι (read Λυκούργεῖα) τετραλογία. As the name of no one of the plays is preserved, I cannot discuss this tetralogy.

Philocles' Tetralogy, the *Pandionis*, comprising a play called the *Tereus sive Epps*.

This tetralogy is in almost like case with the *Lycurgia* of Polyphradmon. The record is threefold. In a *scholium* on Aristophanes' *Aves* (l. 281) we read : οὗτος ὁ Φιλοκλῆς ἔποπα ἐσχεύασεν ἐν τῇ Πανδιονίδι τετραλογίᾳ. In a second *scholium* on the same line we find : Φιλοκλεῖ ἔστι δρᾶμα Τηρεὺς ἢ Ἔποψ. In a third *scholium* on the same line we have : εἴη ἂν οὖν τὸν ἔποπα ἐσχευοποιηκῶς τῇ Πανδιονίδι τετραλογίᾳ, ἣν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ταῖς Διδασκαλίαις ἀναγράφει.

#### Meletus' Tetralogy, the *Oedipodeia*.

Of this tetralogy also we know next to nothing. The record, in a *scholium* on Plato (893 A), is : ᾧ ἔτει οἱ Πελαργοὶ (of Aristophanes, date unknown) ἐδιδάσκοντο καὶ ὁ Μέλητος Οἰδιποδεῖαν καθήκεν, ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης Διδασκαλίαις.

Euripides' *Peliades*, ? , ? , ? .

The record runs (*Life of Euripides*, 135, 30) : ἤρξατο δὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος κατ' Ὀλυμπιάδα πα' ἔτει α', πρῶτον δ' ἐδίδαξε τὰς Πελιάδας, ὅτε καὶ τρίτος ἐγένετο. From this it follows that the

*Peliades* was the first play of a tetralogy (thus the tetralogy is in a sense, though most imperfectly), recorded, and—seeing that the occasion is only three years after the production of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*—of a connected tetralogy. The plot deals with the boiling of Pelias. No play seems possible as the second of this Medean tetralogy except the *Aegeus* (the names either of all or of almost all Euripides' tragedies are known to us). The third play is perhaps the *Alae*, the *Wanderings* of Medea. This we may infer from an inscription (*C.I.A.* II. 992), which, though mainly alphabetical, interrupts a list of Euripidean plays beginning with Π by placing "Αλαι between [Περί]δες and Π[αι]σθένης: I dispute the view that 'Αλαι, a deme, not a play, is meant. Of the Satyric drama we know nothing.

I have now dealt with all the *connected* tetralogies in any sense on positive record. I will proceed to deal with the one recorded tetralogy of Sophocles. Though Sophocles wrote *unconnected* tetralogies (unconnected at least as regards the trilogies), yet we see from his *Ichneutae*, that unlike Euripides in his *Cyclops*, he yet presented three tragic characters (not one tragic character only) in a Satyric drama. I have taken this feature as indicating temporary adherence to tradition in spite of changed circumstances and as marking a transitional phase. With Sophocles the practice of employing three tragic characters in a Satyric drama seems to have died. We possess no indication that until Sositheus (who presumably brought it back as a part of his reversion to antique models) it was ever revived except in the solitary instance of the quasi-Satyric *Syleus* of Euripides (the younger, as I shall in due course suggest), which play appears to be composed on the full model of a tragedy and not to draw on other plays for its tragic characters.

Sophocles' — *-es* or *-eus*, *Ulysses*, *Iberes*, *Tele*— *Satyricus*.

This is the only tetralogy of Sophocles of which we know, at least in part, the names of the constituent plays by direct evidence. An inscription (see *Hermes* XXIII. 283) testifies to the reproduction of the tetralogy at Rhodes at an uncertain date, B.C. It runs: —]εασφοκλεουσχοιοδυσε[ακ]αιβηρασκαισατυρικοντηλε[—].

The first play must have either a nominative ending in *-εύς*, or else a nominative ending in *-ής* and forming an accusative in *-έα*. As we know the names of, at any rate, very nearly all Sophocles' genuine tragedies, this fact suggests that the drama in question is one of the nine following:—the *Aegeus*, the *Atrous*, the *Iocles*, the *Nauplius*, the *Pyrcaeus*, the *Peleus*, *Phineus I.*, *Phineus II.*, the *Tereus*, the *Theseus*.

The second play may be either the *Ulysses Furens*, or the *Ulysses Acanthoplex*, and the third, the *Iberes*, must, one would think from its title, deal with the story of Hercules and Geryon.

The Satyric drama, as even the names of numerous of Sophocles' Satyric plays have perished, can be fixed if at all only by reference to the names of mythological characters beginning with *Tele*-. Sophocles wrote a *Telephus*: but that play is more probably a tragedy, the story of Telephus not really lending itself to Satyric treatment. *Telegonus*, on the other hand, would be a highly possible restoration.



A Telegonus, not the son of Ulysses and Circe, wrestled with Hercules at Torone and was overthrown by him. Compare Euripides' *Busiris* and *Theristae*. I cannot with probability suggest any other name than *Telegonus*.

What if the tetralogy consisted of the *Iocles*, the *Ulysses Furens*, the *Iberes*, and the *Telegonus Satyricus*? There is here no trilogy in the Aeschylean sense: but there are three tragedies, each of which could contribute one fitting character to the Satyric drama.

Hercules of course would be brought in from the *Iberes*: he is the perfect tragic character for Satyric purposes. His squire and natural attendant (except in his formal "labours"), Iolaus, would step over from the *Iocles*. The *Ulysses Furens* would find its representative in Laertes, who was a contemporary and—at least in the Calydonian hunt—a companion of Hercules.

A word as to the *Iocles*. Quotations from that play, *eo nomine*, occur once in Pollux (x. 39) and once in a *scholium* on Aristophanes (*Eq.* l. 498). In the latter place *codex* V gives Ἰοκλέους, the other mss. Ἰολάου. Now Ἰολάου is not an accidental corruption of Ἰοκλέους: it is an intentional alteration, effected in order to show that the story of Iolaus is the subject of the play. Therefore, although at least eight times in Greek literature Οἰκλῆς and its cases are corrupted into Ἰοκλῆς and its cases, I cannot agree with Pearson in adopting Brunck's suggestion that here also and in Pollux the *Iocles* is a mistake for the *Oecles*. Indeed the frequency of the corruption is surely an argument that Ἰοκλῆς was better known than Οἰκλῆς, not that no Ἰοκλῆς ever existed. Iphicles was father of Iolaus: on the strength of the variation of reading in the *scholium* lately mentioned, I take it that Iolaus, not Iphicles, is meant by the name *Iocles*.

After in my own mind essaying unsuccessfully a variety of other combinations, I have here suggested a possible account of this tetralogy and an account consistent with the reasonable assumption that, seeing that in the *Ichneutae* Sophocles presents three tragic characters, he drew for his Satyric dramas on each tragedy of the trilogy to the extent of one character. All I will claim is that my results are very largely controlled by the conditions. Take, for example, the *Atreus*, instead of the *Iocles*, as the first play, and then see whether it is possible to make up a Satyric drama that will pass muster. That I am able, without awkwardness, to apply my hypothesis in this case is at least something in its favour.

On my showing, in addition to the three tragic characters I have mentioned, there would be one Satyric character, Telegonus, and consequently Silenus would, I suggest, appear, not as a character, but, if at all, as leader of the Chorus of Satyrs.

At this point I must discuss a recorded trilogy of Euripides, which may properly, I apprehend, be viewed as an imperfectly recorded tetralogy. There is reason to suppose that the fourth play, missing from the particular record, is the *Syleus*. It is known that the *Syleus* is quasi-Satyric, *i.e.* fully Satyric in tone, but with another Chorus substituted for the normal Chorus of Satyrs. It is to all intents and purposes certain that the *Syleus* presents three tragic characters: that

is why I take the matter into account at this stage. It is highly tenable that the *Syleus*, as distinguished from the trilogy, is the work of Euripides the younger.

Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulide*, *Alcmaeon Corinthi*, *Bacchae*: no Fourth Play is recorded.

This trilogy is recorded in a *scholium* on Aristophanes' *Ranae*, l. 67, on the authority of the *didascaliae*, in the words Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι, Ἀλκμαίωνα (*codex V*: Ἀλκμαίων διονα), Βάκχας. The second play is the *Alcmaeon Corinthi*, not the *Alcmaeon Psophide*, which latter, as we know from the argument to Euripides' *Alcestis*, belonged to the *Cressae*, *Alcmaeon Psophide*, *Telephus*, *Alcestis* tetralogy. I suggest that V's Ἀλκμαίων διονα is a miswriting of Ἀλκμαίων δτον, a brachygrapheme of Ἀλκμαίωνα δεύτερον. We learn from the same *scholium* and on the same authority that the three plays of the trilogy were composed by Euripides, but were produced after his death by his son and namesake ἐν ᾧσται. Thus a fourth play is necessary. The circumstance that the fourth play is not mentioned seems to suggest that it was supplied by Euripides the younger. Suidas, who does not recognise Euripides *filis* as a writer, attributes (*s.v.* Εὐριπίδης Μνησάρχου) the presentation to Euripides *neveu*. His text now runs: νίκας δὲ ἀνείλετο ε', τὰς μὲν δ' περιών, τὴν δὲ μίαν μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ἐπιδειξαμένου τὸ δράμα τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐριπίδου. The nonsensical τὸ δράμα should be τὸ ὄραμα, which suits ἐπιδειξαμένου; note that by the use of τὸ ὄραμα Suidas avoids burdening his rapid statement with details as to trilogy and tetralogy.

Now the old grammarians knew of eight "Satyric" dramas attributed to Euripides (we also know of eight such—taking the Satyric and the quasi-Satyric together, but excluding the *Alcestis*, which is a true tragedy—or, if the *Autolycus* and the *Sisyphus* be identical, of seven). But of the eight the authenticity of one (of which one we are not informed) was doubted. Suidas apparently denied it outright, recognising only 77, not 78, extant plays. It looks as if it is the last play of this tetralogy that was in question.

The play that was doubted must, I conceive, have been the *Syleus*. The *Syleus* is an experiment wholly unique in the known field of Satyric drama. We gather from ancient authorities (the references, which it would be a long matter to discuss in detail, can be consulted in Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*) not only the general plot, but also a fair amount of the particular treatment. This information renders it certain that the play—though Silenus and the Satyrs are absent, their places being taken by a Farm-Bailiff and his Labourers—is in every real sense as Satyric as is the *Cyclops* itself, not tragic, with a dash of something else, like the *Alcestis*. In this particular respect it does not appear to differ from the *Autolycus* and the *Busiris*: but in other respects it does. The *Autolycus* and the *Busiris* are apparently composed on the same model as the *Cyclops*, except that the Satyric Chorus is replaced by a quasi-Satyric Chorus and Silenus by a quasi-Satyric character: in each of these two plays there seem to be two quasi-Satyric characters and one tragic character, as in the *Cyclops* there are two Satyric characters and one tragic character. Doubtless

also in each of those two cases the one tragic character is drawn from a tragedy of the preceding trilogy.

But the *Syleus*, in addition to the quasi-Satyric Chorus of Labourers and the quasi-Satyric character, the Bailiff, has three tragic characters, Hercules, Hermes, and thirdly a woman, who to a moral certainty is Syleus' daughter, Xenodice (her very name shows that she is not a Satyric monster), and whom Hercules seems to take as his paramour. Very little consideration is required to show that here we have not a case of reversion to the older practice assumed by me of borrowing three tragic characters from three tragedies: it is impossible to suggest a tragedy that can have included Xenodice.

In other words the *Syleus* itself is a sort of mock tragedy. It stands half-way between the *Autolycus* and the *Busiris* on the one hand and the *Alcestis* on the other. Like the *Autolycus* and the *Busiris*, but unlike the *Alcestis*, it is, although Satyrless, fully Satyric in tone: like the *Alcestis*, but unlike the *Autolycus* and the *Busiris*, it is composed on the full model of a tragedy, not borrowing its tragic characters from other plays. It is in this intermediate attitude that it stands unique.

The combination of five facts, *viz.* (1) that the record omits mention of any fourth play as appended to Euripides' posthumous trilogy, (2) that nevertheless, in view of the production of the trilogy ἐν ἄσται by Euripides the younger, a fourth play must certainly have been appended, (3) that consequently there arises a presumption that the fourth play was the work of Euripides the younger, (4) that the authenticity of one unspecified "Satyric" drama, attributed to Euripides, was gravely disputed in antiquity, and (5) that the *Syleus quasi-Satyricus*, attributed to Euripides, departs widely from any and every known scheme of Satyric construction, suggests forcibly both that the *Syleus* is the missing play, written by Euripides the younger, of the tetralogy, and also that it is the play of which the authenticity (*i.e.* the Euripidean authorship) was impugned. The adoption of these two suggestions will remove every difficulty.

But we need something more specific than the removal of difficulties. I imagine that that something is ready to our hand. A unity, however slight, is required between even the *Syleus* and at least one play of the trilogy that must have preceded it. No doubt a technical show of unity of action might be produced (as I take to have been the case with the ordinary Euripidean Satyric drama, with its one tragic character) by fetching Hercules or Hermes, or both of them, from the trilogy: but it would be furiously inartistic, in a play with three tragic characters, so to borrow one, or two, only, instead of all the three. It seems to me to be an alternative between all three and none: and the former is an impossibility. I am therefore driven back on another unity, that of place.

The scene of the *Syleus* must have been laid at Aulis, where Syleus and Xenodice lived. The only known tragedy of Euripides—and we know in some sense either all or very nearly all his tragedies—of which the scene was likewise laid at Aulis is the *Iphigenia in Aulide*. We have here, I suggest, the specific corroboration that we need. I therefore take the *Syleus quasi-Satyricus* as the missing fourth play.



Last in the list of recorded tetralogies presumably so composed as to allot three tragic characters to the Satyric drama—I put it last because, although it is of early date, yet owing to mutilation of the record it is not *prima facie* presented as a tetralogy—comes a group of plays produced indeed by Aristias, but concluding with a Satyric drama by his father, Pratinas.

Aristias' *Perseus*, *Tantalus*, *Antaeus*: Pratinas' *Palaestae Satyri*.

This tetralogy is imperfectly recorded in the corrupt text of the argument to Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas*, thus: δεύτερος Ἀριστίων Περσεῖ, Ταντάλω, Παλαισταῖς σατυρικοῖς τοῖς Πρατίνου πατρός. Read (as a quotation from a *didascalia* couched in official semi-Ionic): δεύτερος Ἀριστίας, ὦν Περσεῖ, Ταντάλω, Ἀνταῖω Παλαισταῖς σατύροις τοῖς Πρατίνου πατρός. I am myself, I think, the first to suggest ὦν (*suorum*): σατύροις is due to Nauck and the brilliant Ἀνταῖω to Bergk. As we also learn from the same argument that the set of plays was staged (manifestly at Athens) in the archonship of Theagenides—the existing text calls him *Theagenes*—in competition with tetralogies by Aeschylus and Polyphradmon, it seems sufficiently evident that a tetralogy is in question. This being granted, Ἀνταῖω becomes morally certain. It is known that Aristias composed an *Antaeus*, and the haplography of Ταντάλω Ἀνταῖω as simply Ταντάλω is in the fullest accord with the observations of palaeographical science. Moreover—and this is highly important—a tragedy about Antaeus, the great wrestler, fits in to perfection with the title of the Satyric drama.

Now, if we apply my hypothesis and take one character from each of the three tragedies, not only do we obtain an admirably workable set of characters for the *Palaestae* but in addition a plot at once imposes itself. Here however a special observation must be made.

The characters indicated are manifestly indicated, even if it be a fact that Aristias employed in a tragedy two or more actors: but in two out of the three cases they are more manifestly and peremptorily indicated, if it be a fact that Aristias used one actor only. Pratinas in his earlier days can have known but one actor, and there is no reason to suppose that his Dorian muse ever took up with Attic innovations. Aristias is probably in the same case: neither his *Fata* nor, it would seem, his *Antaeus* is in the Attic dialect. Besides, on this particular occasion he was writing up to a Satyric drama by his father. Therefore, in the rest of this treatment, I shall assume that he employed one actor only: the reader however must bear in mind that that assumption, though useful, is far from necessary to my argument.

From the *Perseus* I take Perseus himself, for reasons which will appear. The *Tantalus* must deal—nothing else in the legend is very well suited to tragedy—at least partly with the episode of the golden hound and with the consequent altercation between Hermes and Tantalus. As Hermes could not be leader of the Chorus, it follows that Tantalus was. Therefore Tantalus is not a character in the tragedy, and cannot be borrowed. I borrow Hermes. In the *Antaeus*, very obviously put in by Aristias in order to supply a character to his father's *Palaestae*, the tragic action dealt with is, I conceive, the win-

ning of the hand of Antaeus' daughter, Alceis (otherwise called Barce), by Alexidamus as a prize for victory in a foot-race. No doubt Alceis, not Antaeus, was leader of the Chorus. A child of Antaeus—and no other child of his is known—is speaking in the solitary *Fragment* of the *Antaeus* (Aristias, *Fr.* 1) where the metre is at any rate not senarian. Therefore Antaeus is borrowable and I borrow him.

The following is my rough idea of the Satyric drama. The Satyrs are enslaved by the wrestler Antaeus and made to wrestle. Perseus comes flying over Africa with the Gorgon's head in a wallet, with the cap of invisibility, and—more important—with the winged sandals of Hermes. He descends among the Satyrs, of whom Silenus is the *choragus*. One at a time—there being only one actor—he and Antaeus address Silenus, and Silenus replies. Perhaps Perseus is actually mistaken for Hermes. Then Hermes comes in without his sandals. There is a scene (very likely) of Box-and-Cox confusion between Perseus and Hermes, and it may well be that Perseus, putting on his cap, speaks when invisible. Hermes doubtless gets back finally his winged sandals from Perseus, and Perseus, who has the potent weapon of the Gorgon's head, obtains the manumission of the Chorus. Hermes probably shows them that they must not forget their new accomplishment but cultivate it, with improvements, *decorae more palaestrae*. I consider that Hercules has no place in the drama.

This is all, in a sense, conjecture; but it fits in and affords the opportunity of a really rollicking play.

Having come to the end of the recorded and semi-recorded tetralogies of that class which presumably presents three tragic characters, not one tragic character only, in the Satyric or quasi-Satyric drama, I will pass on, premising however that my *prima facie* probable assumption has, although it remains undemonstrated, encountered not so much as a shadow of contradictory evidence and has been commended by certain circumstances, few indeed, but perhaps significant.

The unrecorded tetralogies of the same class next claim attention. On this head I must confine myself to Aeschylus and Sophocles. Not enough plays by any single minor tragedian are known to us by name for it to be possible to attempt the task of assigning them to tetralogies. As regards Aeschylus, on the other hand, it appears probable, though some confusion is caused by alternative titles, that we know the name of every tragedy he wrote, while as regards Sophocles our knowledge seems to be only a little less extensive. But it does not follow that we are able to deal almost equally readily with both authors: Sophocles' abandonment of the connected tetralogy constitutes a most serious obstacle.

The *Life of Aeschylus* asserts that the poet composed seventy δράματα (meaning *tragedies*) and "somewhere about the number of five Satyric plays." It is evident that the writer knew next to nothing about the Satyric plays of Aeschylus: John Tzetzes, until he looked the matter up, was even more ignorant about those of Euripides (see Hermann's introduction to the *Cyclops*). But the seventy tragedies are another matter. The number seventy doubtless includes the

*Aetnaeae Nothoe*, as well as the *Aetnaeae Gnesioe*: both the plays figure in the slightly imperfect Medicean catalogue (I myself consider—I will give my reasons in the proper place—that the expression *Aetnaeae Nothoe* does not mean the forged play called the *Dames of Etna*, but the *Pretended Dames of Etna*, a drama in which the Satyrs masqueraded as a female tragic chorus, something like the conspirators at Thebes: statistically it is the same thing whether it is forged or Satyric). We are thus left with sixty-nine genuine tragedies, i.e. twenty-three trilogies, of Aeschylus. An apparent difficulty arises from the fact that the tragedies commonly supposed to be known by name number more than sixty-nine. But if, as we have already seen reason for doing, we take *Orithyia*, *Prometheus Pyraeus*, and *Prometheus Pyrophoros* as three variant titles of one and the same play, and that play a Satyric drama; if further, as seems almost inevitable, we follow Dindorf in considering the *Thalamopoei* to be, not a tragedy, but the Satyric drama of the *Supplices* trilogy; and if lastly we accept ms. evidence as to the existence of a *Phoenissae*, then, without in any other way departing from current views, we know the names of sixty-nine Aeschylean tragedies, neither more nor less. I must speak then more in detail of the *Thalamopoei* and of the *Phoenissae*.

The *Thalamopoei* is mentioned once only (it does not occur in the Medicean catalogue), viz. by Pollux (vii. 122), who quotes from it a short *Fragment* (Fr. 78) couched in architectural language alien to the ordinary convention of tragedy. Hermann identified it with the *Aegyptii*, supposing a trilogy consisting of the *Supplices*, the *Aegyptii* sive *Thalamopoei*, and the *Danaides*: but in view of the diction of the *Fragment* one is almost compelled to adopt Dindorf's opinion that the play is Satyric and that the *Supplices*, the *Aegyptii*, the *Danaides*, and the *Thalamopoei Satyri* constitute a tetralogy. This means, as will appear in due course, that the *Thalamopoei Satyri* is identical with the *Amymone Satyrica*.

The *Phoenissae* comes in to fill up a gap, as by my excisions I have reduced the tragedies to sixty-eight. Now the second play of the one Herculean tetralogy, the *Alcmene*, the —, the *Heracidae*, and the *Leo Satyricus*, appears, unless it be the *Phoenissae*, not to be known by name. Other plays with remotely appropriate titles are seen on examination to fit into other tetralogies, and nothing suitable seems to be left over. The play in question must deal with Hercules in person. In view of the wide-spread Phoenician worship of "Hercules," a Chorus of Phoenician women could well figure even in a play covering the same general ground as Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. Now the vulgate of Pollux (vii. 91) states that ἐν Φοινίσσαις Aeschylus presents the line (Fr. 259):

πέλλυτρ' ἔχουσιν εὐθέτοις ἐν ἀρβύλαις.

But, instead of ἐν Φοινίσσαις, *codex* A gives ἐν Φρυγί. Consequently editors emend to ἐν Φρυγί, or ἐν Φινεΐ. But ἐν Φοινίσσαις may well be right. The *Phoenissae* of Phrynichus was widely known, and a copyist or reader may have written over Φοινίσσαις the abbreviation Φρυγί (standing for Φρυγίου), as we might write "Phrynich.?" meaning thereby: "Is not the *Phoenissae* of Phrynichus intended?":



in that case the scribe of *codex* A could easily have mistaken Φρουί for a correction of Φοινίσσαις and have acted on his mistake. I imagine that one reason why ἐν Φινεῖ has found favour is that πέλλυτρα (apparently *leg-bandages* worn by runners) seem appropriate to Zetes and Calais, who are connected with the action of the *Phineus*. But Zetes and Calais are equally connected with Hercules who killed them. On the whole then (though it rounds things off, nothing important turns on it) I believe in the *Phoenissae*.

We see that the other evidence is fully consistent with that of the *Life of Aeschylus*. We may therefore take the genuine tragedies as sixty-nine in number. Now Suidas tells us (*s.v.* Αἰσχύλος) that Aeschylus wrote ninety tragedies. Tragedies is here used in the wider sense, so as to include Satyric dramas. It follows that of the ninety "tragedies" twenty-one were Satyric dramas. Sixty-nine tragedies, in the narrow sense, would normally imply twenty-three Satyric dramas. The difference of two (note that Suidas speaks of the plays that Aeschylus wrote, not of those that were extant, and remember that the *didascaliae* were accessible) is a token of Suidas' trustworthiness. He knew as well as ourselves that ninety is not integrally divisible by four. Aeschylus began competing at Athens in the year 499 B.C., Pratinas himself being in the lists against him. It is too much to suppose that at this very early date the newly invented Satyric drama figured in the Urban Dionysia. The natural supposition is that Aeschylus' first two efforts were trilogies only, not tetralogies. Of the twenty-one Satyric dramas eleven, on my view of the facts, are known to us by name.

Of the sixty-nine known tragedies the Medicean catalogue omits seven, the *Alcmene*, the *Glaucus Potnieus*, the *Hiereae*, the *Palamedes*, the *Phineus*, the *Phoenissae*, and the *Sisyphus Petrocylistes*: of the known Satyric dramas it omits none at all: it includes the *Aetnaeae Nothoe*, whatever the nature of that play. It may well be that haplography—in view of the occurrence of the *Glaucus Pontios* and of the *Sisyphus Drapetes* in the list—is responsible for the omission of the *Glaucus Potnieus* and of the *Sisyphus Petrocylistes*: the other five plays were apparently unknown to the cataloguer.

The tragedies, in English alphabetical order, are (1) the *Aegyptii*, (2) the *Aetnaeae*, (3) the *Agamemnon*, (4) the *Alcmene*, (5) the *Argivi*, (6) the *Argo*, (7) the *Atalanta*, (8) the *Athamas*, (9) the *Bacchae*, (10) the *Bassarides*, (11) the *Cabiri*, (12) the *Callisto*, (13) the *Choephoroe*, (14) the *Cressae*, (15) the *Danaides*, (16) the *Dictyulci*, (17) the *Dionysi Trophoe*, (18) the *Edoni*, (19) the *Eleusinii*, (20) the *Epigoni*, (21) the *Eumenides*, (22) the *Europe*, (23) the *Glaucus Pontios*, (24) the *Glaucus Potnieus*, (25) the *Hectoris Lytra sive Phryges*, (26) the *Heliades*, (27) the *Heracleidae*, (28) the *Hiereae*, (29) the *Hoplon Crisis*, (30) the *Hypsipyle*, (31) the *Iphigenia*, (32) the *Ixion*, (33) the *Laius*, (34) the *Lemnii*, (35) the *Memnon*, (36) the *Myrmidones*, (37) the *Mysi*, (38) the *Neanisci*, (39) the *Nemea*, (40) the *Nereides*, (41) the *Niobe*, (42) the *Oedipus*, (43) the *Ostologi*, (44) the *Palamedes*, (45) the *Penelope*, (46) the *Pentheus*, (47) the *Perrhaebides*, (48) the *Persae*, (49) the *Philoctetes*, (50) the *Phineus*, (51) the *Phoenissae*, (52) the *Phorcides*, (53) the *Phrygii*, (54) the *Polydectes*, (55) the *Prometheus Solutus*, (56) the *Prometheus Vinculus*, (57) the *Propompi*, (58) the *Psychagogi*, (59)

the *Psychostasia*, (60) the *Salaminiae*, (61) the *Semele*, (62) the *Septem contra Thebas*, (63) the *Sisyphus Petrocylistes*, (64) the *Supplices*, (65) the *Telephus*, (66) the *Theori sive Isthmiastae*, (67) the *Thressae*, (68) the *Toxotides*, and (69) the *Xantriae*.

The Satyric dramas, in English alphabetical order, are (1) the *Amymone Satyrica sive Thalamopoei Satyri*, (2) the *Cercyon Satyricus*, (3) the *Ceryces Satyri*, (4) the *Circe Satyrica*, (5) the *Leo Satyricus*, (6) the *Lycurgus Satyricus*, (7) the *Orithyia Satyrica sive Prometheus Pyrcaeus Satyricus sive Prometheus Pyrphoros Satyricus*, (8) the *Proteus Satyricus*, (9) the *Sisyphus Drapetes Satyricus*, and (10) the *Sphinx Satyrica*. To these I would add (11) what I take as a disguised Satyric drama, the *Aetnaeae Nothoe*.

The known tetralogies (subject, as a matter of detail, to the identification of the *Prometheus Pyrcaeus* and the *Prometheus Pyrphoros inter se* and with the *Orithyia*) are (1) the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoroe*, the *Eumenides*, the *Proteus Satyricus*, (2) the *Edoni*, the *Bassarides*, the *Neanisci*, the *Lycurgus Satyricus*, (3) the *Laius*, the *Oedipus*, the *Septem contra Thebas*, the *Sphinx Satyrica*, and (4) the *Phineus*, the *Persae*, the *Glaucus Pontios*, the *Orithyia Satyrica sive Prometheus Pyrcaeus Satyricus sive Prometheus Pyrphoros Satyricus*.

To these we may add with probability, the degree varying from case to case, as tetralogies made up with the help of known Satyric dramas, (5) the *Alcmene*, the *Phoenissae*, the *Heraclidae*, the *Leo Satyricus*, (6) the *Argivi*, the *Eleusinii*, the *Theori sive Isthmiastae*, the *Cercyon Satyricus*, (7) the *Lemnii*, the *Philoctetes*, the *Phrygii*, the *Ceryces Satyri*, (8) the *Perrhaebides*, the *Ixion*, the *Sisyphus Petrocylistes*, the *Sisyphus Drapetes Satyricus*, (9) the *Psychagogi*, the *Penelope*, the *Ostologi*, the *Circe Satyrica*, and (10) the *Supplices*, the *Aegyptii*, the *Danaides*, the *Amymone Satyrica sive Thalamopoei Satyri*. We can add also, if the *Aetnaeae Nothoe* be a disguised Satyric drama, (11) the *Epigoni*, the *Telephus*, the *Aetnaeae Gnesioe*, the *Aetnaeae Nothoe*. Of these seven suggested tetralogies I must now speak in some detail.

(a) The *Alcmene* etc. (no. 5).

Apart from the question, already discussed, of the *Phoenissae*, that we have here a Herculean tetralogy appears indisputable. Moreover the second play, whatever its name, must deal with Hercules himself. As for the *Leo Satyricus*, its general plot is surely as well known to us as if it stood on record. When Hercules returned from Tiryns after killing the Nemean Lion, the story goes that he brought the carcass of the beast into the centre of the city, thereby terrifying Eurystheus, who fled at the sight and was led to order that in future Hercules should report outside the gates. This is the episode represented. Manifestly the Chorus of the Satyrs carried the dead lion. Their presence in the city is justified by the fact that Hercules was told not to come there again with his trophies: that makes all the difference. Silenus is the Satyric character. Of the tragic characters, I take Hercules from the *Phoenissae*, Eurystheus from the *Alcmene*, and a third, perhaps Macaria, from the *Heraclidae*.

(b) The *Argivi* etc. (no. 6).

Here we have obviously a Thesean tetralogy. The *Argivi* was, at least to some extent, concerned (see *Fr.* 17) with the story of the Seven against Thebes, the *Eleusinii* dealt (see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 29) with the recovery by Theseus of the bodies of the slain for Adrastus, the *Theori sive Isthmiastae* is manifestly connected with the (perhaps consequent) reinstitution of the Isthmian Games by Theseus, and the *Cercyon Satyricus* must treat of Theseus' defeat (perhaps not, being a Satyric drama, of his slaying) of Cercyon at Eleusis. The Satyric character in the *Cercyon* must be Cercyon himself, a monster of cruelty and therefore not tragic. Silenus seems thus to be relegated to the position of leader of the Chorus of Satyrs. One tragic character was evidently Theseus, whom I am disposed to take from the *Theori* (there is no reason why a tragic character borrowed by a Satyric drama from one play of a trilogy should not also figure in another play of the same trilogy, as all that my hypothesis requires is that each play of the trilogy shall send its representative). Another tragic character is probably Hippothous, the persecuted grandson of Cercyon (Hippothous' mother, Alope, was no longer alive): on account of the unity of place I suggest that Hippothous' provenance is the *Eleusinii*. The third tragic character may well be Adrastus, taken from the *Argivi*.

(c) The *Lemnii* etc. (no. 7).

Here we are on rather difficult ground. The *Lemnii* and the *Philoctetes* are separately mentioned in the Medicean catalogue (we have no other mention of the *Lemnii* by name). We know from Dion Chrysostom (*Orat.* LII. 7) that in a play by Aeschylus about Philoctetes the Chorus consisted of Lemnians. It follows that the *Lemnii* deals with Philoctetes at Lemnos and the *Philoctetes* with Philoctetes at Troy. The *Phrygii* is to be distinguished from the *Hectoris Lytra sive Phryges*: both plays occur in the Medicean catalogue (the former is not mentioned elsewhere). I conceive of the *Phrygii*—which it would be difficult to assign to any other tetralogy—as dealing with some events (possibly at Crimissa, where Philoctetes dedicated his bow to Apollo) after the taking of Troy consequent on the slaying of Paris by Philoctetes, and I suppose the Chorus to consist of Phrygian captives. My reason for attributing the *Ceryces Satyri* to this tetralogy is that in it (*Fr.* 109, and, less certainly, *Fr.* 110) reference is made to the attire of Hercules. There is only one strictly Herculean tetralogy, and of that the Satyric drama is clearly the *Leo*. But Philoctetes is Herculean, having received his bow from Hercules, who is himself a character in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. I am therefore inclined to lay the scene of the *Ceryces* in the days when Philoctetes was Hercules' armour-bearer (see Philostratus, *Imag.* 17). Now it is clear that, whether the third play of the trilogy be the *Phrygii* or not, the most suitable and natural subject for that third play, given the first two plays, is Philoctetes' dedication of his bow to Apollo. This fact suggests Apollo as a tragic character in the Satyric drama. Hercules is not reputed to have had, save twice, any dealings with a herald or heralds. He mutilated the heralds of King Erginus—this episode is not suited to Satyric drama—and he was handed over by Apollo, after the conflict between Apollo and Hercules at Delphi,



to Hermes, as herald of the gods, for sale to Omphale. I suggest that the latter incident is in question, and that Silenus and the Satyrs, temporarily in the service of Hermes and set by him to act as heralds, replace Hermes himself for the purposes of the play. The three tragic characters would then be Hercules, taken from the *Lemni*, Philoctetes taken from the *Philoctetes*, and Apollo, taken from the *Phrygi* (or, at any rate, from the third play, whatever its name). There would be a Chorus of Satyrs and, as Satyric character, Silenus. I am dealing with bare probabilities, but the result is satisfactory.

(d) The *Perrhaebides* etc. (no. 8).

The identification of this tetralogy as such depends on a number of inferences, few of which would be valid, unless we had the names of all, or at least of nearly all, the Aeschylean tragedies before us. That the *Perrhaebides* belongs to the same trilogy as does the *Ixion* is sufficiently established by the combined fact that Ixion dwelt in the country of the Perrhaebi and that no story, save that of Ixion, with which the play can be linked, is treated in any tragedy of Aeschylus. This once granted, we see from *Fr.* 184 that the *Perrhaebides* must deal with the defrauding of Deïoneus by Ixion, or, in other words, with Ixion's early history. It follows that the *Ixion* must be concerned with his later adventures. Hence we obtain the order of the two plays. Before explaining why I complete the tetralogy with the two dramas named after Sisyphus, it is necessary that I should establish—the matter is slurred over by editors—their existence as separate one from the other. Now the addition of a qualification to the personal title of a Greek play invariably means the existence of another play about the same person by the same author. Thus Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vincitus*, not *Prometheus*, *tout court*, implies at least one other *Prometheus* by Aeschylus, and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* involves a second Sophoclean *Oedipus*. Euripides' *Hercules Furens* is no exception: though no other play of Euripides now has *Hercules* as part of its title, at least six may, and—to judge by analogy—several of the six must, have had *Hercules* as part of alternative titles in the past, seeing that, for example, the *Syleus* might equally well be called Ἡρακλῆς Γεωργῶν, or the *Busiris* Ἡρακλῆς Βουσιριδοκτόνος. Therefore the mere fact that a *Sisyphus Drapetes* of Aeschylus is mentioned implies two Aeschylean *Sisyphi*: so does the mere fact that a *Sisyphus Petrocylistes* of Aeschylus is mentioned. But it does not follow that they are distinct plays: conceivably they might be two names for the same play, and the full name of the other *Sisyphus* might be unknown to us. Yet in fact they cannot be the same play. The *Drapetes*, which is mentioned in the Medicean catalogue only, must deal with the story of the escape of Sisyphus from Hades and of his refusal to return until he was fetched by Hermes. But it is an integral part of that story that Sisyphus told his wife, Merope, not to bury him, in order that he might be able to get Pluto to send him back to punish her. This plainly involves—as is indeed expressed in the legend—that when he was sent back to earth he had not yet become *Petrocylistes*, his extreme sentence being pronounced on him afterwards on account of the trick he had played. Therefore the *Drapetes* and the *Petrocylistes* cannot be identical. Further the

*Petrocylistes* is clearly a tragedy: the *Drapetes*, which out-Herods Euripides' *Alcestis*, is almost equally clearly a Satyric drama. Moreover an inspection of the list of Aeschylean tragedies shows that they both necessarily belong to the same tetralogy. Why do I join the two plays named after Sisyphus to the two plays dealing with Ixion? In the first place, if I do not do so, both dilogies are left out in the cold. In the second place, having in the *Perrhaebides* and the *Ixion* taken Ixion through his earlier and his later career, Aeschylus must next proceed, in view of the fact that his fate was more notorious than his life, to conduct him to Hades. The third play then is really *Ixion Damnatus*; but as Sisyphus was brought in also, it came to be called after him. Naturally the damned Sisyphus and the damned Ixion would converse in Hell. They were associated in the imagination of antiquity—

Sisyphē, mole vaces : taceant Ixionis orbes (Propertius, iv. 11, l. 23).

As regards the Satyric drama, I take it that Sisyphus, having returned to earth, fell in with Silenus and the Satyrs, whom he enslaved and forced to hide him, wandering about with them as a δραπέτης. We have then the Chorus of Satyrs and, as Satyric character, Silenus. One tragic character is manifestly Sisyphus (in Euripides we shall see him as a Satyric monster, but here he comes from a tragedy), taken from the *Sisyphus Petrocylistes*. Another is necessarily Hermes, taken, I suggest, from the first play, the *Perrhaebides*, as, after his murder of Deioneus, Ixion was purified by Zeus himself, and this seems to imply the sending to him of Hermes as herald. From the *Ixion* I am inclined to fetch, for third tragic character, the phantom-woman, Nephele (she must, it would seem, have figured in the second play of the tetralogy), and I am disposed to imagine that she was used as a bait to lure Sisyphus back to Hell, much as when, acting on behalf of Zeus, she deceived Ixion.

(e) The *Psychagogi* etc. (no. 9).

The titles, with the little that is known of the contents, of the plays of the trilogy and the title of the recorded Satyric drama establish the fact that we have here an Ulyssean tetralogy—no other plays are qualified to compete for admission into it—and also fix to a certainty the sequence of the dramas. In the *Psychagogi* we have Ulysses consulting the dead (see *Fr.* 275, as introduced in a *scholium* on *Odyssey* xi. 134), a manifest adaptation of the Homeric Necyia. In the *Penelope* (see *Fr.* 187) we have Ulysses' return to Ithaca. In the *Ostologi* we have an action connected with the Suitors (see *Fr.* 179 and 180), very likely, as is suggested by Wecklein, the collection of their bones by their kinsmen (see *Odyssey* xxiv. 412 *et seq.*). That the *Ostologi* is not a Satyric drama, as some have fancied, is proved by the existence of the *Circe Satyrica*: it is further proved by the remarkable borrowing of a portion of *Fr.* 180 by Sophocles in his *Syndipni* (*Fr.* 565), itself a tragedy. The *Circe Satyrica* (seeing that Satyric dramas must deal with known incidents, though the Satyric element is more or less arbitrarily imported) must necessarily, given exactly three tragic characters and only one Satyric character, deal with the visit of Hermes to Circe,

and the tragic characters must be Circe, Hermes, and Ulysses. Circe I take from the *Psychagogi*: notice the plural number of the title. In Homer Ulysses left Circe before the Necyia and returned to her after it: in Aeschylus I suggest that she accompanied him, a course reasonable in a drama, which, unlike an epic, has to respect unity of place. Ulysses I borrow—though he comes in every play of the trilogy—from the *Penelope*. Hermes, I suggest, steps over from the *Ostologi*, in which he figured, either in connexion with the Second Necyia, or as composer of the feud.

(f) The *Supplices* etc. (no. 10).

I have already, when seeking to determine the known tragedies of Aeschylus, dealt to some extent with this tetralogy. We have seen that there are strong grounds for regarding the *Thalamopoei* as Satyric, and that, if it be so, it is probably the last play after a trilogy consisting of the extant *Supplices*, the *Aegyptii*, and the *Danaïdes*. I will now say that, though in virtue of its matrimonial title it suits that trilogy to a nicety, yet that very matrimonial title calls for explanation. It would betray unbecoming levity to connect with a Satyric drama the building of the house that was to be the scene of the murder of the sons of Aegyptus. When, with difficulty, the Danaïdes, now murderesses, were ultimately married to new husbands, not related to one another, it would seem scarcely less incongruous to set the Satyrs to erect a bridal-bower. We desiderate then a legend that exempted one or more of the Danaïdes from the sin of the rest of the sisters, and married her or them independently of the rest. In such a category fall *Amymone*, *Berbice*, and, in a sense, *Hypermnestra*. When we find, as we do find, mention of an *Amymone* by Aeschylus, we have reason to suppose that the *Amymone* and the *Thalamopoei* are identical: the *Amymone*—certainly, as will be seen, Satyric—cannot, it would seem, form part of any tetralogy but this. Her legend is that, being sent, during a drought at Argos, by Danaus to get water, she shot at a stag and missed it, but hit a sleeping Satyr, who thereupon offered her violence, his intention however being frustrated by the intervention of Poseidon, who took the maiden for his own bride. We have here that *rara avis*, a genuine Satyric legend: the Satyr is not brought in for stage purposes. His presence renders it indeed impossible to have turned the tale into a tragedy; but, when it is presented as a Satyric drama, the solitary Satyr has to be enlarged into Silenus and the Satyric Chorus. The current legend makes the one Satyr flee. Silenus and the Chorus cannot have taken to their heels. Evidently they remained and were punished, Poseidon setting them to the task of there and then building a rustic bower, into which at the end of the play he doubtless conducts his bride. In *Fr.* 78 (quoted as from the *Thalamopoei*) we actually see them engaged on the stage in decorative architecture. The actual tragic characters in the *Amymone* legend are Danaus, *Amymone*, and Poseidon. Aeschylus no doubt retains all three. I take Danaus from the *Supplices*, *Amymone* from the *Aegyptii*, where, I assume, she appeared to advise her sisters against their contemplated sin, and Poseidon from the *Danaïdes*. As the *Aegyptii* (with a Chorus of Egyptians) dealt with the murder of the sons of Aegyptus, the *Danaïdes*



must have dealt either with the ultimate remarriage of the Danaids (directly or by way of preparation), or else with their punishment in Hades. It is clear from the *Fragments* that the former is the correct alternative. As there is divine intervention in the play, Aphrodite speaking in *Fr.* 44 (see the words in which Athenaeus—XIII. 600B—introduces it: I agree with Nauck that Eustathius' attribution—*Od.* 1389—of this *Fragment* to Aeschylus of Alexandria is *merus error*) and some deity in *Fr.* 43, I suggest that Poseidon also, as husband of Amy-mone, appears in order to ease, together with Aphrodite, an intolerable position. It will be observed that, as in the Oedipodean tetralogy, so here also the Satyric drama interrupts chronologically the sequence of the trilogy: but here it scarcely lies in the main stream of events.

(g) The *Epigoni* etc. (no. 11).

The assembling of the trilogy of this tetralogy is entirely unaffected by the validity or invalidity of my supposition that the *Aetnaeae Nothoe* is not the forged play called the *Aetnaeae*, but the *Pretended Dames of Etna*, a disguised Satyric drama in which the Satyrs masquerade as a female tragic Chorus. Though the only importance of this supposition is that it leads me to discuss this set of plays here among the sets of which the Satyric dramas are preserved, instead of elsewhere, I must yet adduce my reasons for it. First, it is highly unlikely, given the Sicilian subject-matter, that two separate tragedies should be put forward, each as Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*: two tragedies, one of them of forgotten authorship, each said to be Euripides' *Helen*, would be less improbable; but even of such a state of things there is no example. Secondly, it is most difficult to suppose that the existence of two rival plays, each asserting itself to be Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*, should crop up for the first and only time in the Medicean catalogue: that catalogue indeed names some plays unnamed elsewhere, but this is a matter, not of the mere name of a play, but of a striking "curiosity of literature." Thirdly, though we know from early authorities that the authenticity of plays attributed to Sophocles and of other plays attributed to Euripides was questioned, yet in the case of Aeschylus, though he is discussed in similar manner, we have not so much as a hint that any play was suspect. Fourthly, although I attach but little importance to this, it would not be quite normal to include a forged play, *eo nomine*, in a catalogue of an author's works: if mentioned, it would most naturally stand separated from the rest by an interval. On the whole then I take the *Aetnaeae Nothoe* as the *Pretended Dames of Etna*: such a play is no tragedy and I suppose that the Satyrs counterfeited the Dames. The *Aetnaeae Gnesioe* was so named in contradistinction. But let us pass from high matters which are, perhaps, too hard for us. The identification of the trilogy is facility itself. Unless in this group, it is not easy to suggest a place either for the *Epigoni* or for the *Telephus*: except with the help both of the *Epigoni* and of the *Telephus* it is literally impossible to assemble a trilogy to include the *Aetnaeae Gnesioe*. The connexion is this. The *Aetnaeae Gnesioe* was composed to celebrate the founding of the city of Etna by Hieron. Now Hieron's wife was one of the Agrigentine Emmenidae, with whom Hieron had previously been at war: the marriage was dynastic and composed a feud, so that

the wife's family would naturally be extolled by Hieron's court-poets. Though the Emmenidae were more immediately descended (as appears from their name) from one Emmenes, presumably identical with Telemachus (father of a prince variously called Emmenides and Chalciopous), who was the first of them to settle in Sicily, yet we know from Pindar (*Ol.* II. II. 47-52) that they found their σπέρματος ῥίζα in Polynices' son, Thersander, one of the Epigoni, who was ultimately slain by Telephus. Hence the *Epigoni* and the *Telephus*. As regards the plot of the *Aetnaeae Gnesioe* all we can say definitely is that (see *Life of Aeschylus*, p. 4, 15) it contained something in the nature of an augural prophecy of blessings on the colonists of the city of Etna, that (*Fr.* 6) it included a stichomythia, apparently between a deity (conceivably Thalia or, as Welcker calls her, Aethalia: see Steph. Byz. s.v. Παλική) and a mortal, on the subject of the Palici, of which the tenour suggests that the play (see Johannes Lydus, *de Mens.* 274) dealt in part with the ancient history of Sicily. If this were not a Sicilian play, we should probably know the legend in question: as it is a Sicilian play, we do not. I suggest that the Dames of Etna are a choir of Mountain Nymphs (what other Aetnaeae were there at the time?) with whom Emmenes, after coming to Sicily, falls in, and that, with the help of the Palici, a prophecy of the future of the Emmenidae, including the marriage of one of them to Hieron and the founding of the city of Etna, is delivered. As to the Satyric drama we are even more at sea. Yet, if the *Aetnaeae Gnesioe* be Nymphs, it is a simple matter for them to have been personated by the Satyrs. If so, I will add, as Satyric character, Silenus, personating some goddess or the like (perhaps Thalia or Aethalia). The tragic characters would, I suppose, be Emmenes taken from the *Aetnaeae Gnesioe*, a deity from the *Epigoni*, and a deity from the *Telephus*. Of course I am here outside the region of control, and there is no *obrussa* on which to test my hypothesis.

Having dealt with all the recorded Satyric dramas of Aeschylus and having, with whatever success, where they are not so assigned by ancient authority, assigned them to tetralogies, and having moreover discussed incidentally the tragedies affected, I will now turn to the other tragedies of Aeschylus, essaying to assemble them in trilogies and in one case suggesting as a fit completion a particular, though unrecorded, quasi-Satyric drama. But first I will premise, as I premised at an earlier transition, that up to the point I have reached nothing whatever has presented itself to discredit or even to discommend my hypothesis.

First come four trilogies, three of them apparently certain, and one of them certain as to two plays and scarcely, it would seem, uncertain as to the remaining play.

(a) The *Dictyulci*, the *Phorcides*, the *Polydectes* (no. 12).

No doubt Hermann is right in taking as the subject-matter of the *Dictyulci* the finding in their nets by Seriphian fishermen of the chest containing Danae and Perseus. The trilogy is Persean. Both the Gorgons and the Graeae were Phorcides, and with both, of course, Perseus had adventures. From Hyginus (*Poet. Astr.* II. 12. 445) we learn that in the *Phorcides* Aeschylus called the Graeae "guardians

of the Gorgons." Probably the play dealt with both. That it was not a Satyric drama seems clear from Aristotle, who says (*Poetics*, 18) : τὸ δὲ τερατῶδες (τερατῶδες is Schrader's emendation of τέταρτον ὄης), οἷον αἱ τε Φορκίδες καὶ Προμηθεὺς καὶ ὅσα ἐν Ἄιδου : Aristotle is not dealing with Satyric drama, and in any case would not give priority of mention to a Satyric play. But someone appears to have written a Satyric *Phorcydes* (*C.I.A.* II. 973, 31). We hear of the *Polydectes* from the Medicean catalogue only. It deals no doubt with Perseus' rescue, on his return, of Danae and Dictys from Polydectes.

(b) The *Pentheus*, the *Bacchae*, the *Xantriae* (no. 13).

In this manifestly Penthean trilogy the *Pentheus* must deal with the sin of Pentheus, the *Bacchae* with his fate (see *Fr.* 22), and the *Xantriae* (compare Philostratus, *Imag.* I. 18, with Pausanias, II. 2, 6) with subsequent ceremonies in connexion with the tree in which he hid himself.

(c) The *Prometheus Vincitus*, the *Nereides*, the *Prometheus Solutus* (no. 14).

As to the connexion and relative sequence of the *Prometheus Vincitus* and the *Prometheus Solutus* I need not argue. The marriage of Thetis to Peleus, and not to Zeus, is the only natural subject for the other play. That play I consider to be the *Nereides*. I think that in this solitary case we can fix with considerable probability the entirely lost fourth play. Remember that we are here dealing with a fully connected sequence of dramas by Aeschylus and that consequently the subject-matter of the Satyric or quasi-Satyric play must be an incident of the particular legend. As Hercules appears in the *Prometheus Solutus* and as he is the ideal tragic character for a Satyric or quasi-Satyric drama, we may safely borrow him at once. But, apart from Hercules' share in the liberation of Prometheus, the legends of the two touch at one point only. Hercules with a poisoned arrow accidentally wounded Chiron, who thereupon sought and obtained leave from Zeus to transfer his immortality to Prometheus. That gives us our play. We have taken Hercules from the *Prometheus Solutus*. Let us take, as our two other tragic characters, Hermes, from the *Prometheus Vincitus*, as intermediary between Zeus and Chiron, and Peleus, who, like Achilles, was closely connected with Chiron, from the *Nereides*. Prometheus was bound on his rock and necessarily absent. There is a quasi-Satyric Chorus of Centaurs and we have Chiron for quasi-Satyric character. This is a reasonable result, and incidentally commends my hypothesis. But if it be a right result, something flows from it. Chiron was certainly alive—if only as tutor of Achilles—long after the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Moreover Prometheus was certainly still bound when Chiron passed on to him his immortality. It follows that Prometheus was not quite instantly released when he disclosed his secret to Zeus, and that the action of the *Nereides* comes between that of the two other plays of the trilogy. There is some confirmation of this. Plutarch (*Mor.* 757 E) makes a point of the Hercules of the *Prometheus Solutus* being a god : ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς



ἕτερον θεὸν παρακαλεῖ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρνιν αἵρεσθαι τὸ τόξον, ὥς Αἰσχύλος φησὶν (*Fr.* 200).

ἀγρεὺς δ' Ἀπόλλων ὀρθὸν εὐθύνοι βέλος.

It would scarcely be easy to present the deification of Hercules as previous to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. The one solid certainty that emerges is that Aeschylus must have had some pressing dramatic reason for postponing the release of Prometheus to so late a date that Hercules, deified or undeified, takes part in it.

(d) The *Hoplon Crisis*, the *Thressae*, the *Salaminiae* (no. 15).

Welcker is clearly right in his recognition of this trilogy. The *Hoplon Crisis* bears its action on its face, the *Thressae* is known to cover the ground of Sophocles' *Ajax*, and the *Salaminiae* must be concerned with the home-coming of Telamon without Ajax.

There appear to remain over four trilogies of the normal Aeschylean type and four others of a somewhat special character.

The first four I assemble thus: (a) the *Cabiri*, the *Hypsipyle*, the *Nemea* (no. 16), (b) the *Cressae*, the *Propompoe*, the *Hiereae* (no. 17), (c) the *Myrmidones*, the *Psychostasia*, the *Hectoris Lytra sive Phryges* (no. 18), and (d) the *Semele*, the *Argo*, the *Dionysi Trophoe* (no. 19). Of (a) the centre of interest is Hypsipyle: I suggest that in the *Cabiri* she meets the Argonauts (consult Athenaeus, x. 428 F), and that in the *Hypsipyle* she weds Jason (see *scholium* on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 769), while we know (from the prefatory *scholia* to Pindar's *Nemean Odes*, p. 9) that the *Nemea* dealt with the incident of Archemeros, a part of her legend. For the legend treated in (b) see Chapter XIV: it is clear (from *Fr.* 116) that the *Cressae* is concerned with the resurrection of Glaucus, son of Minos, and, failing to place the two other plays in other trilogies, I take the *Propompoe* as recounting the story of the embassy that bore thankofferings to Titane, and the *Hiereae* as connected with the metamorphosis of Cos Epione (it appears from *Fr.* 87 that the *Hiereae* were priestesses of Artemis). As regards (c) I am in conflict with Welcker and others, who substitute the *Nereides*, which, as we have seen, I urgently require elsewhere, for the *Psychostasia*: the *Myrmidones* (as is evident from the *Fragments*) deals with Achilles' grief at the death of Patroclus, the *Psychostasia* (see various authorities quoted by Nauck under the heading of this play) is concerned with the weighing by Zeus of the χῆρε of Achilles and Hector, while the *Hectoris Lytra* explains itself. In the case of (d) we seem to have an interesting interweaving of two separate legends: the *Semele*, which must deal with the birth of Dionysus, and the *Argo*, which must be connected with the fetching of Medea, are gathered up into one by the *Dionysi Trophoe* which (we know this from the argument to Euripides' *Medea*) treats of the rejuvenation by Medea of Dionysus' Nurses and their husbands.

The twelve tragedies still left have defied my efforts to group them on ordinary Aeschylean principles; but on the application of another principle, the nature of which will appear as I deal with them, they fall at once into their places. I assemble them thus: (a) the *Callisto*, the *Atalanta*, the *Niobe* (no. 20), (b) the *Europe*, the *Athamas*, the

*Iphigenia* (no. 21), (c) the *Memnon*, the *Mysi*, the *Palamedes* (no. 22), and (d) the *Toxotides*, the *Glaucus Potnieus*, and the *Heliades* (no. 23). In (a) we have three matrons, all of whom suffered metamorphosis, Callisto, Atalanta, and Niobe; in (b) we have three maidens, all of whom were miraculously carried overseas, Europe, Helle, and Iphigenia (it is possible that the Satyric drama was called the *Μῆλον*: see the *Addenda* supplementary to p. 77); in (c) we have three non-Trojans, of whom the first espoused the Trojan cause, the second changed over during the war, and the third was slain on a false charge of having taken the Trojan side, Memnon, Telephus, and Palamedes; in (d) we have, so to speak, three engineers all hoist with their own petards, Actaeon, torn to pieces by his hounds, Glaucus, devoured by his horses, and Phaethon, burned up in his own father's chariot, which he insisted upon driving. So much for the material that I am able to gather from Aeschylus.

Of Sophocles no tetralogy, trilogy, or combination of plays is recorded, except, in a Rhodian inscription, one tetralogy, with which I have already dealt. The complete silence of exegetical literature—arguments, *scholia*, dictionaries, and the like—is only, I think, to be explained on the view that post-classical students, misled perhaps by the corruption in Suidas mentioned by me at an earlier point of this discussion, believed that Sophocles competed with single plays only, and that consequently they were nonplussed by the evidence of the *didascaliae* and refused to allude to them. Once indeed a *didascalia* is actually quoted, but the quotation stops dead immediately before the list of plays. The instance is this. At the end of the argument to the *Philoctetes* we read: ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου πρῶτος ἦν Σοφοκλῆς. Similarly the argument to the *Ajax* refers to the *didascaliae* on the question of the right title of the play, but then drops them like a hot coal. I had better then at once proceed to discuss the numbers of the tragedies and of the Satyric dramas by Sophocles of which at least the names are preserved. The data are less complicated than in the case of Aeschylus; but the results are more ambiguous, as an element of uncertainty is introduced by the existence of a large number of disputed "Sophoclean" plays unnamed, some of which may or may not figure among the plays now known by name. The *Life of Sophocles* and Suidas agree exactly as to the number of Sophocles' plays, if only in the former we combine—though scholars strangely refuse to do so—two variant readings, ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα and ἑκατὸν τέσσαρα, into ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα. Suidas (s.v. Σοφοκλῆς) simply says on the point: "Sophocles presented 123 plays, or, according to some, far more." The *Life of Sophocles* says (if we read ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα): ἔχει δὲ δράματα, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης, ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα· τούτων δὲ νενοθεύεται δεκάεπτα. Observe that 140-17=123, and that 104 is in uncials ΠΔ, 130 ΠΑ, and 140 ΡΜ: with so obvious a door open to reconciliation, it is nothing short of perverse to assume that Suidas and the *Life* are in conflict. The 123 undoubted plays probably consist of 93 tragedies and 30 Satyric dramas, i.e. 31 tetralogies, minus one Satyric drama. Therefore, of the whole 140 plays, 34 must, if—I make the supposition *exempli gratia* only, as we can presume nothing

of the kind—the 17 doubtful plays consisted of four tetralogies plus an odd tragedy, have been Satyric dramas, and 106 have been tragedies: or, if all the 17 doubtful plays were tragic, the tragedies number somewhat more and the Satyric dramas somewhat less: or again something intermediate may be the truth. Putting undoubted and doubtful plays together, we have a possible maximum of 110 and a possible minimum of about 106 tragedies, the balance between those figures and 140 (*i.e.* 30 to 34) being Satyric dramas. Now allowing for all possibilities of duplication arising from alternative titles and putting it intentionally vaguely because of a few other doubts, I do not hesitate to say that we know for certain the names of some 97 to 100 separate tragedies attributed to Sophocles, that is to say of about four, at least, in excess of the total of his undoubted tragedies. It follows that some of the tragedies now known by name belong to the doubtful class. It is improbable that many of them so belong: doubtful plays are much less likely to have been preserved. Therefore I conclude that it is conceivable that we know by name all the undoubted tragedies of Sophocles and highly probable that we know them nearly all, while it seems certain—even if, a wild combination of suppositions, we take all 17 doubtful plays as tragedies and all as known by name—that 80 of the tragedies we know by name are of the undoubted class. Of the Satyric dramas, 13, so far as I can see, are known to us by name, all probably undoubted: a doubtful Satyric drama, if any such existed, is not likely to have been long preserved. At the end of my treatment of Sophocles I will revert, in the light of further evidence, to this subject.

(a) Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus Coloneus*, *Antigone*,  
*Sphinx Satyrica*.

It may seem a defiance of history to assert that the *Oedipodeia* of Sophocles was produced as a unit; but history is a matter of evidence, and evidence is sometimes misestimated.

Aristophanes the Grammarian's argument to Euripides' *Phoenissae* has been strangely mutilated. In a passage which deals with the winners of the three prizes and with the works with which they competed, extraordinary excisions have been made, with the result that what is left much resembles the surviving writing in a line of the *Ichneutae* of which at most points the actual fabric has perished. But there is this difference. In such a line of the *Ichneutae* the *lacunae* are no less patent than the undestroyed text and the length of them is measurable, but in the case of the argument to the *Phoenissae* no *lacunae* are visually presented, the missing words—missing, not all in one batch, but at irregular intervals—being simply left out without gaps to indicate the omissions. I am not in a position to guess at the bearings of this peculiarity in detail, but I would suggest generally that it seems to point to intentional corruption. The passage is this: ἐπὶ Ναυσικράτους ἀρχοντος δεύτερος Εὐριπίδης καθῆκε διδασκαλίαν περὶ τούτου· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ὁ Οἰνόμαος καὶ Χρῦσιππος καὶ σῶζεται. Written however so as to exhibit the *lacunae* and with certain obvious words supplied, it may be presented thus: [ἐδιδάχθη] ἐπὶ Ναυσικράτους ἀρχοντος [ὀλυμπιάδι ..... πρῶτος .....] δεύτερος, Εὐρι-



πίδης [τρίτος.....] καθῆκε διδασκαλίαν [.....] περὶ τούτου· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτά [.....] ὁ Οἰνόμαος καὶ Χρυσίππος καὶ [Φοίνισσαι καὶ ..... σάτυροι· οὐ] σώζεται. The two words καθῆκε διδασκαλίαν are especially important. καθιέναι is the regular term for putting plays into competition. Consequently, διδασκαλίαν must bear its quite normal and ordinary meaning, though not the meaning most familiar to us in modern text-books, of the whole series of plays produced by the same author at the same time, i.e. a tetralogy, connected or unconnected; and from the context we see that in this particular instance it must connote a connected tetralogy, as all of it, not one play only of it, is περὶ τούτου. Some tragedian or other, then, on the occasion of the production of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, competed against him with a connected tetralogy dealing with the same theme. That theme, to speak broadly, is the legend of Oedipus. The actual plot, indeed, of the *Phoenissae* is much the same as that of Aeschylus' *Septem*; but Euripides himself on this particular occasion produced, however strange the fact may seem, a connected trilogy (see later, under Euripides). It would be most surprising to find that a connected tetralogy, produced after the year 412 B.C. (and we know from a *scholium* on the *Ranae* l. 53 that the *Phoenissae* was subsequent to that year), at a period when connected tetralogies were undoubtedly unusual, and judged worthy of one of the prizes at the Urban Dionysia, had passed into utter oblivion. It would be still more surprising if, as is the case with this tetralogy, it was for any reason so notable that Aristophanes the Grammarian went out of his way to dwell on it in the argument to another play produced at the same time. Except for the *Oedipodeia* of Aeschylus, who had died more than forty years before the earliest possible date of the *Phoenissae*, and that of Meletus, no *Oedipodeia* is on record unless we accept as such the three plays of Sophocles that deal with the legend of Oedipus. I am most strongly tempted (I shall argue later that I am contradicting no historical evidence worthy of attention) to accept the Sophoclean plays in question as a trilogy in the full sense of the term and to conclude that it is to them that Aristophanes the Grammarian refers. I shall be able to show that, if they form a trilogy, the only date to which they can be assigned is 411 B.C. I therefore consider that the archon Nausicrates, mentioned in the argument, who does not figure in the list of archons, so that editors necessarily assume that he was an archon *suffectus*, was archon *suffectus* at the time of the Urban Dionysia of 411 B.C. Bearing in mind a statement in the *Life of Sophocles* that this poet never won less than a second prize, and therefore, in order to avoid a contradiction of this statement, filling up *lacunae* on the model of the argument to Aristophanes' *Ranae* rather than on that of certain other arguments, I propose to read the passage thus: [ἐδιδάχθη] ἐπὶ Ναυσικράτους ἄρχοντος [Ὀλυμπιάδι 5β'. Φιλοκλῆς πρῶτος ἦν, Σοφοκλῆς] δεύτερος, Εὐριπίδης [τρίτος. ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς] καθῆκε διδασκαλίαν [τὴν Οἰδιπόδειαν] περὶ τούτου· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτά [μυθολογοῦσιν ἀμφοτέρω. τὰ δὲ δράματα] ὁ Οἰνόμαος καὶ Χρυσίππος καὶ [Φοίνισσαι καὶ ..... σάτυροι· οὐ] σώζεται.

I imagine that the superstition that Sophocles competed with single plays and never composed even unconnected tetralogies is responsible

for a good deal of garbling of texts. I regard it as the real reason why various late writers—I cannot find any early authority supporting them—break up the Sophoclean *Oedipodeia*, which is *prima facie* as obvious a trilogy as the Aeschylean *Oresteia*, into three plays produced at different times. It also seems to me to be the motive that has prompted the mutilation of this argument. I cannot be expected to explain the intention underlying all the omissions. In some cases that is obvious: in others it is perplexing. I suggest that the name of Philocles has been left out in order to prevent the reader from following up the clue that would be offered by his name as first prize-winner, and so arriving at the conclusion that Sophocles was the poet who καθῆκε διδασκαλίαν. I conjecture that some higher critic inked over the words now missing, leaving the others, which, though unintelligible, later scribes copied out as they stood. οὐ σῶζεται refers, as elsewhere, to the last play only.

Lewis Campbell argues that the *Oedipus Coloneus* was produced at the Urban Dionysia of 411 B.C., just after the setting up of the Four Hundred. I agree; but it is to that very Urban Dionysia of 411 B.C. that I see strong reason for assigning the *Antigone* and reason for assigning the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The importance of the question raised is obvious. It will be most convenient that I should first speak of the *Antigone* and the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and then recur to the *Oedipus Coloneus*.

*Antigone*.—With regard to this play I will begin by exhibiting my main contention in outline, reserving for the moment various complicated details. In a *scholium* on the *Pax* l. 698, it is stated that Sophocles lived seven years after the date of the (second) production of that play. Now popular tradition puts—probably, as I shall argue, rightly—the death of Sophocles in the spring of 404 B.C., and it will be seen that the scholiast must have accepted this tradition. We may therefore place the second production of the *Pax* in 411 B.C. This is confirmed by two facts. First, 411 B.C. is the only date at which, in view of the course of the war, the play of 421 B.C. can reasonably have been reproduced. Secondly, the thirteen years mentioned in l. 990 manifestly start with the “one year’s truce” of 423 B.C., so that the year 411 B.C. is fixed. Now another *scholium* on the preceding line of the *Pax* (l. 697) tells us that Aristophanes is there censuring Sophocles partly (καί) because he made money out of τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς ἐν Σάμῳ. This στρατηγία then must have been in or shortly before 411 B.C. The only ἐν Σάμῳ (not περὶ Σάμον or the like) στρατηγία that can be meant is that—it included Alcibiades—set up by the Athenian democratic army at Samos early in 411 B.C. in opposition to the Four Hundred. Now Aristophanes the Grammarian’s argument to the *Antigone* informs us that it was on account of the *Antigone* that Sophocles was deemed worthy τῆς ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγίας. Therefore I attribute the *Antigone* to the early spring, i.e. the Urban Dionysia, of 411 B.C. (this means assigning the second production of the *Pax* to the same Urban Dionysia, and supposing that Sophocles had already sailed for Samos, as the result—so it must have been alleged—of a bribe). This conclusion is supported by two separate traditions as

to the manner of Sophocles' death, which though otherwise superficially inconsistent with each other, agree in taking it for granted that the *Antigone* is a play of the poet's extreme old age. It is clinched by the fact that Aristophanes the Grammarian in his argument to the *Antigone* speaks—according to the existing text—of the play as the thirty-second, meaning, as I show later, that it belongs to the tetralogy chronologically thirty-second in order, so that it is a work of Sophocles' old age and long subsequent to a supposed Samian στρατηγία of the poet in the year 440 B.C. That is my short case, presented without mention of certain details and complications. With those details and complications I will now proceed to deal.

The first question that arises is that of the date at which the scholiast on l. 698 of the *Pax* supposed Sophocles to have died. In strictness, this is another question than that of the date at which he actually died; but the two questions are in practice hardly separable. Two of the items of detailed tradition as to the death of Sophocles that have come down to us (both in his anonymous *Life*) are that he died on the second day of the Anthesteria, and that his funeral outside Athens was for a while impeded by the presence of Lysander's besieging army (Lysander is stated ultimately to have authorised the ceremony). The date of his death, on this showing, is 404 B.C. But most, though not all, of the masters of the later period of antiquity (we learn from the second argument to the *Oedipus Coloneus* that there was no unanimity) and all authorities of recent years have sought to put it either in 406 B.C., or at least at a date anterior to the Anthesteria of 405 B.C., at a time, that is to say, long before Lysander began to besiege Athens. The sole logical reason for the abandonment of popular tradition by these authorities is a statement (the statement, in view of the complications to which I shall point, may well have been made independently in writings, now lost, also) in the existing text of an anonymous argument to the *Ranae* of Aristophanes. That statement, as it stands, is indubitably precise that the *Musae* of Phrynichus was produced at the same date as that of the *first* production of the *Ranae*, that the *Ranae* was produced twice over, and that the time of its *first* production was the Lenaea (very early in the year) of 405 B.C. Now both the *Ranae*, as is well known, and the *Musae* (*Fr.* 1) speak of Sophocles as already dead. The allusions to the matter in the *Ranae*—incidental and not inherent in the framework of the play—may well come from the second edition: second editions have always the better chance of surviving. But the case with Phrynichus' *Musae* is different. If the *Musae* was produced early in 405 B.C., then Sophocles died in the year 406 B.C., or thereabouts, contrary to the popular tradition. But an examination of the argument to the *Ranae* tends to show that the relevant portion of it includes an interpolation by another hand, so phrased as to make patent the possibility that it is an adaptation of a *didascalia* recording the simultaneity, not of the *first*, but of the *second*, production of the *Ranae* with the production of the *Musae*. In that case, all difficulty vanishes. If the *second* production of the *Ranae* and the production of the *Musae* were at the Urban Dionysia of 404 B.C., everything falls into place. So speedy a reproduction of the *Ranae* and a reproduction at so great a festival



would be in keeping with a statement in the argument that it was due to the admiration excited by the *parabasis*: it was, in effect, a reproduction "by request." Here is the passage from the argument (I enclose in square brackets what I consider to be an interpolation): τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν εὖ πάνυ καὶ φιλοπόνως πεποιημένων. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Καλλίου τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντιγένῃ διὰ Φιλωνίδου εἰς Ἀθήναια. [πρῶτος ἦν Φρύνιχος δεύτερος Μούσαις· Πλάτων τρίτος Κλεοφῶντι.] οὕτω δὲ ἐθαυμάσθη τὸ δράμα διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παράβασιν ὥστε καὶ ἀνεδιδάχθη, ὡς φησι Δικαιάρχος. The ungrammatical πρῶτος ἦν—Aristophanes is nowhere mentioned in the context and Greek idiom forbids us to understand Φιλωνίδης from Φιλωνίδου, so that an incorporation from another context is suggested—is quite out of keeping with the careful language of the rest of the argument: moreover the insertion of the title of the *Musae* and that of the *Cleophon* at the point where they occur renders the subsequent τὸ δράμα not indeed really ambiguous but stylistically awkward to a degree. The interpolation, as I consider it, is, though extremely valuable, just as likely as not to be taken from the *didascalía* recording the *second* production of the *Ranae*: it includes in itself absolutely no indication of date, and, in my personal opinion, the use of πρῶτος without a substantive in the nominative tends to imply that the interpolator found himself unable, without falsification of history, to introduce such a substantive, or, in other words, that he was quoting from the second of the two *didascalíae*, which obviously must have begun with the words πρῶτος ἦν Ἀριστοφάνης, whereas the first *didascalía*—the only one appropriate to the context—must have begun with the words πρῶτος ἦν Φιλωνίδης. But I know that many scholars will reject so minute a refinement. Yet, even if there be no interpolation, the complication caused by two productions of the *Ranae* is sufficient to have given rise at least to a mistake on a point of fact, particularly if we suppose that the official records for the year in which Lysander took Athens perished and that, in consequence, a later age filled up the *lacuna* with faulty guesswork that necessitated the recasting of the true records of other years in the immediate neighbourhood. At any rate, I have suggested a possible means of reconciling the evidence with the tradition: but it may be well to add that the despatch by Pluto of a halter or the like to Cleophon in the *Ranae* (l. 1504) suits best the immediate eve of Cleophon's actual execution during the siege of Athens, and also that the title of Plato's *Cleophon* points most naturally to the same moment. But we can carry the matter further. Not only does the *Life* inform us, as I have said, that Sophocles died on the Choes, the second day of the Anthesteria, but also, on the authority of Ister and Neanthes, no purveyors of gossip but authors of high repute, that he was choked by a grape, alleged to be unripe, from a bunch bought by the actor Callippides, who had come to Athens for the Choes, from a farm (where there must have existed either some kind of forcing-house, or else—this a practical vine-grower suggests to me as in his opinion possible—natural facilities for keeping fresh and undecayed part of the grape-crop of the previous year) at Opus, though, according to Satyrus, an historian of distinction, he succumbed to excessive strain incurred in a public recitation from the *Antigone*,

while others attributed his death to inordinate joy at a triumphal proclamation consequent on the aforesaid recitation. καλῶς δ' ἐτελεύτησ' is the short verdict of Phrynichus. These statements, properly considered, dovetail together. One has only to reflect what the Athenian custom was on the occasion of the Choes. Athenaeus writes thus (x. 437 D): τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Χοῶν ἔθος ἐστὶν Ἀθήνησι πέμπεσθαι δῶρά τε καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς τοῖς σοφισταῖς, οἵπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεκάλουν ἐπὶ ξενία τοὺς γνωρίμους. Is it not clear then that on the Choes of 404 B.C. a great presentation was made to Sophocles, a sophist in the wider and better sense, that the poet was prevailed upon to recite a portion of his *Antigone* (if so, the *Antigone* was assuredly not a drama already thirty-six years old), that the recitation was followed by some proclamation or other in honour of the poet, and that afterwards, while eating grapes, a rare delicacy at this particular feast of Dionysus, he had a seizure and died, the medical science of the day hesitating whether to attribute his death to choking, to overstrain, or to excess of exultation? After all, even the greatest poets are human, and human things have a way of happening to them. It is false criticism summarily to reject accounts that present homely features. From what I have said, it will be seen that I think myself that Sophocles died in 404 B.C.; but, even if I am hopelessly wrong, it is manifest that the scholiast with whom I am dealing may reasonably have thought exactly as I do, the sole alternative being that he unreasonably assigned the second *Pax* to 413 or 412 B.C. That is all I am required to prove, and I have proved it.

The first-mentioned passage in the *Pax* (ll. 695-699) runs:

ΕΡΜΗΣ      πρῶτον δ' ὅ τι πράττει Σοφοκλῆς ἀνῆρετο.  
 ΤΡΥΤΑΙΟΣ    εὐδαιμονεῖ· πάσχει δὲ θαυμαστόν. ΕΡ. τὸ τί;  
 ΤΡ.            ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.  
 ΕΡ.            Σιμωνίδης; πῶς; ΤΡ. ὅτι γέρων ὦν καὶ σαπρὸς  
                  κέρδους ἕκατι καὶ ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοι.

The *scholium*, already discussed, on l. 698 is this: μετὰ τὰ ζ' ἔτη βεβίωκεν. πῶς οὖν γέρων; the adverbial μετὰ, *afterwards*, characteristic of Herodotus, comes up again with some frequency in Lucian: τὰ ζ' ἔτη, *the remaining seven years of his life*, is at most a slight extension of Attic idiom (which seems to restrict the use of the article with remainders to places where the other part of the total has been stated in figures): βεβίωκεν shows a sense of the perfect habitual in *scholia*. No emendation is needed. γέρων is a short and rather lazy way of writing the whole expression γέρων καὶ σαπρὸς: it stands to reason that one can be γέρων, though scarcely γέρων καὶ σαπρὸς, seven years or even seventeen years before one dies, and, in the case of Sophocles, it would not help matters to read, as some have proposed, ιζ' for ζ'. Both the style and the matter indicate that this is not a formal note, but the mere memorandum of a difficulty felt by some reader.

The passage (ll. 987-990) dealing with the thirteen years is this (the goddess Peace is being addressed by Trygaeus):

μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἀπόφηνον ὅλην σαυτὴν  
 γενυναιοπρεπῶς τοῖσιν ἔρασταῖς  
 ἡμῖν, οἳ σου τρυχόμεθ' (read σῶτρ'—i.e. σῶστρ'—εὐχόμεθ') ἥδη  
          τρία καὶ δέκ' ἔτη.

If the utterance of these lines be assigned to B.C. 421, or to any later year, except only B.C. 411, most serious difficulties are created: but assign them to B.C. 411, and the thirteen years cover accurately the lapse of time since the first overtures for peace.

As regards earlier στρατηγία of Sophocles, it is not on record that he actually ever set foot in Samos, though he certainly held a naval command in the operations against the island. It is stated that he served against the Anaei (*i.e.* apparently in the first expedition of 440 B.C.), that he was at Chios on his way to Lemnos (*i.e.* apparently in the second expedition of 440 B.C.), that on this latter occasion or earlier he was told by Pericles he was better as a poet than as an officer, that he was engaged at sea by a Samian στρατηγός, Melissus, in the 84th Olympiad (it is a doubtful matter of a few months whether the second expedition of 440 B.C. falls in this or in the next Olympiad), and that he also served as στρατηγός with Nicias, being at the time older than any of his colleagues.

On these data there is indeed a possibility that Sophocles was in Samos as a στρατηγός in 440 B.C.; but there is only a possibility. There is equally a possibility that he was in Samos as a στρατηγός in 411 B.C. About that time, although advanced in years, he was taking a dignified part in public affairs. After the failure of the Sicilian expedition Aristotle tells us (*Pol.* VI. 5 and *Rhet.* III. 18) that Sophocles was one of the πρόβουλοι, a provisional committee of the highest importance, and that as such he voted for the setting up of the Four Hundred, not because he liked such a course, but merely as a *pis aller*. We may safely conclude, though it has been doubted, that Sophocles the poet is meant. A contemporary writer, indeed, might, with the facts fresh in the minds of his readers, have described some other Sophocles as Sophocles *tout court*, but Aristotle, who wrote a long time after the events, would have failed to express himself intelligibly, had he intended any Sophocles but the poet. This half-hearted support of the oligarchy, based probably on the impossibility, as it seemed at the time, of obtaining the support of Alcibiades on any other terms, must, one would think, as tyrannical outrages, including murders, became more and more prevalent, have been replaced by a cordial detestation of the new régime: we certainly find Sophocles in great favour after the restoration of the democracy. It is not unlikely that when the tyranny neared its height, he fled, perhaps in an unseaworthy vessel (ἐπὶ ῥιπός), to Samos to the democratic army, and, if he did so, he was, in view of his former στρατηγία, and of his late position as πρόβουλος, in spite of his age, an eminently suitable person, or rather personage, to be included by the soldiers in their new board of στρατηγοί. The functions of these στρατηγοί were, at least for the moment, predominantly political: they constituted the provisional cabinet of the Athenian democracy. To a seat on a body such as this eminent distinction in literature gives a quite reasonable claim, and it is perfectly credible that the recent production of the *Antigone* may have carried weight with the highly artistic electorate. It is not, on the other hand, easily conceivable, except in a farcical comedy, that a production of the *Antigone* in the year 441 B.C. should have been the real inducement to the populace to appoint a middle-aged author to a naval com-



mand on active service at a period of considerable stress. As regards this particular set of considerations, the probabilities seem to point much more strongly to 411 B.C. than to 441 B.C. as the date of the production of the *Antigone*.

A statement, to which reference has already been made, at the extreme end of Aristophanes the Grammarian's argument to the *Antigone*, is of the last importance as fixing the approximate, although not the exact, date of the play. In the present state of the text it runs: λέλεκται δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦτο τριακοστὸν δεύτερον. It is obvious at first sight that the *Antigone* is not the thirty-second play of Sophocles in alphabetical order. Another order existed in antiquity. That other order crops up five times in all, twice in connexion with tragedies, and three times in connexion with comedies. The two tragedies are this and the *Alcestis* of Euripides; the three comedies are the *Dionysalexandros* of Cratinus, the *Aves* of Aristophanes and the *Imbrii* of Menander. In the case of the comedies in question there is no shadow of a reason to suppose that the order referred to can be anything other than the chronological order. In the case of the *Alcestis* it is certainly the chronological order, but subject to a slight complication that has hitherto blinded editors to the facts and led to wild speculations as to catalogue-numbers in the Alexandrian library. The statement as to the *Alcestis* is contained in the anonymous argument to that play, and, in the existing text, runs: τὸ δρᾶμα ἐποιήθη ιζ', i.e. *the drama was composed the seventeenth*. This is a perfectly unambiguous assertion. Now Euripides began to exhibit in the year 455 B.C., when he won the third prize (*Life of Euripides*). His *Alcestis* is the fourth play of a tetralogy with which he won the second prize in the year 438 B.C. (see the argument to the *Alcestis*). His period of production extended over approximately fifty years or a little less, and his plays in all seem to have numbered ninety-two or thereabouts. Consequently, on a rough average, he must have produced a tetralogy once every two years. Assuming, as is natural, that he was more prolific in the vigour of his youth than in his old age, we should expect to find that in his most active prime he approached the average of a tetralogy a year. Had he produced one tetralogy a year without exception from 455 B.C. to 438 B.C., both inclusive, the latter year would have witnessed the presentation of his eighteenth tetralogy. As it is, the argument to the *Alcestis* tells us that the drama was composed the seventeenth. τὸ δρᾶμα is a mere corruption, so slight as to be almost negligible, of τὸ ὄραμα, the spectacle, i.e. the tetralogy. Editors would be well advised to bear the possibility of confusion between δρᾶμα and ὄραμα constantly in mind. No other explanation of the statement in the argument seems to be possible. It would be absurd to suppose that in the year 438 B.C. Euripides had reached only his seventeenth play. Moreover seventeen is not integrally divisible by four, and yet the *Alcestis* is known to have been the last play of a tetralogy. Let me apply my conclusion to the case of the *Antigone*, in the argument to which also I change δρᾶμα to ὄραμα. Sophocles began to exhibit in 468 B.C., and continued so doing for sixty years or a little more. His undoubted plays, as we saw some time back, were put by the ancients at the number of 123, plus 17 of doubtful authenticity, these 17 including,

it may be supposed, some of the works in which, as we are told, he and Iophon collaborated. Now the thirty-second tetralogy of Sophocles would embrace his 125th, 126th, 127th and 128th plays. We have thus actually passed beyond the limit of his undoubted plays (I, of course, do not mean that the *Oedipodeia* itself was doubted): we have come within measurable distance of the end of his total alleged output. I do not claim to fix a precise date: 441 B.C. is out of the question, whereas there is nothing in the year 411 B.C. to conflict in the least with the indications. I therefore regard this branch of the investigation as affording important evidence in the direction to which I have already seen some reason to incline.

It remains to inquire whether there is anything in the *Antigone* which would naturally have disposed the democratic soldiery to choose Sophocles as one of their leaders. I would especially point to ll. 732-739:

KPEΩN. οὐχ ἤδε γὰρ τοιᾶδ' ἐπέιληπται νόσῳ;  
 AIMΩN. οὐ φησι Θήβης τῆσδ' ὁμόπολις λέως.  
 KP. πόλις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἅμ' ἐχρή τάσσειν ἐρεῖ;  
 AI. ὁρᾷς τόδ' ὥς εἰρηκας ὥς ἄγαν νέος;  
 KP. ἄλλω γὰρ ἢ μοι χρή με τῆσδ' ἄρχειν χθονός;  
 AI. πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἥτις ἀνδρός ἔσθ' ἐνός.  
 KP. οὐ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἡ πόλις νομίζεται;  
 AI. καλῶς ἐρήμης γ' ἂν συ γῆς ἄρχοις μόνος.

These lines—and they do not stand alone—may well have been on every lip, a lillibullero fateful to the foes of liberty. I do not think that there is any substantial difficulty in supposing that a play performed at Athens exercised a speedy influence upon the army at Samos. Even if in the particular circumstances communications were restricted, the coming and going of secret democratic emissaries cannot have been altogether prevented, and the dissemination of revolutionary literature is at all times a hard thing to check. It must further be remembered that we have already seen reason to suppose that Sophocles in person found means of escaping to Samos shortly before the actual production of his play at Athens. I will now pass to the *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

*Oedipus Tyrannus*.—The fact that when, at whatever date, Sophocles produced the *Oedipus Tyrannus* he obtained only the second prize, being defeated by the quite inferior tragic poet Philocles (see the first argument to the *O.T.* and Aristides, II. 334), a fact which arouses the indignation of the late writer Aristides (*l.c.*), needs some explanation. The merits of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* are so extraordinary that the verdict of the judges is calculated to astonish us. Nor is our bewilderment lessened when we reflect that Athens was singularly loyal to established artistic reputations. One is therefore inclined to suspect some disturbing influence of a nature other than literary. Politics at once suggests itself, but in controversial politics Sophocles is not known to have taken part, except in relation to the establishment of the Four Hundred, on which occasion he certainly at first gave a lukewarm support to the oligarchy, but probably (so at least I have argued in my treatment of the *Antigone*) afterwards flung himself into the arms

of the democracy. If he so flung himself and if his *Oedipus Tyrannus* was presented just afterwards, *i.e.* at the Urban Dionysia of 411 B.C., we have an immediate explanation both of his own defeat and of the victory of Philocles. Philocles was a nephew of Aeschylus and therefore, we may confidently assume, an oligarch of the oligarchs. At any rate the defeat of Sophocles by Philocles is consistent and more than consistent with the assumption that the *Oedipus Tyrannus* was produced in 411 B.C.

The only express external evidence as to the date of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* consists of a clause in the second argument to the play: εἰσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Πρότερον, οὐ Τύραννον, αὐτὸν ἐπιγράφοντες, διὰ τοῦς χρόνους τῶν διδασκαλιῶν καὶ διὰ τὰ πράγματα. If this statement is true to facts, 411 B.C. is not thereby excluded as a possible date for the drama; but the two *Oedipodes* are nevertheless attributed to separate dates, an impossibility, or nearly so, on the hypothesis that both the *Antigone* and the *Oedipus Tyrannus* belong to the Urban Dionysia of 411 B.C., as in that case the *Oedipus Coloneus* is required to complete the trilogy. When I come to the *Oedipus Coloneus*, I will deal more fully with the probabilities relating to its production or productions; but at this point I will observe in anticipation that it is on the cards that the writer of this argument, misled by the theory that Sophocles never composed tetralogies, erroneously took the recorded presentation of the *Oedipus Coloneus* by Sophocles the younger as the first presentation of that play, rejecting any possible contrary tradition, and that consequently he was not justified in distinguishing in date between the two *Oedipodes*. It would be interesting to get at the back of the mind of the Sophoclean scholiasts. They frequently write as though Sophocles not only produced no connected tetralogies, but also competed with one play at a time and no more. The *didascaliae* must have informed them of the true facts; but it is evident that those facts clashed with their preconceptions, and I can only suppose that the *didascaliae* themselves were, as time went on, emended into conformity with the preconceptions in question. I draw all the distinction in the world between the traditions, sound on the whole though fallible in detail, that one can trace back to the palmy days of Alexandrian scholarship, or even earlier, and those, almost as often as not originated under the influence of some false theory, which seem to date only from the days when antiquity was drifting towards barbarism and the scholiast had replaced the scholar.

As regards the internal evidence of date, apart from that afforded by metre, which I shall discuss separately at a later stage, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is commonly thought to be topical in two ways. The allusions to a plague at the beginning of the play are considered to be reminiscent of the plague at Athens, and the language employed in ll. 883-894 is regarded as alluding to the mutilation of the Hermae. As the plague at Athens raged in 430 B.C. and the Hermae were mutilated in 415 B.C., it is clear that, on the assumption of a real allusion in both cases, the plague is brought in as topical, if at all, in the remotest sense only. With regard to the Hermae, I am disposed to agree that there is an allusion to the mutilation of them. Only I do not think



it is an otiose allusion, such as alone would have been possible at the time of Alcibiades' banishment. I rather see in it a purposeful comparison of the impiety of Oedipus with that of Alcibiades, drawn at the time, *i.e.* in 411 B.C., when Sophocles was endeavouring to procure Alcibiades' restoration. Only, in that case, the *Oedipus Coloneus* must form part of the trilogy, as it is in the *Oedipus Coloneus* alone that Oedipus, in spite of his past, is reconciled with the gods and becomes the safeguard of Athens.

*Oedipus Coloneus*.—Lewis Campbell's contention that the *Oedipus Coloneus* was first produced at the Urban Dionysia of 411 B.C. and that the production of 401 B.C. was a reproduction is supported at length in his introduction to the play by arguments which it is not necessary for me to repeat. They are largely founded on the fact that the *ecclesia* which set up the Four Hundred was held at Colonus Hippius and on the high probability that after the fall of the Four Hundred the glorification of that place in a drama would have been undesirable. I do not see eye to eye with Campbell in every detail; but I am much impressed by his contention as a whole. He does not demonstrate his thesis, but he commends it as a probability.

He writes without any suspicion that a case can be made out for assigning the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Antigone* to the same year and festival. That such a case can be presented enormously strengthens his argument. He is also, I think, borne out by a consideration which he does not mention. It appears to me that a fairly close parallel exists between Oedipus and Alcibiades. I suggest that the immediate moral of the *Oedipus Coloneus* is that, as Oedipus, in spite of his past, was reconciled to the gods and became on Attic soil the safeguard of Athens, so Alcibiades might be reconciled and prove a similar safeguard. It would, I conceive, be contrary to tragic art to point this moral more precisely than it is actually pointed in the play.

I have now completed my presentation of the positive evidence that leads me to take the three plays as a trilogy and, incidentally, of my reasons for disregarding certain statements to the contrary. I am well aware that by itself this presentation could at the most establish only the position that the ascription of the three plays to three different dates, known or unknown, is, in view of all the facts, by no means a necessary conclusion from the conflicting evidence. But, if so much be admitted, there remains no longer any valid reason for discrediting the testimony of our artistic senses and refusing to recognise the trilogy that stands in front of us.

Yet, in order to remove certain prejudices that impede clear vision, it will be well for me to point out (*a*) that alleged inconsistencies in the three plays, as compared one with another, are mere figments of commentators and (*b*) that it is not a fact that the metrical features of the *Antigone* stamp that drama as an early work of Sophocles.

The supposed inconsistencies, apart from mere nests which I need not mention, are two in number. Whereas in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* Jocasta kills herself at once on the discovery of the facts, it is said by some that the ἔπειτα of l. 53 of the *Antigone* conveys that she outlived

Oedipus. But, as others have seen, the *ἔπειτα* is logical, not temporal ; the two deaths are put in the order of their importance. Again, ll. 897-902 of the *Antigone* are very strangely taken as meaning that Oedipus died at Thebes and was prepared for burial by Antigone, in flat defiance, this time, of the *Oedipus Coloneus*. This interpretation is based on a complete disregard of the delicately exact language employed by Sophocles. The passage runs :

ἐλθοῦσα μέντοι κάρτ' ἐν ἐλπίσιν τρέφω  
 φίλη μὲν ἥξειν πατρί, προσφιλῆς δὲ σοί,  
 μῆτερ, φίλη δὲ σοί, κασίγνητον κάρα·  
 ἐπεὶ θανόντας αὐτόχειρ ὕμᾱς ἐγώ  
 ἔλουσα κἀκόσμησα κἀπιτυμβίους  
 χοῶς ἔδωκα.

ὕμᾱς includes only the two persons whom Antigone apostrophises, namely, her mother and her brother. She pointedly abstains from apostrophising her father, of whom she speaks in the third person. I do not see how Sophocles, without adding a footnote, could have made his meaning plainer.

To turn to metre, the *Antigone* shows a blend of characteristics exactly of the kind we should expect in a play that on the one hand was a work of the old age of Sophocles and on the other hand was somewhat archaistic in the sense of forming part of a connected tetralogy. In such a tetralogy Sophocles would naturally employ features somewhat reminiscent of Aeschylus, though in moderation. One would not expect to find any plethora of the archaic element. Indeed it is improbable that any particular old-fashioned device would occur more than once in the whole tetralogy, *i.e.* in more than one play out of the four. In the *Oedipus Tyrannus* the accumulation of horrors lifts the play, without the need for much technical mechanism, into an almost superhuman atmosphere not altogether unlike that of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. The *Oedipus Coloneus*, in marked contrast, breathes, for the most part, a spirit of divine calm, broken indeed by violent outbursts, but suggesting, beyond any other work of classical literature, *illam quam mundus dare non potest pacem*. It is when the poet comes to the *Antigone*, which, though no less beautiful than the two other plays, is, in conformity with the canons of art, more in the nature of a mean between extremes, in order that the trilogy may end on a normal note, that a freer use of the older technique becomes necessary. Otherwise the coping-stone of the trilogy would have been comparatively deficient, not indeed in grace, but in dignity. Thus it comes to pass that Sophocles, in this play, reverts to a positively Aeschylean use of anapaestic systems and, as in no other of his extant dramas, to an equally Aeschylean refusal to permit *antilabe* in senarii. But at the same time he allows clear signs of his own metrical development to manifest themselves. As regards trisyllabic and virtually trisyllabic endings (for the details of this subject see my tables on pp. 246-248) he does not attempt to rival the strictness of Aeschylus, who, on an average, allows only one such ending in every nineteen tragic lines, but he follows a tendency of his own, which finds its culmination in this play and in the *Philoctetes* (409 B.C.). That is to say, in those

two plays he becomes stricter than elsewhere, allowing one trisyllabic ending in every eleven lines only, whereas in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and in the *Trachiniae* he allows one in every seven, in the *Electra* and the *Oedipus Coloneus* one in every nine, and in the *Ajax* one in every ten. In this respect, then, the *Antigone* is to be equated with the *Philoctetes*. The result is not at all Aeschylean, but the movement is in that direction. I will repeat here that the *Antigone* is a normal play, in a sense in which the two *Oedipodes* are not normal, but in which the *Philoctetes* is. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the discrepancy in iambic metre between the *Oedipodes* and the *Antigone*.

The subject of trisyllabic feet in senarii also claims our attention. In this respect the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the *Oedipus Coloneus*, and the *Antigone* form, together with the *Ajax*, a separate and well-marked group. These are the approximate figures. Outside proper names the *Ajax* presents one trisyllabic foot in every 33 tragic lines, the *Antigone* one in every 31, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* one in every 29, and the *Oedipus Coloneus* one in every 27. On one side of this group stands the *Electra*, a play so extremely strict that it allows only one trisyllabic foot to every 54 tragic lines, and on the other side the *Trachiniae* with one trisyllabic foot to every 23 tragic lines, and the *Philoctetes* (in this case the result is due to the fact that the hero is continually moaning trisyllabically) with one trisyllabic foot to every 12 tragic lines. On these figures at least the affinities of the *Antigone* are indubitable, so that it becomes possible for the caution of the critic to agree with the instinct of the poet that

“Dans ses veines toujours un jeune sang bouillonne,  
Et Sophocle à cent ans peint encore Antigone.”

In confirmation of these views it would seem from the *Philoctetes*, to which I shall soon come, that towards the end of his life Sophocles reverted to the practice of composing connected tetralogies.

The *Satyric Drama*.—It is difficult to suggest any Satyric drama but the *Sphinx* (though naturally the scholiasts record no such play by Sophocles, as the mere mention of it would at once suggest an Oedipodean tetralogy), if one tragic character from each of the three tragedies has to be introduced and if, as is only congruous, Oedipus himself has to figure in it. The long argument to Euripides' *Phoenissae*, which recounts almost the whole of the Oedipodean legend, after basing itself expressly on Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* for a considerable portion of the story, proceeds immediately, without authority cited, to relate the incidents connected with the Sphinx. Now Suidas (s.v. Οἰδίπους, cf. Cedrinus, p. 25) gives a similarly comprehensive account of the legend of the doings of Oedipus and his sons, but an account differing widely in detail from that of Sophocles and the argument to the *Phoenissae*, both in other respects and as regards the Sphinx. It is natural to suppose that in the matter of the Sphinx, and indeed generally, Suidas is following the *Oedipodeia* of Aeschylus, and the long argument to the *Phoenissae* the *Oedipodeia* of Sophocles. A slight confirmation of this view is to be found in the fact that, although the Sphinx is only incidentally mentioned in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, yet



the *Riddle* and the *Answer to the Riddle* stand traditionally prefixed to that play, not, I suggest, as an introduction to the drama as such, but as an introduction to the tetralogy which it headed. The tragic characters figuring in the account of the Sphinx given in the long argument to the *Phoenissae* are three in number, Oedipus, Creon, and Jocasta. This is the right number for a Sophoclean Satyric drama. Jocasta comes in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* only, so that it is as representative of that play that she must appear in the *Sphinx*. Therefore Oedipus must be borrowed from the *Oedipus Coloneus*, though of course he is chief character in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* also. Similarly Creon, who figures in all three tragedies, must for the purposes of the *Sphinx* be representative of the *Antigone*, in which, indeed, alone he is the leading male character. There is nothing demonstrative about this treatment, but it flows directly from the evidences of probability, and it squares completely with my view that we are dealing with a tetralogy.

(b) Sophocles' *Syndipni*, *Philoctetes Lemni*, *Philoctetes Trojae*, *Epitænenarii Satyri*.

The *Syndipni* deals with the banquet at Tenedos in the course of which Philoctetes was bitten by a snake, the still extant *Philoctetes Lemni* records his sufferings at Lemnos and the stratagem by which it was sought to bring him to Troy, while the *Philoctetes Trojae* tells the story of his cure at Troy at the hands of Podalirius and Machaon. We have here, to all appearance, a fully connected trilogy, and we know that the *Philoctetes Lemni* was produced at the Urban Dionysia of 409 B.C., only two years after the date assigned by me to the *Oedipodeia*, when Sophocles gained the first prize (second argument to the *Philoctetes*). The calculated silence of the writer of the argument as to the other plays produced by Sophocles on the same occasion is evidently part of the general conspiracy of later scholiasts to obscure the fact that he brought out more than one play at a time. The sequence of the *Philoctetes Lemni* and the *Philoctetes Trojae* is so manifestly identical with that of the *Lemnii* and the *Philoctetes* in the Philocteteian tetralogy of Aeschylus that on that ground alone one would be fairly safe in assuming the existence of a connected trilogy in this case also. Add the consideration that at the end of the *Philoctetes Lemni* the hero is promised a complete cure at Troy, of which cure we see a preliminary in the *Philoctetes Trojae* (Fr. 701), and the probability of a connected tetralogy becomes such that strong positive evidence would be necessary in order to outweigh it. But no evidence, strong or weak, can be adduced. I therefore pronounce unreservedly in favour of a connected trilogy.

This view is distinctly confirmed when we approach the question of the Satyric drama, which is to a moral certainty the *Epitænenarii Satyri*. I agree with Dindorf that the two mentions, both in Orion, of an alleged *Heracleiscus* are corrupt ('Ηρακλεισκού stands for 'Ηρακλσκοῦ, i.e. 'Ηρακλέους σατυρικοῦ—*Epitæneniorum Satyrorum*) and that consequently we need not assume the existence of a Satyric drama about Hercules as an infant in addition to that which dealt with his descent into Hades. Had we to do so, the only Satyric episode avail-

able would be his discovery by Hermes and Athene in the *ager Herculeus*. As Hermes and Athene are also his traditional companions at Taenarus, the duplication of *dramatis personae* would be most improbable and, indeed, would more than tax the resources of the known tragedies. The Chorus of Satyrs, with Silenus as Satyric character, are, we may take it, present in the *Epitaenarii*. The tragic characters, Hercules, Hermes and Athene, must surely come from the Philoctetean trilogy, Hercules from the extant *Philoctetes Lemni*, Hermes from the *Philoctetes Trojae*, and Athene from the *Syndipni* (where, doubtless, she intervened as a friend of Ulysses). *Frs.* 700 and 701 in the *Philoctetes Trojae* refer to Hermes and not to Aesculapius. The healers of Philoctetes, as promised in the *Philoctetes Lemni* (l. 1333), were Podalirius and Machaon. A slight, but confusing, corruption has crept into ll. 1436-1438, where we now read

φυλάσσετον  
οὗτος σὲ καὶ σὺ τόνδ'· ἐγὼ δ' Ἀσκληπιόν  
παυστῆρα πέμψω σῆς νόσου πρὸς Ἴλιον.

We should read

φυλάσσετον  
οὗτος σὲ καὶ σὺ τόνδε· τὼ δ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ  
παυστῆρε πέμψω σῆς νόσου πρὸς Ἴλιον.

The complete way in which the three plays relating to Philoctetes, taken as a trilogy, answer the requirements of the *Epitaenarii* is the determining reason why I take, as will be seen, the Hermes of the *Ichneutae* from the *Inachus*, not from the *Philoctetes Trojae*.

(c) Sophocles' *Eriphyle*, *Theseus*, *Epigoni*, *Amphiaraus Satyricus*.

It is recognised as probable *a priori* that the *Amphiaraus Satyricus* deals with the founding of the Nemean Games. That probability is greatly increased by the indications afforded in a passage of Athenaeus (x. 454 f.). The present text of Athenaeus runs: καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ τούτῳ παραπλήσιον ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ σατυρικῷ τὰ γράμματα παράγων ὀρχούμενον. The participle ὀρχούμενον cannot, at least in this kind of Greek, mean *someone dancing*, and it is fairly evident (especially when one glances at the way Athenaeus expresses himself in the earlier portion of the context) that a substantive has dropped out. It is simplicity itself to read: τὰ γράμματα παράγων Ἀγῶν ὀρχούμενον. Agon, the god of Greek gatherings, is the right person in the right place. Doubtless it was in order to purify Nemea from the blood of Opheltes that he "danced the alphabet"; compare the story of the purification of Miletus by means of words containing all the letters of the alphabet.

The tragic characters there were Amphiaraus, Adrastus (who can scarcely be left out), and, as I suggest, Agon. There was a Chorus of Satyrs, and Silenus was, one may almost take it for granted, the Satyric character.

The *Fragments* suit this view. *Fr.* 115 is quoted by a scholiast on Plato (*Conv.* 222 B). It runs corruptly thus:

ἐτ' αὖ ὥσπερ ἀλιεύς πlying εἰς ἐνὼν διδασκαλος.

The scholiast has just been speaking of a ἄλιεύς who was πληγείς by a scorpion, and who thereupon said to himself: πληγείς νοῦν φύσεις. The scholiast continues: κέχρηται τῇ παροιμίᾳ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ σατυρικῷ, λέγων κ.τ.λ. It is obvious to me that ὥσπερ ἄλιεύς πληγείς is a misreading due to this context. If we divide the line into words so as to produce grammatical sense, we arrive, without any but the minutest alteration, at the following iambic tetrameter (if περᾶ began a trimeter the previous three words would scarcely be quoted):

ἐτ' αἶ' ὥς περᾶ δι' ὕσπληγ' εἷς φρενῶν διδάσκαλος,

*Mark further how the one teacher of wisdom crosses the starting-tape.* A scorpion (called in priestly periphrasis the one teacher of wisdom), apparently racing, or seeming to race some other creature or creatures, is observed, doubtless by Amphiaras and for purposes of divination in connexion with the establishment of the races of the Nemean Games.

From *Fr.* 113 it looks very much as though the scorpion had for competitor the variety of τέτιξ known as μάντις. That fragment has come down to us in the form

ὁ πιννοτήρης τοῦδε μάντεως χοροῦ.

I propose

ὁ πιννοτήρης τοῦδε μάντεως τοροῦ.

I should, while translating μάντεως *prophet*, take it to refer to a "shrill cicala" or mantis. Just as the helpless pinna is in fable protected by the well-armed pea-crab, so the helpless mantis is, I suggest, represented as protected by the well-armed scorpion. The scorpion is thus called the *pinna-defender*, whose *pinna* is this shrill prophet (or mantis); the phrase is like σώμάτων χρυσαμοιβός, Aesch. *Ag.* l. 436. It may well be that the creatures ran on the threshing-floor the mention of which constitutes *Fr.* 118.

*Fr.* 114 has caused difficulty. A grammarian (Cramer's *Anecdota*, I, 344, 8) is made to say: πελιοῦ οὖν παρὰ τὸ πέλλω.

ἐνθ' οὔτε πέλλεις οἷ ἄγραυλος βότος.

Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ σατυρικῷ. In view of the discomfort and even danger caused to cows by leaving them unmilked, I do not hesitate to read πέλλω for πέλλω, and

ἐνθ' οὔτε πέλλ', εὔσοιά γ' ἀγραύλοισ βοδοῖς.

From that *Fragment* nothing much can be gathered. In fact all that I can say further is that (in order to avoid additional characters) the death of Opheltes must precede the action of the play, and that probably the Satyrs had been enslaved by the local dragon.

I take Amphiaras from the *Eriphyle*, Adrastus from the *Epigoni*, and Agon of necessity from the *Theseus*, postulating that that play dealt, at least in part, with the re-institution of the Isthmian Games (at Olympia there was a famous statue of Agon). Some scholars attempt to identify the *Epigoni* and the *Eriphyle*; but Stobaeus quotes both by name (the former twice, the latter six times) and is unlikely so to have varied his designation of one and the same play.



The tetralogy—the trilogy standing in chronological order—would thus be the *Eriphyle*, the *Theseus*, the *Epigoni*, the *Amphiaraus Satyricus*. But we have not here a question of mere chronological order: we have a substantially Aeschylean tetralogy. If there is anything in my view as to the *provenance* of three tragic characters in Satyric dramas from three separate tragedies, it is extremely difficult to fix in this case on any three tragedies other than those I have mentioned. I therefore infer provisionally that we have lit upon yet another connected tetralogy of Sophocles.

(d) Sophocles' *Athamas I*, *Athamas II*, *Phryxus*, *Dionysiscus Satyricus*.

I shall not argue at any length as to this tetralogy, the only remaining connected tetralogy of Sophocles that I am able to indicate. That it is a tetralogy seems to appear from the requirements of the Satyric drama, and, granted that it is a tetralogy, it is patently a connected tetralogy. One tragic character in the *Dionysiscus* is clearly Dionysus. The other two are probably Athamas and Ino. That is the legend that apparently was adopted by Sophocles as the basis of his *Athamas II*. Add a Chorus of Satyrs and the Satyric Silenus, assigned, I take it, as slaves to the infant Dionysus. It is easiest to take Athamas from *Athamas I* (he comes, of course, in *Athamas II* also), Ino from *Athamas II* and Dionysus himself (he is said to have maddened Phryxus and Helle) from the *Phryxus*. This is perhaps a step towards a solution of the various difficulties arising out of the *Athamantes* and the *Phryxus*. The only natural alternative in the *Dionysiscus* to the pair Athamas and Ino is the pair Aristaeus and Maeris; but neither Aristaeus nor Maeris, much less the two together, can with any show of reason be extracted from any known tragedy or tragedies of Sophocles.

I will now proceed to take *seriatim* the Satyric dramas of Sophocles that I have not yet discussed and endeavour to link them up with the trilogies to which they were originally attached. In no case will it appear that the indications point to a connected trilogy. A good deal of guesswork will be necessary; but my aim is not to do more than suggest what possibilities seem on the evidence to be the more probable.

(a) *Achilleos Erastae Satyrici*.

We know (see the *Fragments*) that, besides the Chorus of Satyrs, there were in this play three tragic characters, Achilles, Peleus and Phoenix. As the scene is doubtless laid in or near Chiron's cave and as Phoenix was cured of his blindness by Chiron, it is natural in this play to substitute, as a Satyric character, Chiron for Silenus, though Silenus may well lead the Chorus. As for the trilogy, there is nothing simpler than to draw Peleus from the *Peleus* and Phoenix from the *Phoenix*. To avoid bringing in any play connected in subject with the *Peleus*, I will tentatively take Achilles from the *Achaeon Synodos*. The tetralogy—the trilogy standing in chronological order—

would thus be: the *Phoenix*, the *Achaëon Synodos*, the *Peleus*, the *Achilleos Erastae Satyrici*. This Satyric drama is highly important as demonstrably representing, like the *Ichneutae*, but unlike Euripides' *Cyclops*, three tragic characters: this fact commends my views.

(b) *Amycus Satyricus*.

The tragic characters are Amycus, Pollux and, no doubt, one other, probably a representative Argonaut, for whom I should choose Jason. There was a Satyric Chorus and Silenus, I suppose, was the Satyric character. Amycus must, I think, be taken from the *Mysi*, which tragedy, if that be so, dealt, not with Telephus but with the quarrel between Lycus, king of Mysia, and Amycus. I utterly fail to place Amycus in any other tragic *milieu*. I regard Pollux as borrowed from the *Tyndareos* (no other recorded play seems suitable) and Jason from the *Colchides*. The tetralogy—the trilogy standing in chronological order—would thus be the *Mysi*, the *Colchides*, the *Tyndareos*, the *Amycus Satyricus*.

(c) *Cedalion Satyricus*.

This play can, I think, have nothing to do with the story of the blinding or that of the healing of Orion. First, if it had, it would surely be called, at least sometimes, the *Orion*. Secondly, the Satyrs are concerned, at least in a legend which is perhaps founded on some other Satyric play, with the blinding, but Cedalion with the healing. The circumstances are such that it would be most difficult to combine both the blinding and the healing in one drama, and, even if it be only on the strength of a Satyric play that the Satyrs are connected with the blinding, yet it seems impossible to connect them with the recorded surroundings of the healing. Thirdly, so enormous a giant as Orion can hardly have been brought on the Satyric stage. I agree, then, for once, with Wilamowitz, who finds the action of the drama in the apprenticing of Hephaestus by Hera to Cedalion—a recorded story—to learn the blacksmith's trade. The scene is, doubtless, Naxos, where Cedalion lived. The tragic characters are Cedalion, Hephaestus and Hera. There is a Chorus of Satyrs, and we may assume Silenus as Satyric character. Perhaps Silenus and the Satyrs had been enslaved by Cedalion. Cedalion must, for a moral certainty, be taken from the *Pandora*, where his presence, as a character, not as a member of the Chorus, would be eminently appropriate. Here a short digression is inevitable. The *Pandora* is a tragedy, not a Satyric drama. It is expressly mentioned five times in antiquity, but never as Satyric. Pandora herself and, almost certainly, Epimetheus must be among the *dramatis personae*. I defy anyone to point to any other play of Sophocles from which either of these characters can, on the assumption that the *Pandora* is Satyric, be borrowed: neither can they come from lost tragedies, as the *Pandora* plot is their sole *milieu*. But the *Pandora*, as a tragedy, provides a *provenance* for Cedalion. So much for the *Pandora*. Hephaestus I take from the *Daedalus* (there is no known alternative), Hera from the *Xoanephoroi* (again there is no known alternative). It will be observed that all three plays of the trilogy are directly concerned with graven images, and the Satyric drama

with the art of making them. Thus we have not, indeed, a connected tetralogy, but still we have a tetralogy with a certain thread of unity. I have already suggested in the case of Aeschylus that the *Callisto*, the *Atalanta* and the *Niobe*, as also three other similar sets of three plays apiece, form trilogies strung together in a manner very similar to that which I seem to see in this case. The tetralogy—the trilogy standing in chronological order—would thus be: the *Pandora*, the *Daedalus*, the *Xoanephori*, the *Cedalion Satyricus*.

(d) *Cophi Satyri*.

Of this play so little is known that it is impossible to say more of the cast than that it included a Chorus of Satyrs and presumably Silenus as Satyric character. As regards the title *Cophi*, perhaps it is a case of *lupi Moerim videre priores*. I would point out that, as both a fountain and the Phrygian Mt. Ida are in some way or other introduced, it is just conceivable that the *Cophi Satyri* may be only another name for the *Crisis Satyrica*. It may not be amiss here to attempt an emendation of a portion of a passage in Zenobius (iv. 80) relating to the *Cophi* (mentioned just afterwards), as the result, arrived at by strict attention to the *ductus*, exhibits poetical language which must have been borrowed from some chorus of the play itself. Zenobius' existing text runs: Κέλμης γάρ, εἰς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, τὴν μητέρα 'Ρέαν ὑβρίσας καὶ μὴ ὑποδεξάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐμενῶς ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ στερεώτατος ἐγένετο σίδηρος. I suggest: Κέλμης γάρ, εἰς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, τὴν μητέρα 'Ρέαν ὑβρίσας καὶ μὴ ὑποδεξάμενος ὑπόγεων ἐδάφων ἔδω ἅμ' ἐνόσει τῆς Ἰδῆς τάφον, ὅς στερεώτατος ἐγένετο σίδηρος.

(e) *Crisis Satyrica*.

This drama deals with the Judgement of Paris. A Chorus of Satyrs, we know, and doubtless Silenus were present. The tragic characters are Paris, Aphrodite and Athene. I agree with Stephani that Hera is left out. Stephani justifies the omission on allegorical grounds, basing himself with reason on Athenaeus (xv. 687 E). Personally, I consider four tragic characters an impossibility. I take Paris from the *Alexander*, Aphrodite from the *Lemniae*, and Athene from the *Ajax*. The tetralogy—the trilogy standing in chronological order—would thus be the *Lemniae*, the *Alexander*, the *Ajax*, the *Crisis Satyrica*.

(f) *Helenes Gamos Satyricus*.

We know that in this drama there was a Chorus of Satyrs, and we may safely add Silenus as Satyric character. The tragic characters plainly include Paris and Helen. A third tragic character is at first sight hard to find; but one may discover him in the person of an *Orosanges*, or *Oriental Lifeguard*. Claudius Casilo (see Miller's *Mélanges*, p. 397) says: "Ὁροσάγγαι: body-guards; Sophocles' *Helenes Gamos* and *Troilus*." I take Helen from the *Helenes Apaetesis*, Paris from the *Phryges*, and the *Orosanges* from the *Troilus*. The tetralogy—the trilogy standing in chronological order—would thus be: the *Helenes Apaetesis*, the *Troilus*, the *Phryges*, the *Helenes Gamos Satyricus*. The *Alexander* is a trifle too closely connected with the *Helenes Apaetesis*



to form a part of the same normal Sophoclean trilogy: else Paris could be taken equally well from that. We have seen Paris already required from one tragedy by the *Crisis Satyrica*.

(g) *Ichneutae Satyri*.

Every one of the three tragic characters of the *Ichneutae*, viz. Apollo, Cyllene, and Hermes, is an immortal (I employ the term roughly as I know that nymphs were by some Greeks not supposed to be immortal in the literal sense). Since Silenus and the Satyrs were similarly immortal, there is not a single mortal person in the play. This is unique in extant Greek drama. Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vinculus* provides the nearest analogy, but there a mortal, Io, is present and prominent. This singular feature of the *Ichneutae* demands explanation, the more so as at first sight the Satyric stage would appear one of the least suitable places in the world on which to group an exclusive assemblage of deities. Now we have seen already that the discrepancies in date of action between a particular tragedy and a particular Satyric play may be so great that, if the latter desires to borrow a character from the former, it is forced by the restrictive element of time to borrow an immortal only. Consequently the co-appearance of three immortal tragic characters in the *Ichneutae* suggests that they are borrowed from three tragedies incompatible, as regards date of action, with the Satyric drama in question. The action of the *Ichneutae* is obviously long prior in course of time to that of, at least, most tragedies. In many tragic plays either Apollo or Hermes, singly, might find a place, and Cyllene, by herself, would be appropriate to various possible tragedies of the Arcadian group, or the like. As, in addition to Sophocles' fully extant dramas, the names, and, in at least nearly every case (I put it thus to avoid controversy), fragments, sometimes voluminous, of the great majority of his non-extant tragedies survived, it is evident that the tragedy from which Cyllene is, *ex hypothesi*, borrowed is, on a greatly preponderating balance of probabilities, to be sought among those which have not entirely passed out of knowledge. Of such, the *Aleadae* alone seems to be possible. In that play Cyllene could easily figure in connexion with the exposure of Telephus: in fact, it might reasonably be suggested that *Fr.* 89 of Sophocles (from the *Aleadae*) is in her mouth. The *Ion* is perhaps the most likely *provenance* of Apollo (the *Niobe* and the *Laocoon* are also possible; but in the *Niobe* Artemis would, I think, be more appropriate, and in the *Laocoon* I should sooner expect Poseidon), while, as for Hermes, I can fetch him from nowhere—the *Philoctetes Trojae* being, as we have seen, already appropriated—except the *Inachus*. I suggest then (putting at a venture the trilogy in chronological order) this tetralogy: *Inachus*, *Ion*, *Aleadae*, *Ichneutae Satyri*. There would be a real appropriateness in the maiden Io (in the *Inachus*) and the youth Ion being thus brought into a sort of connexion: the *Ion* and the *Aleadae* again go well together, seeing that the story of each starts with the exposure of an infant and is concerned, though doubtless in all other respects the two parts artistically diverge, with a *recherche de la paternité*. In the epilogue, the *Ichneutae*, the three tragic characters Apollo, Hermes and Cyllene, come together with

delightful inevitableness and, Silenus and the Satyrs aiding, reward the strained attention of the audience with appropriate relaxation.

(h) *Salmones Satyricus*.

Of this play so little is known that it is impossible to say more of the cast than that it included a Chorus of Satyrs, and presumably Silenus as Satyric character, together with Salmones as one of the tragic characters. Salmones may, I think, be taken from the *Sisyphus*. It is unfortunate that the other tragic characters of the *Salmones* are unknown, as otherwise we might perhaps be in a position to inquire whether the *Sisyphus* and *Tyros* I, together with an undetermined third play, do not constitute a trilogy of the Aeschylean type.

There remain four alleged Satyric dramas of Sophocles, the *Eris*, the *Hybris*, the *Momus*, and the *Telephus*.

*Eris Satyrica*.

I dispute the existence of this play (see *Ch.* XIII).

*Hybris Satyrica*.

I dispute the existence of this play (see *Ch.* XIV).

*Momus*.

This play is not Satyric. It is never so described in antiquity. *Frr.* 421 and 423 each consist of a single word capable of an indecent meaning: but in neither case is there any reason to postulate such a meaning, and in the former, Hesychius seems to exclude it. His entry (in the existing text) is: ἀναστῦψαι· ἐπᾶραι τὸ αἰδοῖον, ἢ στυγνάσαι· Σοφοκλῆς Μομῶ. This naturally implies that Sophocles uses the word in the sense στυγνάσαι. Now στυγνάσαι is not corrupt. στυγνάζειν, *to be lowering*, comes in St. Matthew (xvi. 3) and St. Mark (x. 22), and the simple στέφειν with the same meaning occurs in Themistius (339A). Pearson's note on this *Fragment* requires correction.

Moreover, Momus appears in extant legend only as a prompter of the ancient counsels of Zeus in heaven, and is thus utterly alien to the atmosphere of Satyric drama.

The use of the word ἄρπην is (Bekker's *Anecdota*, 446, 12) ascribed to Σοφοκλῆς Νόμῳ σατυρικῷ. Most editors, from Dindorf onwards, have taken the reference to be to the *Momus*. But Γάμῳ (i.e. Ἐλένης Γάμῳ) would be as near Νόμῳ, and we must also remember that the titles of numerous Satyric dramas by Sophocles are unknown to us.

*Telephus*.

There exists no reason, as we have seen, for taking this as a Satyric drama, and a good deal against so doing. The Satyric Τελε— may well be a play entitled *Telegonus*.

Before passing from Sophocles, I would observe that it may reasonably be suspected that the large total of seventeen plays that passed under his name but by some were rejected as spurious is in part, at least, made up of dramas which from their titles were obviously members of the trilogies to which some of his famous and unassailable master-

pieces belonged. For example, it is quite conceivable that the *Electra* (which on grounds of metre I am inclined to regard as an early play) was originally accompanied by, let us say, a *Clytemnestra* and an *Orestes Athenis*, but that the scholiasts or their masters, seeing that this spelt a trilogy, labelled the two companion plays as forgeries. It is most difficult to estimate the lengths to which the well-intentioned conspiracy may have proceeded. I rather imagine myself that the greater part of the seventeen disputed plays fell into disrepute for no other reason, and, of such plays I feel confident that the scholiasts did their best to prevent a single name from surviving. Therefore I am of opinion that all, or very nearly all the plays now known to us by name belong to the 123 which never fell under suspicion. It is of importance to note that, according to the *Life of Sophocles*, Aristophanes the Grammarian, who surely knew what he was talking about, put the plays at 140. The rejection of seventeen of them was subsequent to his time.

We now pass from the Satyric dramas that present three tragic characters to the Satyric dramas that present one tragic character only, or, to speak broadly, from Aeschylus and Sophocles to Euripides. It is manifest that in the case of this second class the Satyric drama cannot enable us to assemble any trilogy: at best it can lead us to fix on a solitary tragedy with which the Satyric drama was associated, and on that none too certainly, seeing that there are often quite a number of tragedies from any of which a particular tragic character may have been borrowed. Indeed, in the case of unconnected trilogies followed by a Satyric drama containing only one tragic character, the Satyric drama ceases to be in any sense a touchstone. We are already on the high road to that state of affairs in which, shortly after 350 B.C. and perhaps earlier, tragic trilogies without a Satyric drama were presented at the Urban Dionysia, a solitary Satyric drama being acted by itself at the beginning of the proceedings.

The fully recorded tetralogies of Euripides are three in number, (a) the *Alexander*, the *Palamedes*, the *Troades*, the *Sisyphus Satyricus*, (b) the *Cressae*, the *Alcmaeon Psophide*, the *Telephus*, the *Alcestis*, (c) the *Medea*, the *Philoctetes*, the *Dictys*, the *Theristae Satyri*. We have also an imperfect record comprising (a) the *Iphigenia in Aulide*, the *Alcmaeon Corinthi*, and the *Bacchae*, without mention of the Satyric drama. There is also a mutilated record of (e) the *Oenomaus*, the *Chrysippus* and the *Phoenissae*, from which the name of the Satyric drama has been lost. Further, we know that (f) the *Andromeda* and the *Helen*, though the order is not indicated, formed parts of the same tetralogy.

(a) Euripides' *Alexander*, etc.

The tetralogy is recorded by Aelian (V.H. II. 8) in the words: Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Παλαμῶδε καὶ Τρώασι καὶ Σισύφῳ σατυρικῷ. Considerations of mythological chronology make it next to impossible that any mortal from the group of three tragedies can have figured in the Satyric drama. This observation applies, as much as to other possible



characters, to Sisyphus himself. Consequently, Sisyphus is not a tragic character borrowed from one of the tragedies, but one of the Satyric characters. Being a monster of wickedness, he evidently appeared, like the Cyclops of Euripides' play of that name, as a leading Satyric character in the fourth piece. He was, *inter alia*, a robber-chief who captured and killed travellers. Thus a tragic character, like Ulysses in the *Cyclops*, has to be provided. But, as we have seen, we desiderate an immortal. As a matter of fact, the tragic character is Hercules, as is proved by the first extant *Fragment* (Fr. 673) of the *Sisyphus*. In that play he doubtless appears as a mortal, before his apotheosis. In the tragic group, however, he must come in as *deus ex machina*, or the like, in the *Palamedes*, since he does not figure in the *Troades* and there is no place for him in the *Alexander*, the plot of which is known. The connexion of Palamedes and of his father, Nauplius, with Euboea gives sufficient opportunity for the introduction, and, moreover, it was Nauplius who received Hercules' mistress, Auge, from Aleus. It is highly probable that the *Sisyphus* is identical with the *Autolycus*, in which Sisyphus certainly figured, Sisyphus stealing Autolycus' cattle, and *vice versa*. In the *Autolycus* (see my separate mention of the play later) there were no Satyrs, but Autolycus was a Satyric character, and presumably the Chorus of Satyrs was replaced by a Chorus of his attendants. So we should have in all (1) a quasi-Satyric Chorus, (2) two Satyric characters, Autolycus and Sisyphus, and (3) one tragic character, Hercules. Thus, if, refusing beyond necessity to multiply entities, we take the *Sisyphus* as identical with the *Autolycus*, the analogy with the *Cyclops* becomes complete.

(b) Euripides' *Cressae*, etc.

The tetralogy is recorded in the argument to Euripides' *Alcestis* in the words: Κρήσσαις, Ἀλκμαίῳ τῷ διὰ Ψωφίδος, Τηλέφῳ, Ἀλκῆστιδι. This abnormal tetralogy, which substitutes the *Alcestis* for a Satyric drama, comes only just within the fringe of this inquiry. In the *Alcestis*, Hercules, and Hercules alone, comports himself as, so to speak, a hero in his shirt-sleeves. Admetus and Pheres fall indeed below the usual dignity of tragedy, but it is only Hercules that presents the proper analogue of a tragic character treading the Satyric boards. Does, then, Hercules figure in the trilogy? He cannot in the *Cressae* or in the *Alcmaeon*. But he may have figured in the *Telephus*. Telephus was a son of his. That is all that can be said.

(c) Euripides' *Medea*, etc.

The tetralogy is recorded in the argument to the *Medea* in the words: Μηδεία, Φιλοκτήτη, Δίκτυῖ, Θερισταῖς σατύροις οὐ σώζεται. The οὐ σώζεται, a stock expression in scholiastic writings, refers here, as elsewhere, only to the play last preceding the remark. The *Theristae* must necessarily be considered in conjunction with Sositheus' *Daphnis sive Lityrses*. The facts are complicated, but the results are important. Lityrses was a son of Midas. He took travellers prisoner, set them to reap and afterwards killed them: Hercules slew him. The title *Theristae Satyri* seems to indicate that Lityrses is in question and that

he has set the Satyrs to reap. Sositheus, whose plot is sufficiently known to us, represents him as having captured the nymph Thalia, wife of Daphnis, whom Daphnis afterwards discovered in his possession, and whom Hercules finally liberated and restored to her husband. It would appear that in Sositheus' *Daphnis* there must be a combination of the captivity of Thalia with the captivity of the Satyrs. This means that Sositheus presented one non-tragic character, Lityerses, and three tragic characters, one of them a woman, Daphnis, Hercules and Thalia. But as we have seen in Chap. VIII, Sositheus was an archaïser who threw back to the Satyric drama of Pratinas. As we have also seen, Pratinas can scarcely have employed more than one actor. We may therefore conclude that Silenus was not an additional non-tragic character, but appeared as leader of the Chorus. If he were an additional non-tragic character, then the one actor would have to sustain no less than five separate parts. Moreover, seeing that in a one-actor play only one character, tragic or non-tragic, at a time can take the stage, dialogue would be well-nigh impossible if the leader of the Chorus were a mere Satyr and not Silenus. This leaves us with exactly what we find in the *Ichneutae*, viz. one non-tragic character and three tragic characters, one of them a woman. It looks as if Sophocles followed Pratinas' tradition with great fidelity. But there exists not a scintilla of evidence to show that Euripides complicated the situation by introducing Daphnis and Thalia. The only known title of his play is *Theristae Satyri*. Consequently, basing ourselves on his *Cyclops*, we may conclude that he dealt merely with the overthrow, in a Satyric setting, of Lityerses by Hercules. On that showing, he presented a Chorus of Satyrs—*Reapers* for the nonce—and three characters only, two of them, Silenus and Lityerses, Satyric, and one of them, Hercules, tragic. From which tragedy is Hercules taken? He does not figure in the *Medea* and he cannot have done so in the *Dictys*. But into the *Philoctetes*, though only as an immortal, he may well have entered. Philoctetes' arrows were those of Hercules, and in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles Hercules actually appears. The reader will observe that I abandon the doubt, expressed by me in Ch. XII., as to the presence of Satyrs in Sositheus' *Daphnis* and in Euripides' *Theristae*.

(d) Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulide*, etc.

I have already seen reason to conclude that the fourth play of this imperfectly recorded tetralogy is the *Syleus*, and, seeing that the *Syleus*, a most exceptional composition, clearly presents three tragic characters, I have dealt with the whole matter in the earlier portion of my discussion.

(e) Euripides' *Oenomaus*, etc.

The mutilated record of this tetralogy occurs in Aristophanes the Grammarian's argument to Euripides' *Phoenissae*. I have set out in full in my discussion of Sophocles' *Oedipodeia* the somewhat complicated facts relative to the record in question. The trilogy of this tetralogy is—a circumstance unique as regards the known works of Euripides—a connected trilogy. The *Phoenissae*, of course, covers

roughly the same ground as the *Septem* of Aeschylus. The extant references to the *Chrysippus* show that that play dealt with the guilty love of Laius for Chrysippus, a love that, according to general tradition (though Sophocles refuses to descend to such topics), was the original cause of the curse upon the house of Labdacus and of the misfortunes that befell Oedipus and his children. As Chrysippus was a son of Pelops, though not by his wife Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus, but by a nymph, Axioche, or by one Danaïs, it seems that Euripides' *Oenomaus* must have dealt with the desertion by Pelops of Hippodamia, who very possibly returned to Oenomaus' house. This view would fit in well with the first extant *Fragment* of the *Oenomaus* (*Fr.* 571) in which someone, presumably Oenomaus himself, doubts whether it is worth while to have children, concluding with the words (ll. 7-8):

κἄν αὖ γένωνται σώφρονες, κακὸν μέγα,  
λυποῦσι τὸν φύσαντα μὴ πάθωσί τι.

I take it that in Euripides the curse is carried back further than the sin of Laius. I suppose that Oenomaus pronounced a malediction on the issue of Pelops and his new bride, and also on all persons that might associate with them. Be that as it may, the trilogy is certainly a connected trilogy. This fact gives us pause with regard to the Satyric drama. Was it equipped with three tragic characters, or with one tragic character only? Now, from the mutilated statement in Aristophanes' argument to the *Phoenissae* it plainly appears that though in his time the name of the Satyric drama, which has now disappeared from his text, was still known, the drama itself had already been lost. It is difficult to suppose that Euripides substituted any other episode for that of the Sphinx: although Aeschylus seems to have selected that episode, in defiance of chronological sequence, partly, at least, because it afforded a convenient meeting-ground for one character from each of his three tragedies, yet, by so selecting it, he consecrated it for good and all as the almost inevitable satyric complement to the subject-matter of the trilogy. I have already argued in my remarks at the end of the discussion of Sophocles' *Oedipodeia* that the account of that episode given in another argument—the long argument—to the *Phoenissae* is based on a *Sphinx* written by Sophocles. Here I will add that it cannot be based on a *Sphinx* written by Euripides and forming the Satyric drama of this tetralogy, inasmuch as before the time of Aristophanes the Grammarian the Satyric drama in question had already perished and the long argument is unquestionably much later than the argument of Aristophanes. So also, almost to a certainty, is the story of the Sphinx in Suidas (s.v. Οἰδίπους). We are thus left wholly without information as to the details of the presumable *Sphinx* of Euripides. But I feel fairly certain that there was only one tragic character, viz. Oedipus himself, taken from the *Phoenissae*. It is doubtful, on chronological grounds, whether the *Chrysippus*, and much more than doubtful, on the same grounds, whether the *Oenomaus* could furnish any character, save an immortal. But any immortal appearing in either of those tragedies must surely have been in some sense a party to the curse and therefore no fit aider of Oedipus against the Sphinx. This view is corroborated by the



necessity of the Sphinx herself as a Satyric character, like the Cyclops. Silenus and the Sphinx (compare Silenus and the Cyclops) were, I make sure, the two Satyric characters. But the presence of two Satyric characters points directly to the ordinary Euripidean arrangement, *i.e.* it means that there was only one tragic character. Silenus, it is true, might be reduced to the position of *choragus*; but there is no evidence that Euripides ever adopted this apparently archaic device.

I have seen reason in my discussion of Sophocles' *Oedipodeia*, which I regard as not merely in effect but also literally a trilogy, to assign both it and this Euripidean group to the year 411 B.C. If I am right in so doing, it is manifest that some powerful influence must have been at work to drive both poets in so reactionary a direction. It may easily be the case that that influence was the echo in the artistic world of the political discontent with democracy which afforded the oligarchs their opportunity and produced the Four Hundred.

(f) Euripides' *Andromeda* and *Helen*.

That these two plays formed parts of the same tetralogy is sufficiently recorded by a scholiast on Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazeusae* (l. 1012), who writes of the *Andromeda*: συνδεδιδασκται γὰρ τῇ Ἑλένῃ. This highly incomplete record is all that we have. We do not even know which of the two plays came before the other, though on chronological grounds I suppose it was the *Andromeda*. There is nothing to determine the third tragedy or to afford a hint as to the Satyric drama.

Having now dealt with the completely and incompletely recorded tetralogies of Euripides, before I pass on to those of his Satyric dramas with which I have not yet had an opportunity of dealing, it is convenient that I should shortly discuss one recorded tetralogy by Xenocles, produced (415 B.C.) in competition with Euripides' *Alexander*, *etc.* and awarded the first prize, Euripides winning the second.

Xenocles' *Oedipus*, *Lycaon*, *Bacchae*, *Athamas Satyricus*.

This tetralogy is recorded by Aelian (*V.H.* ii. 8) in the words: Οἰδίποδι καὶ Λυκάωνι καὶ Βάκχαις καὶ Ἀθάμαντι σατυρικῷ. The whole tetralogy, Satyric drama included, possesses unity in the sense that all the plays are drawn from the Theban Cycle; but the story of Oedipus can hardly have been so treated as to render the whole a connected tetralogy. Similarly, Euripides' competing tetralogy was, as regards the trilogy, though not as regards the Satyric drama, drawn entirely from the Trojan Cycle. As for the *Athamas Satyricus*, Athamas, being husband of Ino, was doubtless a character in the *Bacchae*. Hence, I suppose, he comes as a tragic personage into the fourth drama. The legend runs that he was ordered by an oracle to settle where wild beasts should have given him hospitable entertainment. In the current story wolves, while preying on sheep, were alarmed at his approach and fled, leaving him the mutton. But I conceive that Xenocles, for Satyric purposes, may have modified the vulgate and represented Athamas as entertained by Satyrs, ὄφρες. Athamas can scarcely

have been accompanied by Ino, who had already become a sea-goddess, nor does either of the two earlier tragedies seem such as to provide a character for the Satyric play, though conceivably a deity or the like might be borrowed from each of them. Probably, as in Euripides' *Cyclops*, Athamas was the sole tragic personage. In addition to a Chorus of Satyrs and to Silenus, who, no doubt, appeared as one Satyric character, we require a second Satyric character. In the absence of evidence, I am inclined to conjecture some non-tragic man or being, such more or less as the Cyclops, to whom the Satyrs were in servitude and from whom Athamas delivered them.

The known Satyric and quasi-Satyric plays of Euripides, excluding the plays with which I have already dealt, viz. the *Sisyphus Satyricus*, the *Syleus quasi-Satyricus* and the *Theristae Satyri*, are the *Busiris quasi-Satyricus*, the *Cyclops Satyricus*, the *Eurystheus Satyricus* and the *Sciron Satyricus*. There are also the *Autolycus quasi-Satyricus*, which I personally am inclined to identify with the *Sisyphus*, and, apparently, a drama called the *Butes Furens*, which in my opinion is not Satyric, but a tragedy.

(a) Euripides' *Busiris quasi-Satyricus*.

We know that in the *Busiris*, though a "Satyric" play, there were no Satyrs, the Satyric element being replaced by Busiris and his crew of ruffians. We further know—*quis nescit Busiridis aram?*—the whole story, which is told more fully, as regards the personages, than elsewhere in a *scholium* on Apollonius Rhodius (iv. l. 1396). The scholiast is almost certainly summarising Euripides' play. Hercules had been captured by Busiris, who was in the habit of sacrificing one stranger every year, and had been brought to the altar of Zeus. He burst his bonds, and proceeded to kill Busiris, his son, Iphidamas by name (in another author called Amphidamas), his herald, called Chalbes, and his retainers. It is evident from the general slaughter that none of these persons were reputable: they were all Satyric monsters, and Hercules was the only tragic character. The Retainers manifestly formed the Chorus, and Iphidamas (as we do not want three Satyric characters) was not a character at all, but merely their captain, and, as such, leader of the Chorus. The two Satyric characters are Chalbes, corresponding roughly to Silenus in the *Cyclops*, and Busiris himself, corresponding to the Cyclops in that play. I take Hercules from a tragedy, perhaps from the *Hercules Furens*.

(b) Euripides' *Cyclops Satyricus*.

In addition to the Chorus of Satyrs, we find in the *Cyclops* two non-tragic characters, Silenus and the Cyclops himself, and one tragic character, Ulysses. Ulysses may come from almost any tragedy of a considerable segment of the Trojan Cycle. But I lay some stress on the fact that a reason is required for the exceptional preservation of the *Cyclops*. I suggest that it has been saved from destruction simply because it is the Satyric pendant of a particularly well-known tragedy. On this ground I am inclined to fetch Ulysses from the *Hecuba*.

(c) Euripides' *Eurystheus Satyricus*.

With regard to the *Eurystheus* a good deal is ascertainable. As the title is what it is and as Hercules (*Fr.* 371) is a character, it clearly deals with some passage between Eurystheus and Hercules. From *Fr.* 371 it is also apparent that that passage is the one in which Eurystheus imposed the labour of fetching Cerberus from Hades. The episode is of some notoriety, and so forms a fitting basis for a Satyric play. According to the prevalent legend the original labours were only ten in number, but, after the accomplishment of the tenth (*viz.* the bringing of the oxen of Geryon), Eurystheus, on the ground that two had been performed irregularly, added two others, that of the Apples of the Hesperides and that of Cerberus. It seems probable that, for dramatic effect, Euripides transposed the order of these last two and made Eurystheus bid Hercules proceed straight to Hades. Such slight liberties are common. It is obvious that—in the story as treated on the stage—the tenth labour itself must have been one of the two that failed to give satisfaction. Hercules must have been represented as returning in triumph from Spain, the oxen with him, as meeting with a rebuff from Eurystheus, and as being despatched at the very moment of anticipated release, on a yet more perilous errand. But what of the Satyrs? The play is completely certified as Satyric, so that there is a Chorus of Satyrs, and with them, doubtless, Silenus, presumably the personage addressed (*Fr.* 372) as ὦ γεραῖέ. The scene is of course laid outside the gate of Tiryns. Hercules had brought the carcase of the Nemean Lion into the city itself, causing such terror that Eurystheus ordered him in future to report outside the gates. Thus the Satyrs could appear without incongruity. But more than this is wanted. In Sophocles' *Ichneutae* they come in naturally enough, wandering in the wilds of Arcady; they are not natural, without special reason, at a city gate. The matter is resolved, with the help of the *Ichneutae* itself, by consideration of the tenth labour. On the way home Geryon's oxen were maddened by Hera, and the herd broke up, individual cattle straying over Thrace in all directions. Obviously, following the example of Apollo in the *Ichneutae*, Hercules must have enlisted the services of Silenus and the Satyrs to find them for him. Hence, I do not doubt, he arrived outside Tiryns with Silenus and the Satyrs as his cattle-drivers. But it is this very assistance, I take it, that enabled Eurystheus to raise an objection. Hence the Satyrs are integral to the plot. A peculiar feature, important as showing the kind of relief possible on the Satyric stage, seems (*Fr.* 372) to have been the introduction of a speaking and moving statue—perhaps a guardian of the gate—made by Daedalus. We have then a Chorus of Satyrs, Silenus and Eurystheus (a monster of iniquity) as Satyric characters, and Hercules as tragic character. Hercules must come from one of a rather limited number of plays, perhaps from the *Alcmena*.

(d) Euripides' *Sciron Satyricus*.

No doubt in the *Sciron* there was a Chorus of Satyrs. Presumably Silenus was one of two Satyric characters, and of course Sciron himself was the other. The tragic character was manifestly Theseus.



I take it that Silenus and the Satyrs have been captured by Sciron and that Theseus, when he overthrows him, liberates them. Theseus may well come from the *Theseus*.

(e) Euripides' *Autolycus quasi-Satyricus*.

I have already suggested the identification of the *Autolycus* with the *Sisyphus*. The only argument that can be brought against this identification rests on a statement of Athenaeus (x. 413 c) that the well-known passage (*Fr.* 282) beginning

κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα

occurs ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Αὐτολύκῳ of Euripides. On the strength of this it may be contended that Euripides wrote two Satyric dramas, both of them dealing with Autolycus, and one of them with Sisyphus also. In that case the one would no doubt have been styled the *Autolycus* and the other would sometimes have been called the *Autolycus*, sometimes the *Sisyphus*. In these hypothetical circumstances it would be natural for Athenaeus to distinguish one of the two plays from the other by referring to it as the *first Autolycus*. But as a matter of fact the *Fragment* quoted by Athenaeus appears to be severely tragic. Though it runs to twenty-eight lines, it presents only three trisyllabic feet, and, so far as I can see, no Satyric features whatever. I therefore incline to the supposition that by the *first Autolycus* Athenaeus means a tragedy called the *Autolycus*. If so, there exists no reason against the identification I have suggested. But it is difficult to suppose that Autolycus the thief and perjurer figured as the hero of a tragedy. It should be remembered that there was another Autolycus, a comrade of Hercules and an Argonaut. This Autolycus, in company with Sinope, daughter of Asopus, was the reputed founder of the city of Sinope, where he was worshipped. After the expulsion of Timesileon, tyrant of Sinope, the Athenians, at or a short time subsequent to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, sent six hundred colonists to Sinope, which soon rose to a position of great wealth and power. These circumstances render Autolycus of Sinope an eminently fit character for a tragedy by Euripides.

(f) Euripides' *Butes Furens*.

I do not consider that the *Butes Furens* of Euripides was a Satyric drama. That this play existed I infer from Stobaeus (*Flor.* lvi. 14). *Codex* M of Stobaeus presents: Εὐριπίδου Βουτημένῳ·

ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλο γὰρ χρησιμωτέρα.

*Codex* A concurs, except that it emends the quotation, reading: Εὐριπίδου Βουτημένῳ·

ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλλο γὰρ χρησιμωτέρα.

*Codex* S, save that it omits the name of the play, agrees with *codex* A. Βουτημένῳ is to my mind a corruption of Βούτη Μαινομένῳ: the haplography is made easier by the fact that by no very late period the two halves of Μαινομένῳ, viz. Μαινο- and -μένῳ, had come to be pronounced quite identically. This is that Butes who endeavoured

to wed by violence a Hyad named Coronis: she however prayed to Dionysus, who drove Butes mad, so that he leapt into a well and perished. The *Fragment* is *Fr.* 742 of Euripides; but Nauck is wrong in assigning it to the *Temenus*. He is also wrong in following the Stobaeon text of *codices* A and S. The 56th chapter of the *Florilegium* is headed Περὶ Γεωργίας ὅτι ἀγαθόν, and consists of quotations in support of this proposition: conversely the 57th chapter is headed Ἐπεὶ περὶ Γεωργίας, εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον, and consists of counter-quotations. It is obvious that the reading of A and S is a mere reference to the subject-matter of husbandry, not a mention of husbandry itself, and still less a commendation of husbandry. That reading was perhaps half-suggested by Virgil's "Nec vero terrae ferre omnes omnia possunt" (*Georg.* II. 109). Fortunately the more original reading presented in M can by a light touch be restored to appropriate sense. I confidently propose:

ἄμην πρό γ' ἄλιος αἶψα χρησιμωτέρα,

*By the spade land idle aforetime is made more serviceable.* The diction is certainly not quite Euripidean: but that feature is just what one would expect in a semi-proverbial utterance. For the adverbial πρό γ' compare Aeschylus (*P.V.* l. 696):

πρό γε στενάζεις καὶ φόβου πλέα τις εἶ.

That ἄλιος, *inutilis*, is not elsewhere found as an adjective of two terminations only—though ἄλιος, *marinus*, is—must be ascribed to pure accident (I am not indeed sure that πρό γ' ἄλιος—*cf.* πρό γε στενάζεις—is not so nearly a tmesis of προάλιος that πρό γ' ἄλῖα would be impossible): but it may well be that a mistake as to the meaning of ἄλιος is at the bottom of M's somewhat extraordinary γᾶα. I suggest that πρὸς ἄλο γᾶα comes directly from πρό γ' ἄλιος ἄα, understood as meaning *an irrigation-system formerly fed with salt water*. ἄα (so Photius, *codex* B, s.v.: Hesychius gives ἄα) is defined as σύστημα ὕδατος. Be that as it may, it looks as though the line formed part of an address to Coronis by Butes, equivalent in general sense to Aeschylus' τί παρθενεύῃ δαρόν; (*P.V.* l. 648). If this be so, we have two tragic characters, so that the play cannot be a Satyric drama of the Euripidean type. Indeed, the one solid reason that has led me to entertain the question of its being Satyric is the fact that it seems to be mentioned nowhere else: but that fact is of sufficient importance to justify this short discussion.

It remains for me to mention a few records relating, not indeed to tetralogies, but to trilogies and dilogies, of an inscriptional character. At the Lenaea, at least in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., tragic trilogies were presented without the complement of a Satyric drama. At the Urban Dionysia, in the middle of the fourth century B.C., the proceedings on the occasion of the tragic competition opened with a presentation of one isolated Satyric drama: this was immediately followed by a single tragedy of Euripides (for all we know, the works of other deceased tragedians may also have been eligible), and then the tragic competition proper took place. Each tragedian competed

with tragedies only, in the year 341 B.C. with a trilogy, but in the year 340 B.C., which seems in consequence to be a date of some importance in the history of the drama, with a dilogy only. I will proceed to give such relevant information as is afforded by the inscriptions, observing merely that neither the Dionysiac nor even the Lenaean records appear to point to any series of connected plays.

*Tragedies at the Lenaea.*

In 420 B.C. the ΗΕΙΡ[—, perhaps the *Pirithous*, was the second play of the trilogy, without Satyric drama, that won the second prize. In 419 B.C. the ΑΓΑ[—, doubtless the *Agamemnon*, was the first play of the trilogy that won the first prize, while the *Theseus*, by an author whose name begins with Hera—, was the second play of the trilogy that won the second prize. In 418 B.C. the *Tyro* and a drama beginning with *T*— were the first and second plays of the trilogy that won the first prize, while the *Amphilochus* and the *Ixion*, both by Callistratus, were the second and third plays of the trilogy that won the second prize. In 417 B.C. a tragedian whose name begins with S— won the first prize, and the letter *P* seems probably to be the initial letter of the second play of his trilogy.

*Urban Dionysia.*

In 341 B.C. Astydamas won the first prize with the *Achilles*, the *Aithamas*, and the *Antigone*. Evaretus won the second prize with the *Teucer*, possibly the *Achilles*, and a play with a name of the third declension. The third prize was won by Aphareus—his name has perished from the inscription, but we know from elsewhere that this was the final year of his dramatic career and his name fits the lacuna—with the *Peliades*, the *Orestes*, and the *Auge*. In 340 B.C. Astydamas won the first prize with a dilogy, the *Parthenopaeus*, and, it would seem, the *Lycaon*. [Arist]ocles, or an author the first part of whose name would equally well fill the gap, won the second prize with the *Phryxus* and the *Oedipus*. Evaretus won the third prize with possibly the *Alcmaeon* and with a play with a title of the first declension.

I shall not carry my treatment any further. I might indeed almost have stopped short at the end of that class of Satyric dramas which presents three tragic characters together. To go on to deal with the recorded Satyric dramas of minor tragedians would be altogether useless. In fact, I have come to the limit beyond which my method is inapplicable. I invite the attention of readers, and particularly of critics, to this *Appendix*. In it I have attempted an entirely new synthesis of certain important matters in the field of Greek tragedy. Analytical investigation is in these branches of study the only usual avenue to knowledge; but a synthesis, though rarely obtainable, is the more royal road. A synthesis must be based on a principle or on a combination of principles. At a principle, in its turn, one can arrive by a two-fold process only. It must, on the one hand, be based on *a priori* reasoning, and, on the other hand, be sufficiently confirmed by the *a posteriori* proof derivable from an inspection of facts. It may originally be suggested by preliminary arguments or observations



in either field. I do not claim that I have fully demonstrated the validity of the principles on which this particular synthesis is based. So far, therefore, the synthesis is merely provisional. But even provisional syntheses that seem to work—and I think that I can say that of mine—are, in these subjects of study at least, such *rarae aves* and, when one has the good fortune to chance on them, so serviceable to scholarship (for, even though they be faulty, they help to correlate facts), that I feel it no trespass to claim for my suggestions a careful and an impartial consideration.

## ADDENDA, ETC.

*Alteration on page 4.*

Read in l. 10 "ἐπτὰ" for "ἐππὰ."

*Addenda to Chapter V.**Foot-note to be added under Heading II. B. 3 (p. 41).*

On page 41, a too implicit reliance on the views of modern philologists has betrayed me into error. As a matter of fact, there exists no reason for supposing κυναγός to be a Doricism. The word is a contraction, or rather a crasis, of κυνοαγός. When in Attic two vowels come together, of which one is felt to be necessary to the sense, then that vowel persists in defiance of the ordinary rules of contraction. That is what is meant by crasis, as opposed to contraction. Hence ὁ ἀνήρ becomes in Attic, not ὦνήρ, but ἀνήρ, seeing that the α is felt as an essential part of the word ἀνήρ. Similarly διπλόα becomes, not διπλῶ, but διπλᾶ, the α of the neuter plural being to the Attic sense the significant feature of the inflexion, and therefore to be kept at all costs. Even more to the point is αὐθαδής, which stands for αὐτοῦδής (the Ionic is αὐτώδής), the α persisting because of its significance. Doric contraction is thus seen not to enter into the question.

But further consideration of the word κυναγός is necessary. It is evident at first sight that a consonant or combination of consonants has been omitted before the -αγός: otherwise the word would be compounded with κυν-, not κυνο-, for its first element, and the result would be κυνᾶγός with a short middle syllable. This is as much as to say that the -αγός is not from the root of ἄγω, *I lead*: indeed, the co-existence of ἀγός and ἄγω from the same root would seem to be a morphological impossibility. The fact is that three separate roots have in Greek been more or less confused together. First we have the root ἄγ-, without any initial consonant, as seen in the Greek ἄγω, *I lead*, and in the Latin *ago*, with its prolated extension ἄγ-, Attic ἡγ-, seen in στρατηγός (this form cannot possibly come from στρατοαγός, and the fact that it is not στραθηγός shows that it has nothing to do with ἡγοῦμαι). In the second place, there is the root ἄγ- seen in the βαγός of Doric inscriptions (consult Dindorf's Stephanus, s.vv. ἀγός and βαγός), in the Epic ἀγός, and in the -φαγός of the κυνοφαγός which gives rise to κυναγός, and appearing likewise in the Latin *vagus* and *vagor*: from the Latin I am inclined to infer that κυνοφαγός meant originally a *taker-about of hounds* (the active *vago*, were it in use, would differ distinctly indeed, but not very widely, in meaning from *ago*). Thirdly, there is a root σᾶγ-, denoting *sharpness* either physical or mental, which is seen in the Latin *sagitta*, literally a *sharp implement*, and *sagio*, literally *I am mentally sharp*, with its prolated extension

σᾶγ-, in Attic σηγ-, seen in ἡγοῦμαι, as employed of mental activity, and in the Latin *sagus* and *praesagus*. But this third root has become hopelessly involved with the first. ἄγω, *I lead*, by a transition natural to the human mind (compare the Latin *duco*) can be used also in the sense *I deem*. Consequently ἡγοῦμαι, the true prolated extension of ἄγω, differed so little, in its mental sense, from ἡγοῦμαι as regards meaning that the two words merged into one, ἡγοῦμαι vanishing altogether, and ἡγοῦμαι taking upon itself the full functions of an extension of ἄγω. This, so far as I can see, is the true summary of the philological position.

Together with κυναγός go the substantives ὀδαγός and ποδαγός. Whether with this group we ought to put λοχαγός is a matter for consideration. My own opinion is, in view of the history of the word, that we have here a Doric compound of one derivation and an Attic compound, identical in form, of another derivation reinforcing one another in Attic literature. The crasis λοχαγός, standing for λοχοῖαγός, would be a complete impossibility in Doric, so that in Doric the word must be a compound of λοχ- with -ᾶγός (=the Attic -ῆγος seen in στρατηγός) from the root of ἄγω. Attic literature, however, kept to the Doric form, refusing λοχηγός, because of the felt propriety, at any rate, of an Attic form λοχαγός (similar to κυναγός, ὀδαγός, and ποδαγός), which Attic form, though doubtless the Athenians did not know this, can, if it ever existed, have arisen only *via* λοχοφαγός. As we class λοχαγός, so must we class the rarer military terms, ξεναγός and οὔραγός, although the verb ξεναγεῖν is used, apparently as an uninfluenced Attic form, without military reference by Plato and by late Atticists, and although the ρ of οὔραγός may seem at first sight to obscure the issue. I need not discuss ναυαγός, which Euphron alone uses in the sense of ναύαρχος.

It is to be observed that χοραγός appears to be destitute of Attic authority, χορηγός being employed in its place. It would be pedantic to lay stress on the possibility, though it is a possibility, that we have here a real difference of meaning. The κυναγός, the λοχαγός, the ξεναγός, the ὀδαγός, the οὔραγός, and the ποδαγός were all six engaged in actual locomotion. The χορηγός, on the other hand, did not take his Chorus about, at least in early times, but simply acted as their chief. When one comes to derivative forms of κυναγός, etc., in Attic, one is completely bewildered. It rather looks as if -ᾶγ- and -ῆγ- were fighting for the mastery. Of course, in every case of -ᾶγ-, -ῆγ-, though historically justifiable on the strength only of a different derivation, would be equally possible, and in such circumstances any amount of analogical neologism is to be expected.

*To be added on p. 67 at end of l. 31.*

τῶς seems to present itself in l. 301 also.

*To be appended as II. B. 7, b, at extreme end of II, B, 7 (p. 69).*

τῶδε, in the sense of ὧδε, *hither*, seems, though it is possible with some awkwardness to read τῶδε, to present itself in l. 42. The divergence from Attic is not so wide in this case as in that of τῶς, seeing



that in τῶδε the τ forms part of a demonstrative adverb, not of a relative. τῶδε is used by the Boeotian in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (l. 884): the manuscript evidence, which I discuss briefly in my English note on l. 42 of the *Ichneutae*, is conclusive as to the reading. The meaning of the word in the *Acharnians* is proved by the context to be *huc*, not *hinc*. It is therefore strictly parallel to ὧδε, and the sense of *motion towards a place* is imparted by the suffix -δε. There is said to be another Doric τῶδε with the meaning *hinc* (see Blass' revision of Kühner, vol. II. p. 306).

*Further Discussion of Fragment formerly numbered Fr. Incert. 5 of Aeschylus under Heading III. B. (p. 77).*

On p. 77 I refer to a fragment that used to be numbered *Fr. Incert. 5* of Aeschylus, but for about a century past has been banished from editions of his remains. The *Fragment* in question, I now find, begins at an earlier point than that of the beginning of the words quoted in the text of my discussion (my difficulty was that, until I visited the Bodleian Library, I could not, in war-time, obtain sufficient information to enable me to deal with the matter). Beyond all possibility of reasonable doubt the *Fragment* is, substantially at least, a fragment of Archilochus (*Fr. 88*); but there exist grounds for supposing that Aeschylus took this *Fragment* of Archilochus, modified it slightly to suit a new context and a not very markedly different metre, and introduced it so modified into one of his own works.

The *Fragment*—if for the moment only I may treat the varying versions as though they were one and the same thing—is presented by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 609), by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* XIII. 13, i.e. 687 B) and by Stobaeus (*Ecl. Phys.* I. 3, 34 in Meineke, I. 4, 34, in Heeren). Clement and Eusebius, who is merely copying from Clement, expressly assign the *Fragment* to Archilochus. Stobaeus, on the other hand, on the evidence of the best mss. of his *Eclogae*, assigns it to Aeschylus, and no ms. of that work, though it is not recorded that every one contains an ascription, appears to assign it to anyone else. The best mss. of the portion of Stobaeus with which we are concerned are *Codex Vaticanus*, known as V, *Codex Augustanus*, known as A, *Codex Escorialensis*, known as E, *Codex Parisiensis*, known as P, and the two Farnesian mss. called *Farnesianus A* and *Farnesianus B*. I cannot ascertain that the mss. of the *Eclogae* have ever been adequately collated; but, so far as I can gather from Schutz' edition of Aeschylus (Vol. v, ed. 1821), and from the editions of the *Eclogae* by Heeren and by<sup>2</sup> Meineke, the evidence is as follows. V, A, and E all contain the lemma Αἰσχύλου. So also does a *Codex* called by Canter *Codex Farnesianus*, but with the word μὴ written against it, in order, Canter supposes, to contradict the ascription: whether by *Codex Farnesianus* Canter means *Farnesianus A*, or *Farnesianus B*, or possibly some third ms. is a problem that editors have failed to solve. I am left in doubt whether the other mss. do or do not contain the lemma; but in any case it is so well certified already that that is a matter of little importance.

Clement's words are these: τοιαῦτα καὶ ὁ Πάριος Ἀρχίλοχος λέγει· ὦ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος· σὺ δ' ἔργα ἐπ' οὐρανοῦς ὀρᾷς

λεωργά καὶ ἃ θέμις. Eusebius follows suit thus : τοιαῦτα καὶ ὁ (Viger's edition omits ὁ) Πάριος Ἀρχίλοχος λέγει· ὦ Ζεῦ (*Codex Bononiensis* substitutes Ζεὺς for Ζεῦ), σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ὀρᾷς λεωργά τε καὶ ἀθέμιστα. Stobaeus' presentation of the passage is complicated by the occurrence of bewildering variants. As far as I am able to ascertain, *Codices* A and E agree in reading, apart from possible variations in punctuation, as follows : Αἰσχύλου· ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' οὐρανίων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀρᾷς λεωργά καὶ ἀθέμιστα· σοὶ δὲ θηρίων ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει. *Codex* V, on the other hand, is reported as reading : Αἰσχύλου· ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, σὺ δὲ γ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀρᾷς λεωργα καὶ ἀθέμιστα· οἱ δὲ θηρίων ὕβρισις καὶ δίκη μέλλει. Yet another ms. reading, mentioned by Pauw, but from what *Codex* taken I do not know, appears to be : ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐφορᾷς οὐρανίων καὶ ἀνθρώπων λεωργά καὶ ἀθέμιστα· σοὶ δὲ θηρίων ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει. That is the whole of the mss. evidence so far as it is known to me.

It is obvious that it is the same *Fragment*—to use the word *same* in a sense not preclusive of minor differences—that is dealt with by all three authorities. It is generally and rightly recognised, both on account of the subject-matter and because of the run of the metre, not only that the *Fragment* comes from Archilochus, but also that it forms the third of a series of three *Fragments* (*Frr.* 86–88) in which *Fable* 5 of Aesop (*The Eagle and The Fox*) is versified. This conclusion indeed could scarcely have been reached without the help of the Stobaeian version, which extends beyond the end of the quotation as given in Clement and in Eusebius. But for all that it does not follow that Stobaeus is quoting direct from Archilochus. With the help of the known metre of the two sister *Fragments* of Archilochus this *Fragment* can at once be restored, as editors have partly seen, to its original Archilochian form :

ὦ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος,  
σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀρᾷς  
λεωργά καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων  
ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

The above is the reading of Bergk, except that he presents the first line as complete, beginning it with the words ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ. I, on the other hand, would emphasise the fact that neither of the two authors that avowedly quote from Archilochus gives any indication that πάτερ Ζεῦ formed part of his text. The necessary addition (to the Stobaeian text) σὸν was first made by Grotius. Bergk is unquestionably right in reading λεωργά καὶ θεμιστά : this is proved by the subsequent ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη. On this branch of the subject I will only add that the speaker in the *Fable* must be the Eagle.

When we compare the quotation from Archilochus with the quotation in Stobaeus attributed to Aeschylus, we find two significant differences. First, we have in Stobaeus the addition πάτερ Ζεῦ. This would be eminently appropriate on the hypothesis that Aeschylus is transferring, with slight alterations, the well-known words of the Eagle in the *Fable* to the mouth of one of the descendants of Zeus.

Secondly, we find in Stobaeus, after the statement that Zeus bears sway in heaven, but before the statement that he marks the wrong and right deeds of men, a statement that he marks those of the gods. The word used in the text for *of the gods* is οὐρανίων. That word is on two grounds corrupt. It follows far too soon after the οὐρανοῦ of the previous line (Butler emended οὐρανοῦ to αἰθέρος), and it presents an anapaest quite impossible in any kind of Aeschylean iambics (Archilochian iambics are not, on any view, in question at this point). If for οὐρανίων we read the proper name Οὐρανίωνων, *of the children of Uranus*, the two objections vanish together. Similarly in Euripides' *Hippolytus* (l. 66; see my 'Αντὶ Μιᾶς, Vol. I. pp. 436-438) παρθενώνων has been corrupted into παρθένων. That this extra statement is original, not an interpolation, seems to be indicated by the two facts that only one manuscript is reported as omitting it from the Stobaeian text and that it has actually coloured the quotation, expressly from Archilochus, as given in the mss. of Clement. Moreover, some such addition would be necessary on the assumption that Aeschylus converted the particular iambic measure employed by Archilochus into another iambic measure permissible in tragic or Satyric drama. I have already pointed out on the page to which this discussion is an *addendum* that the termination of the *Fragment* will suit iambic tetrameters acatalectic, a measure employed in Satyric drama (I will in a moment revert briefly to this topic), but will not suit senarii. Starting from that consideration, and taking further into account the fact that the two couplets of Archilochus, with the help of a little extra matter, admit of easy modification into three iambic tetrameters, I base myself as closely as possible on the *ductus literarum* of the Stobaeian mss. and suggest the following as an adaptation by Aeschylus of the Archilochian original:

ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἔπι,  
οὐρ', Οὐρανίωνων ἀπὶ πάνθρώπων ὄρᾳς λεωργά τε  
καὶ θεμιτά· σοὶ δὲ θηρίων ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

If I am right, the passage is violently Satyric: both the metre and the diminutive reek of Satyric drama. As for the metre, *iambic* tetrameters were, an innovation introduced into Satyric plays by Phrynichus (the free use of this measure in Sophocles' *Ichneutae* enables us thus to interpret aright Suidas' concise statement—*s.v.* Φρύνιχος Πολυφράδμονος—that Phrynichus εὗρετῆς τοῦ τετραμέτρου ἐγένετο), and it is natural that Aeschylus should have followed his lead. I take the τε after λεωργά from Eusebius, whose text, though imperceptibly in comparison with that of Clement, would seem to have been influenced by the version that, with distortions, is recorded in Stobaeus.

On the whole, then, I say, without much fear of contradiction, that on close inspection it appears reasonable to give credence to the lemma in Stobaeus. The internal evidence tends to indicate that Stobaeus is quoting, not a passage in Archilochus, but an adaptation of a passage in Archilochus. An adaptation such as we have here—I am far from saying any adaptation—is manifestly alien to the methods of tragic composition and must be attributed to some Satyric play.



This consideration brings me to a further point. We have seen that, according to Canter, in some Farnesian ms. or other the word  $\mu\eta$  is written against the lemma  $\Delta\iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$ . In the suggestion that this  $\mu\eta$  expresses dissent I find myself unable to concur. Although from fairly early times  $\mu\eta$  took over some of the classical functions of  $\omicron\upsilon$ , yet it never became a mere equivalent of  $\omicron\upsilon$ . I cannot imagine that an imperative is understood: in fact, if  $\mu\eta$  here means *not*, it is to me almost as surprising as would be *ne*, instead of *non*, in similar circumstances in the margin of a Latin text. Neither am I aware of any scholiastic usage which would justify the employment of  $\mu\eta$  in the sense of *query*. What if  $\mu\eta$  is a contraction of the name of a play? As in such a case little save the termination is usually omitted,  $M\eta\varphi$ , in the Meon, at once suggests itself. The *Meon* could well be the Satyric drama of the tetralogy containing the *Athamas*. The plant  $\mu\eta\omicron\nu$ , *spignel*, was discovered by Athamas and called *athamanticum* (Pliny, *H.N.* xx. 23). Given such a play, the lines would fit in excellently. Athamas was ordered by an oracle to settle in that place where wild beasts should show him hospitality. In the land called afterwards Athamania—where the  $\mu\eta\omicron\nu$  grew—he found wolves preying on sheep, the meat of which they abandoned to him on his approach (see also my remarks on Xenocles' *Athamas Satyricus* in the *Appendix to Introductory Chapters*). Athamas was, in one current legend, a great-grandson of Zeus.

*Alterations under Heading III. C. (p. 80).*

In ll. 1 and 6 under heading C for “26” read “27.”

*Insertion under Heading III. C. (p. 80).*

Between ll. 22 and 23 under heading C the insertion “*i. bis.* ἐσσί (apparently the reading of the second hand in l. 355, where the first hand apparently reads an impossible ἐστί),” is to be made.

*Insertion under Heading III. C. (p. 81).*

In l. 8 of p. 81 immediately before “*s.*” the insertion “*r. bis.* στυλβός (the reading of the first hand in l. 107),” is to be made.

*Insertion under Heading III. C. (p. 89).*

On p. 89 in l. 16 immediately before “*k*” add: “*i. bis.* ἐσσί, the second person singular of the present of the verb meaning *to be*, reminds us of εἶθ' above. But ἐσσί really covers two words. There is the Epic ἐσσί, which is enclitic, and is visibly so in some passages (e.g. *Iliad*, i. 176), though not always, as it may stand (e.g. in Theocritus, *Id.* xxii. l. 54: this *Idyll* is Epic) in such a position that it is accented on the final syllable: this ἐσσί, which occurs 27 times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* taken together, and is common in other Epic also, should, it is now generally held, be read in its elided shape *passim* in Homer instead of εἶς or εἰς (*thou art*), which forms are always, with one exception, succeeded by a vowel. There is also the Doric ἐσσί, oxytone, but not enclitic, seen as not enclitic six times in Pindar (*Ol.* vi. l. 90: *Pyth.* ii. l. 72; iv. l. 270; v. l. 16: *Nem.* x. l. 80; *Isth.* ii. l. 12) and once in Theocritus (*Id.* viii. l. 43), but

presented ambiguously once in Pindar (*Pyth.* i. l. 88) and once in Theocritus (*Id.* ii. l. 123). The Doric ἐσσί occurs also in Sophron (*Fr.* 90) and Epicharmus (*Frr.* 125 and 130), in which three cases it is doubtless non-enclitic. In the *Ichneutae*, as the associations of the language, though mixed, are distinctly more Epic than Doric, I accentuate on the enclitic hypothesis."

*Insertion under Heading III. C. (p. 105).*

At the bottom of p. 105 add: "*r. bis.* στίλβός, the reading of the first hand of the papyrus in l. 107, where the second hand reads στίβος, confronts us—I incline to accept the correctness of the reading—with an adjective, signifying *fulgidus*, that may have existed from the earliest times, but never, as regards the positive degree, emerges with certainty elsewhere in literature, until the mediæval period, although the comparative στίλβότερος is employed by St. John Chrysostom (xi. 679 d) and in the writings falsely attributed to that Father (ix. 949 c). The derivatives formed from the adjective rest on ampler authority: στίλβοποιεῖν occurs as early as Dioscorides (i. 90), as do στίλβωμα (i. 57) and στίλβωτρον (i. 33), while στίλβότης, though later, is employed by various authors (*e.g.* Plutarch, *Alex.* 57, and St. Basil, i. 432 c), and στίλβοῦν actually makes its appearance in the *Septuagint* (Ps. vii. 13), as does στίλβωσις (Ezekiel xxi. 10), whereas στίλβωτής has only glossographical authority. As regards the positive στίλβός, the Aldine presentation of Ezekiel xxvii. 18 includes the word στίλβα (*sic*); but ms. authority tends to show that the word is no part of the original text. In three passages (Suidas, *s.v.* στίλπνόν, Galen, vi. 804, 17, and the Complutensian edition of the *Septuagint* in the verse of Ezekiel just mentioned) the neuter participle στίλβον is exhibited, and in all three cases στίλβόν has been suggested as an emendation, though, so far as I can see, without sufficient reason. It is apparent from this conspectus that, in order to account for the derivatives, an adjective στίλβός had some kind of currency before the date at which the Seventy translated the *Old Testament*. It is equally evident that the word, although regular in form (standing for στίλβλός: compare ἀρχός, for ἀρχρός, from ἀρχω, and λαμπός, for λαμπνός, from λάμπω—Arcadius writes, 66, 22: Λάμπος κύριον· λαμπός δὲ τὸ ἐπίθετον), was at least not in ordinary use in any kind of classical literature that has survived. But to say that is not very different from saying that it belongs to the very class of words with which Satyric drama is sprinkled."

*Alterations under Heading III. E. (p. 121).*

On p. 121 in ll. 1, 7, 9, 11, and 22 under heading E. for "51" read "53" and in l. 9 under same heading for "26" read "27."

*Insertions under Heading III. E. (pp. 122, 130, and 135).*

On p. 122 in l. 1 immediately before "*x*," "*v. bis.* εὐθύναισι (an apparently certain restoration in l. 45)," must be inserted.

On p. 130, between ll. 17 and 18 insert:

"*v. bis.* εὐθύναισι, which appears to be a necessary restoration in l. 45, introduces us to a word unknown in tragedy, but employed

several times by Plato (*e.g.* *Protagoras*, 326 E) and the comedians, and as common as possible in the orators: later it is used on occasion in all sorts of prose. The Attic nominative is εὐθυνα, but εὐθύνη appears, not as a corruption, in late prose (*e.g.* Plutarch, *Mor.* 40 c). If we may trust the mss., Lysias, who, it must be remembered, was the son of a Syracusan and spent some thirty years of his life at Thurii, made use of this form (118, 25, and 124, 26). On the strength of τόλμην (l. 11), I apprehend that, had Sophocles had occasion to employ the nominative in the *Ichneutae*, he would have written εὐθύνη."

On the same page (l. 4) immediately before "ff," "*ee. bis.* λιτοῖσιν (an almost inevitable restoration in l. 209)," must be inserted.

On p. 135 immediately before "ff" (l. 21) insert: "λιτοῖσιν (a scarcely evitable restoration in l. 209) brings to our notice an adjective, meaning *supplex*, that occurs in extant Greek literature only in Pindar (*Ol.* vi. l. 78, and *Pyth.* iv. l. 217), although the same word in a passive sense is also presented in an anonymous quotation in Eustathius (56, 30) and is recorded by Hesychius (*s.v.* λιτή)."

*Insertions and Alterations in Indices to Ch. V. (pp. 151-154).*

On p. 151 *s.v.* ἀμολγάδας between "A" and "b" insert "I". On the same page *s.v.* ἀρτίγομφα alter "c" to "e", and in alphabetical order immediately after the entry headed ἐρπηστάς insert the entry: "ἐσσί III. c. i. *bis* (in the *Addenda*) l. 355," and immediately afterwards again insert the further entry: "εὐθύνασι III. E. v. *bis* (in the *Addenda*) l. 45." On p. 152 *s.v.* ἀρτίγομφε for ἀρτίγομφε read ἀρτίγομφα, and in alphabetical order immediately after the entry dealing with λιχνῆτιν insert the entry: "λιτοῖσιν III. E. *ee. bis* (in the *Addenda*) l. 209": and on the same page in alphabetical order immediately after the entry dealing with σεῖ insert the entry: "στυλβός III. c. r. *bis* (in the *Addenda*) l. 207," and immediately after the entry dealing with τροχόιδης insert the entry: "τῶδε II. B. 7, b. (in the *Addenda*) l. 42." On p. 153 under the heading II B. 7 immediately after the entry dealing with τῶς insert the entry: "b. τῶδε 42 (in the *Addenda*)." On p. 154 under the heading III C. immediately after the entry dealing with ἐξενίσμεθα insert the entry: "i. *bis.* ἐσσί 355 (in the *Addenda*)," and under the heading III E. immediately after the entry dealing with κόλλοπες insert the entry: "*ee. bis.* λιτοῖσιν 209 (in the *Addenda*)"; and on the same page under the heading III c immediately after the entry dealing with σεῖ insert the entry: "r. *bis.* στυλβός 107 (in the *Addenda*)," and under the heading III E. immediately after the entry dealing with ἐρπηστάς insert the entry: "v. *bis.* εὐθύνασι 45 (in the *Addenda*)."

*Addendum to Ch. VIII. p. 206.*

On p. 206 and on other pages in the same chapter (Ch. viii) I glance at the problem presented by the composition of Satyric dramas by Timocles and the possible composition of such dramas by other comedians. Under what conditions, if at all, in the fifth century B.C. a comedian would have been permitted to present a Satyric drama, unaccompanied by three tragedies, I hardly venture to conjecture.



It is indeed possible that in that century separate Satyric contests were held at the Lenaea. Comedy, of course, formed the chief feature at that festival, but tragedy also figured. The extant inscriptional records of the Lenaeian tragic contests in the years 419-418 B.C. show that the tragedians competed with three tragedies apiece and no Satyric drama. This fact may perhaps be taken as indicating that there was a separate Satyric contest. But as regards the fourth century B.C. the case is different. We possess inscriptional records of the tragic contests at the Urban Dionysia for the years 341, 340, and 339 B.C. The record for 340 B.C. is almost complete. In it we find that three tragedians competed, each with two tragedies only and no Satyric drama. To compensate for the omission the whole proceedings began with a single Satyric drama standing by itself, the *Lycurgus* of Timocles. Similarly in 339 B.C., though the record is mutilated to such an extent that we learn nothing about the tragic competition proper, the whole proceedings began with a single Satyric drama standing by itself, the *Phorcides* of an author whose name has perished. The beginning of the record for 341 B.C. has been destroyed, so that we cannot definitely lay down that on that occasion an isolated Satyric drama was presented. But it seems most probable that it was. The records for all three years certify that immediately before the tragic contest a single tragedy by Euripides was reproduced. Immediately before this again, in the years 340-339 B.C., the isolated Satyric drama was acted. There is no reason then to suppose that the procedure of 341 B.C. differed from that of the two following years in this respect. But in another respect it differed greatly. Three tragedians competed, without Satyric dramas indeed, but with three tragedies, not two, apiece. It looks as if the year 341 B.C. saw the last of the tragic trilogy at the Urban Dionysia.

It now becomes intelligible how in the middle of the fourth century B.C. it was possible for a comedian to compete with a Satyric drama. I presume that, in view of the comparative unimportance of such compositions, the judges were thought competent to award the prize on a perusal of the plays, and that that play was acted which they considered to be the best. It stands to reason that, when once the Satyric drama was thus separated from tragedy, a comedian, if he cared to essay the task, had at least as good a chance as a tragedian of turning out a lively and amusing production.

When the separation at the Urban Dionysia was first carried out cannot, on the evidence known to me, be accurately determined. The old order of things was in full force shortly before the taking of Athens by Lycurgus, and there is no hint that any change was made about that time. We are left, as far as direct records are concerned, in a state of blank ignorance until we come to the record of 341 B.C. But, by a process of inference, it may be established with comparative security that the separation above spoken of took place not more than two or three years before 341 B.C. Theodectes, the most famous of the fourth-century tragedians, is known to have engaged in thirteen contests and to have written fifty plays. The only possible ways, consistent with the conditions of the case, of dividing fifty plays among thirteen contests are to split them into eleven tetralogies and

two trilogies (the more probable solution, seeing that he won a victory at the Lenaea, so that we seem, though uncertainly, to require at least one trilogy), or into twelve tetralogies and one dilogy. If we reduce the tetralogies to ten, there is then no way of dealing with the plays left over. As Theodectes was born in or about 375 B.C., it follows: that between about 355 B.C. and the date of the separation of the Satyric drama he produced perhaps twelve, or more probably eleven, tetralogies. It seems, I submit, to follow that at the earliest the separation was effected in 344 B.C.: indeed, it would be more natural on this evidence to date it even later. Still more precise results might be obtained from the statements extant with regard to the tragedian Aphareus, were it not the fact that in his case the figures have been so corrupted as to present patent impossibilities: I suspect myself that the error lies in the total of his plays, but in any case it renders argument useless.

We have no information that at the Urban Dionysia the old system was ever re-adopted, though under the influence of the reforms of Sositheus it is possible that it may have been. The new system, however, failed to impress itself on the literary consciousness of subsequent centuries. Horace speaks as though he had never heard of it, taking for granted that the place of a Satyric drama is that which it occupied in the palmy days of tragedy. Indeed, the language of the *Ars Poetica* is such as to suggest forcibly that at the time of its composition Latin tetralogies were being written on the old Greek model.

*Supplement to Chapter XI (p. 347).*

I.

The author of the Socratic dialogue called the *Minos*—whether that author be Plato, Simon Coriarius, or some other Athenian of the fourth century B.C.—represents Socrates as ironically arguing that Minos' somewhat unsavoury reputation was due to the fact that Attic tragedy, no new invention, but an institution of the highest antiquity, had imbibed a prejudice against him at the time of his oppression of Athens. With this *extravaganza* and with the school of history that presumably it was intended to satirise we have here no concern. But in the course of the discussion Socrates is shown as mentioning the current view, which he affects to oppose, as regards the origin of tragedy, and also a variation of the current view. His language at this point is of great importance to us. His words are (*Minos*, 321): ἡ δὲ τραγωδία ἐστὶ παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε, οὐχ, ὥς οἴονται, ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος ἀρξαμένη οὐδ' ἀπὸ Φρυνίχου, ἀλλ', εἰ θέλεις ἐννοῆσαι, πάνυ παλαιὸν αὐτὸ εὐρήσεις ὃν τῇσδε τῆς πόλεως εὖρημα. *It was not with Thespiis—though that is the general opinion—that tragedy began, nor yet was it with Phrynichus.*

Two difficulties are patent. (1) Taking the context into account, Phrynichus ought, from the place where his name is introduced, to be a predecessor, not a successor, of Thespiis. (2) It is hard to imagine how any classical Greek can have conceived that Phrynichus, son of Polyphradmon, who came not only after Thespiis, but also after Choerilus and Pratinas and a host of minor competitors, unknown

by name to us, but in the fourth century B.C. still known from the *didascaliae*, and who lived almost long enough to be a contemporary of Socrates himself, was the originator of tragedy: I can indeed understand someone saying that *Thespis*, *Choerilus*, *Phrynichus*, *Aeschylus*, and *Sophocles* were the founders of tragedy; but that is not the kind of statement that is in question.

These two difficulties together amount to a problem. Now either the *Minos* is a work unworthy of consideration (which it certainly is not), or else the problem is, given sufficient knowledge, capable of resolution. I will essay to resolve it.

It is now recognised (see Haigh's *Tragic Drama*, p. 43) that there were two Phrynichi, tragic poets, Phrynichus son of Polyphradmon and Phrynichus son of Melanthas. The separate identity of the son of Melanthas is distinctly vouched for by an entry (*s.v.* Φρύνιχος Μελανθᾶ) in Suidas, but was until more or less recently denied by modern scholars on the supposed ground that the entry in Suidas was a transcript of an Aristophanic *scholium* on a passage (*Vespae*, l. 1481) where the reference is to Phrynichus son of Polyphradmon, so that Μελανθᾶ was taken as merely erroneous. It was however a good while ago pointed out (see Dindorf) that the so-called *scholium* is, on the contrary, a transcript from Suidas, appearing as a *scholium* in print only, not in any ms., and that it is in sheer mistake that it has been appended to the *Vespae*. Nevertheless the recognition of two tragic Phrynichi has not, as it should have done, led to an adequate investigation of their relative dates. This deficiency I will attempt to supply.

The positive date of Phrynichus son of Polyphradmon is fully certified. To Phrynichus son of Melanthas there exist—apart from the possible reference in the *Minos*—four direct or indirect references.

In the first place we have Suidas himself. His entry now reads: Φρύνιχος Μελανθᾶ Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός. ἔστι δὲ τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τᾶδε: Ἀνδρομέδα, Ἡριγόνη. ἐποίησε καὶ πυρρίχας. I can attach no sense, whether as early or as late Greek, to the καὶ of καὶ τᾶδε. Now καὶ τᾶδε is not the corruption of the name of a play: τᾶδε is required to justify the singular number of ἔστι. Read then (nothing else seems possible): ἔστι δὲ τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τᾶδε: Ἀνδρομέδα, Ἡριγόνη, *Of his plays there are extant even to-day the Andromeda and the Erigone*. The facility of this restoration (which results in a sentence smacking rather of Aristotle than of late Greek) coupled with the very small total of two extant plays suggests for the son of Melanthas a somewhat exceptional antiquity: concision and suggestion are features of the oldest strata in Suidas. Suidas names (*s.v.* Φρύνιχος Πολυφραδμόνος) nine plays of the other tragic Phrynichus as extant: no *Andromeda* nor *Erigone* is among them, neither does any writer attribute either play to the son of Polyphradmon, although the *Andromeda*, but not the *Erigone*, is, as will be seen, alluded to elsewhere.

In the second place we read in Aristophanes' *Nubes* (ll. 553–556):

Εὐπολὶς μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρῶτιστον παρῆλκυσεν  
ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς,  
προσθεὶς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσῃν τοῦ κόρδακος εἶνεχ', ἣν  
Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἔσθιεν.



The reference of the last word in l. 555 and of l. 556 is manifestly to the *Andromeda* of the son of Melanthas. But Blaydes is right in objecting to the perfect πεποίηχ' (in the particular sense it has to bear) after πάλαι: the usage is scholiastic. His emendations however are impossible. I propose as a simple remedy:

Φρύνιχος παλαιότερος ἤχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθιεν.<sup>ῆν</sup>

Φρύνιχος παλαιότερος is a sort of compound proper-name, like *Coquelin aîné*. ἤχ' means *let down the cliff* (compare *Ranae*, l. 133).

In the third place, among the *scholia*, partly foolish, on the passage in the *Vespae* just mentioned, is one *scholium* that claims attention. I suggest that it refers to the word παλαιότερος in particular. It now runs: φέρεται ὑπεύθυνος Φρυνίχου. I can reconstitute this only as: φέρεται ὑπέρβου ὁ ὑωνός Φρυνίχου. In classical Greek these words would mean *The grandson of Phrynichus has a very high reputation*. That would make good sense: but in a later idiom (see St. Paul's *Epistles*) ὑπέρ acquires a distinctly comparative force, so that, though with hesitation, I venture here to translate *Phrynichus' grandson is more widely known*. In either case, if only my ὑωνός be right, it would seem that the scholiast considered the author of the *Andromeda* to be the *grandfather* of Phrynichus son of Polyphradmon: either πάλαι or παλαιότερος puts, on grounds of chronology, any *grandson* of the great Phrynichus out of court.

In the fourth place, Aelian (*V.H.* iii. 8) that Phrynichus the tragedian was appointed στρατηγός by the Athenians, ἐπεὶ τοῖς πυρρίχισταῖς ἐν τινι τραγωδίᾳ ἐπιτήδεια μέλη καὶ πολεμικὰ ἐξεπόνησε. As substantially the same story is told (in an incoherent jumble of additions to Suidas, s.v. Φρυνίχου πάλαισμα) of Phrynichus the comedian, though without the use of the term πυρρίχαι, or of any derivative, scholars generally have thought that the basis of the tale is an attempt to identify Phrynichus the στρατηγός, son of Stratonides, with a literary personage. It may be so, or on the other hand it is possible that Phrynichus, son of Melanthas, actually became a στρατηγός. At any rate it is to the son of Melanthas that Aelian's statement, whether true or untrue, must be taken as referring: it is he, as we have seen, that was the composer of πυρρίχαι, though one may doubt (especially in view of Suidas' turn of phrase) whether he put them into his tragedies.

To sum up, on the clear evidence the son of Melanthas was a distinctly ancient poet, that is to say he was quite as early as the son of Polyphradmon: on the doubtful evidence of emendation, however tempting, he was a predecessor of the son of Polyphradmon and in fact Polyphradmon's father. As Phrynichus, son of Polyphradmon, had himself a son, also a tragic poet, named Polyphradmon, we should, granted the emendations, have this genealogy:—Melanthas, Phrynichus (of Athens, a pre-Thespian tragedian), Polyphradmon (senior), Phrynichus (of Athens, the celebrated tragedian), Polyphradmon (junior, of Athens, a tragedian). Now it is doubtful whether *Phrynichus* is an Attic name (Phrynichus the comedian was of foreign origin), *Polyphradmon* is certainly non-Attic for *Polyphrasmon*, and

*Melanthas* is not only non-Attic, but has into the bargain a Doric genitive, Μελανθοῦ. All this fits in together. Moreover Suidas gives the well-known Phrynichus' father's name as alternatively Minyras. This means surely that Phrynichus was of a clan of minstrels called Minyrads. Compare Aristophanes (*Vespaë*, ll. 219-220):

μινυρίζοντες μέλη  
ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυγχήρατα.

Assume that there was a clan of Minyrads and that this branch of them emigrated from Sicyon to Athens in the days of Cleisthenes the Prince, and one sees at once how a pre-Thespian Athenian writer of "tragedy," Phrynichus, becomes possible. This I propose as the real solution of the problem presented in the *Minos*. Even apart from the assumptions, the mere existence of two tragic Phrynichi suggests the possibility of some such explanation.

## II.

The second passage that comes in question is from Aristotle. In the *Poetics* (3) we read: ὅθεν καὶ δράματα καλεῖσθαι τινες αὐτά φασιν, ὅτι μιμοῦνται δρῶντας. διὸ καὶ ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τε τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας οἱ Δωριεῖς (τῆς μὲν γὰρ κωμῳδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οἳ τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας, ἐκείθεν γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητὴς πολλῶ πρότερος ὢν Χωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος, καὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ), ποιούμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα σημείον· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ κῶμας τὰς περιουκίδας καλεῖν φασιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δῆμους, ὡς κωμῳδοὺς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν λεχθέντας, ἀλλὰ τῇ κατὰ κῶμας πλάνῃ ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως, καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτοὶ μὲν δρᾶν, Ἀθηναῖους δὲ πράττειν προσαγορεύειν.

This text is not quite sound in detail. Robortelli rightly substituted Χωνίδου for Χωνίδου, and Spengel αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ for οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ and Ἀθηναῖους δὲ δῆμους for Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δῆμους. I suggest that ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ likewise calls for emendation. Though the words as they stand are completely consistent with the Sicynian discovery of "tragedy" (Themistius indeed, as we shall see in the next section, in his paraphrase and amplification of the passage understands them, unless he read something else in their place, as intended to refer to the Sicynians), so that I am in no way directly tempted to impugn them on the ground of a particular theory. But there exist four *prima facie* reasons for doubting their soundness. (a) They are extraordinarily vague as compared with the mention of Doric comedy, and yet we read a little later in the *Poetics* (5): αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγῳδίας μεταβάσεις καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγένοντο οὐ λελήθασιν, ἥ δὲ κωμῳδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔλαθεν (the subsequent context shows that the reference includes pre-Attic *origines*). (b) No reason for the vagueness is even hinted at in the text. (c) ἔνιοι is singularly ambiguous, leaving open the relevant and important question whether one community only or several rival communities laid claim (ἀντιποιοῦνται must be "supplied" as main verb of the clause in brackets) in Aristotle's time to the invention of tragedy. (d) As the Sicynian claim must surely have been at any rate known to Aristotle, even if it was not the only Peloponnesian

claim (though no other is on record), it is a little odd to find the Sicyonian Aegialeis, even—in the circumstances—those of Aristotle's own day, classed *without explanation*, as, or as among, Dorians of the Peloponnese: the classification is politically correct, but the phraseology leaves much to be desired.

All four objections vanish if for ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ we read ἔνιοι ἐτῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, *certain associate-citizens in the Peloponnese*. (a) The vagueness in every real sense disappears. (b) Such vagueness as remains is a calculated vagueness: *certain associate-citizens* is a contemptuous way of saying *the notorious Aegialeis of Sicyon, men once proud of their freedom, but now only too glad to hug their Dorian chains* (of course it would follow that the Sicyonian origin of "tragedy" must have been assumed as a matter of common knowledge among Aristotle's readers). (c) ἔνιοι ἐτῶν, meaning the Aegialeis, is not ambiguous. (d) The expression *associate-citizens* puts the position of the Aegialeis in a nutshell.

It remains to consider the true meaning of ἔτης, in Doric ἔτας, as a political term. The non-political sense, seen in Homer, is much like that of the Latin *socius*. In a well-known Elean inscription (Boeckh, i. 26, 11) we have the apparently ascending scale αἵτε Φέτας αἵτε τελέστα αἵτε δᾶμος, *whether associate-citizen, or master-of-craft, or full-citizen* (is it possible that τελέστα is here a misreading of πενέστα?). It is natural to assume that in Doric the word meant much the same as in Elean.

At the extreme end of the treaty between Lacedaemon and Argos of the year 418 B.C., we read (Thucydides, v. 79): τοῖς δὲ ἔταις κατὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι. This may well mean: *The associate-citizens on the Argive side shall retain their ancestral judicial institutions*. If ἔταις here be understood of *private-citizens* in general (*i.e.* on both sides, and the Spartiates therefore included) the clause is surely rather worse than superfluous: what I suggest is aimed at is the preservation of the privileges of non-Doric Argive subjects. In Aeschylus' *Supplikes* (l. 247) ἔτην is employed of a citizen of *pre-Dorian* Argos. This agrees with my view of the word, though I do not suppose it to have been in use until those citizens were *ascripti* to a Doric state. Two tragic fragments, in which ἔτης comes, are indeterminate.

### III.

What is obviously a paraphrase and amplification of part of Aristotle's statement in the *Poetics* occurs in Themistius, who writes (*Orat.* 27, 337): κωμῳδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἤρξατο μὲν ἐκ Σικελίας, ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἦστην Ἐπίχαρμός τε καὶ Φόρμος, κάλλιον δὲ Ἀθήναζε συνηυξήθη καὶ τραγωδίας εὐρεταὶ μὲν Σικυώνιοι, τελεσιουργοὶ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταί.

As regards tragedy, this—if my reading in Aristotle be accepted—is merely a recasting in explicit form of his language for the benefit of a generation incapable of grasping his implicit sense, except that Themistius, discarding Aristotle's caution, allows unequivocally the Sicyonian claim to the invention of real and true tragedy. If however the vulgate of Aristotle be preferred (and I, for one, have, when the text, whatever its history, of the Master is concerned, something of an objection to more than either quite obvious or quite tentative emen-



dation), then Themistius is explaining in the ordinary style of human diction a stilted and strangulated utterance. In either case we may accept Themistius' testimony, except of course as to the full validity of the Sicyonian claim. Themistius, in spite of his failings, was a good scholar of his kind and quite well informed on simple matters of this sort. Indeed, I doubt whether anyone would have questioned his statement, had it not been for Bentley's *ipse dixit* that rudimentary tragedy was never reduced to writing.

## IV.

Among the *Epistles* of "Phalaris" are included two to persons represented as tragedians. One of these letters (*Ep.* 18, *ed.* Lennep and Valckenaer: *Ep.* 63, *transl.* Francklin) is addressed to Ἀριστόλοχος or Ἀριστόλοκος, whom "Phalaris" violently attacks and threatens for writing tragedies against him, presuming on the pardon extended to Stesichorus. The other (*Ep.* 93, *ed.* Lennep and Valckenaer: *Ep.* 97, *transl.* Francklin) is addressed to Λυσίνος, whom "Phalaris" accuses of still, at the age of thirty, writing ἔπη καὶ τραγωδίας against him, and whom he threatens.

In the case of the former letter the name of the addressee presents itself only in the title. That title is in our text Ἀριστολόχῳ: on the other hand in Graevius' *Thesaurus*, vol. XIV (anno 1725) is reprinted Girolamo Renda-Ragusa's *Elogia Siculorum* (anno 1690), which is an expansion of Constantine Lascaris' *Catalogus Veterum Siculorum*, wherein Renda-Ragusa gives *inter alia* this letter in Latin, as he also does the other, adding in each case: "Ex Laurentio Crasso de *Poetis Graecis*" (which book is said to bear date 1678 A.D.), but—I suppose on Crassus' authority—speaking not of *Aristolochus* but of *Aristolocus* (this is not a misprint, seeing that the word occurs four times in Renda-Ragusa's text and once in the index and also that Stesichorus is spelt in the ordinary manner). In the case of the latter letter we have both the title Λυσίνῳ and the vocative Λυσίνε.

That the author of the *Epistles* invented the names of these two poets is scarcely a tenable proposition. Had they been figments of his fancy, he would, by way of ἡθικὴ πίστις, have introduced appropriate detail into the letters in question. But both of these are bald to a degree. The conclusion is that the poets are actual entities, but that the writer (no intentional falsifier of historical facts) knew so little about them that he was at a loss on what lines to embellish.

This conclusion is fortified by an examination of the names. Ἀριστόλοχος is manifestly Aesculapian, the superlative, as it were, of εὖλοχος, which is an epithet of Artemis in Euripides (*Hippolytus*, l. 166) and of Ilithyia in Callimachus (*Epigr.* 54, l. 2) and occurs several times in Nonnus (e.g. *Dionys.* xxxi. l. 111). ἀριστολόχεια, otherwise ἀριστολογία, is, it should be noted, a herb used medicinally at confinements (Nicander, *Th.* ll. 509 and 937; Dioscorides, III. 4; and elsewhere). Ἀριστόλοκος would be merely a dialectic variant of the same name (*cf.* δέχεσθαι by the side of δέχασθαι).

As Ἀρσίνος is another form of Ἀρσίνους, Ἀρσίνους, and as Μναῖνος (of which the accusative is phonetically expressed as ΜΝΑΣΗΝΟΝ

in an inscription of Aptera) is another form of Μνησίνους, so the well-known name Σωσίνος must be a variation of Σωσίνους, Σωσίνους, and the rarer name Λυσίνος a variation of Λυσίνους, Λυσίνους. But Λυσίνους is surely Aesculapian, and Sicyonian into the bargain: any person so named was, I dare wager, called after Ἀπόλλων Λυσίνους, i.e. Apollo who, with Artemis, gave the boon of *heureux oubli* to Cos at Titane.

The notion that the two poets were Sicilian I cannot trace back beyond Laurentius Crassus (1678 A.D.: see above): there is no warrant for it in the *Epistles*. I take them therefore for Sicyonian Asclepiads, "tragedians" of Epigenes' kidney.

This discussion does not quite exhaust the matter. Two other *Epistles* seem at least germane. A letter addressed to Cleisthenes (*Ep.* 67, *ed.* Lennep and Valckenaer: *Ep.* 110, *transl.* Francklin), by whom, in view of the approximate date, the author must to a moral certainty have meant the Prince of Sicyon, represents Cleisthenes in his youth—his mother was still alive—as banished, having acted contrary to Phalaris' advice, from his home (Sicyon, I suppose) and as refusing Phalaris' protection during his banishment: Phalaris is made to blame him a little, but on the whole to commiserate with him. If the ground-work is historical, we see in this letter an attitude on the part of Cleisthenes that may well have ripened into positive hostility, so that attacks on Phalaris by Sicyonian "tragedians" become quite explicable.

The remaining letter (*Ep.* 35, *ed.* Lennep and Valckenaer: *Ep.* 4, *transl.* Francklin) is in our text addressed to Λυκῖνος. The heading is Λυκίνω, and the accusative Λυκῖνον occurs in the body of the missive. The epistle begins: οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἡρώτησας ἐν Λεοντίνις ὥς παρόντα με καὶ δυνάμενον ἀποκρίνεσθαι σοι τίς εἰμι καὶ τίνων καὶ πόθεν, *You have done wrong in asking me at Leontini, as if present there and able to answer you, who I am, of what parentage, and whence.* There follow replies to these questions, a slashing attack on the questioner's private character, and finally a menace of punishment when, with a view to ending the war, he is surrendered to Phalaris by Leontini, or perhaps sooner. Are Λυκίνω and Λυκῖνον miswritings of Λυσίνω and Λυσίνον? In other words, is the addressee the Lysinus of the letter of which I have already spoken? The boot can hardly be on the other leg, as Λυσίνος is a much rarer name than Λυκῖνος. Seeing that the questions put to the absent Phalaris suggest some kind of public declamation, of which a surviving fragment was probably enough the historical ground-work that led to the compilation of the letter, and seeing further that the questions themselves run readily, in *oratio directa*, as an iambic trimeter,

Φάλαρι, τίς ἐσσι καὶ τίνων σὺ καὶ πόθεν;

or in some such form, I am disposed to conjecture that Lycinus is a mistake for Lysinus. But, if so, light begins to dawn. Leontini was one of the three Chalcidic cities of Sicily and—at least according to universal tradition—a colony at two removes from Athens itself (Athens, Chalcis, Naxos, Leontini). It would be natural for an anti-Doric poet from Sicyon to don his literary armour on behalf of Leontini in a war

against the Dorian power in Sicily. I am inclined to suspect that most of the uncorroborated statements in the forged, but brilliant, "*Epistles of Phalaris*" are based on solid fact.

*Alteration on pp. 474, 475.*

Substitute for l. 303 of the Greek text of the *Ichneutae*, as printed, the following :

[KY.] [ξὺν μὲν βρέφει χέλυν καλῶ, ξ]ὺν δ' αὖ λύραν, ὅπ[ως κ]αλεῖ.

Substitute for the English translation : "*Cy.* I speak, like the babe, of a tortoise and, like him also, of a lute, even as himself speaketh."<sup>2</sup> The Greek line, as I first gave it, is Hunt's reconstruction: but Hunt himself reports the papyrus as presenting οπ[... ]αλει, not οπ[... ]αλει, so that ὅπως καλεῖ, rather than ὁ παῖς καλεῖ, appears to me to be indicated.





## SUPPLEMENTARY ADDENDUM.

*Adespota Tragica, Fr. 546.*

IF (see the last chapter but one of this book) Sophocles wrote an *Eridion Agyrticum* to be recited at Delphi by the boys of the choir just before their migration to the grammar-school for the period of Apollo's *apodemia*, then *Fr. 546* of the *Adespota Tragica* surely forms part of that *Eridion*—an early part, as it explains the necessity for a collection. It is of interest to-day, if only for its ironical praise of utilitarian training. It comes in Stobaeus (*Fl.* 97, 17), without lemma and after a quotation from Euripides (the sequel of which is known and quite different), and runs, with necessary emendations, thus :

ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ νοῦν εἶχ' ἔμ' ὁ σπείρας πατήρ, ἡπιστάμην ἂν μουσικὴν παρεῖς πονεῖν, ὥς εὐτυχίσων καὶ καλῶς πράξων ποτέ, πρῶτόν γ' ἰν' ἔζων πάντ' ἀφιέναι θάβρ' οἶος, εὖογκος εἶναι γαστρὶ μὴ πληρουμένη	5
στέργειν τ' ἴδρις ῥοῖς ὥστε θήρ, ἔπειθ' οἶος χειμῶνί τ' ἄσκειν σῶμα θερμά θ' ἡλίου τοξέματ' αἰνεῖν μὴ σκιατροφούμενος. νῦν δ' οὐκ ἐθισθεῖς τοῦτ' ἐπίσταμαι μὲν οὔ, φέρειν δ' ἀνάγκη 'στ', οὐδ' ἄρ' Ὀρφέα λαβῶν	10
ἄφοντα Μουσῶν ἐννεάφθογγον μέλος οὐκ ἂν πίθομι γαστέρ', ἀλλὰ δέοι βίου.	

Contrast the *ἐμ' ὁ σπείρας πάτηρ* of l. 1 of this *Fragment* with the *κάποδημοῦντος πατρός* of Sophocles' *Fr.* 1019 (l. 12).

(l. 1) So S : A εἶχε μ' : M εἶχε μ'. (l. 2) So B, according to Heath : other mss. παρεισπονεῖν. (l. 3) Mss. κακῶς for καλῶς. (l. 4) Mss. πρῶτον μὲν ἐξ ὧν πάντα γίγνεται βροτοῖς : emendation mine. (l. 6) S στέργειν τ' ὑδρηροῖς ἀει—but ἀει deleted by first hand—ὥστε θήρ ἀεὶ ποτοῖς : other mss. apparently στέργειν θ' ὑδρηροῖς ὥστε θήρ ἀεὶ ποτοῖς : emendation mine. (l. 8) So S, except that that ms. has τοξέματ' : A and M τοξέματ' : for σκιατροφούμενος A has σκιατροφούμενος and M σκιᾶ τροφούμενος. (l. 9) So apparently A : S has μὲν οὔν and M μενοῦν. (l. 10) Mss. ἀνάγκη, τὸν γάρ : emendation mine. (l. 11) Mss. ἅπαν τε : ἄφοντα mine. (l. 12) Mss. δεῖ : δέοι mine.





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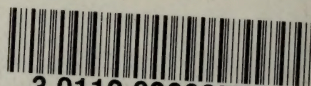








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